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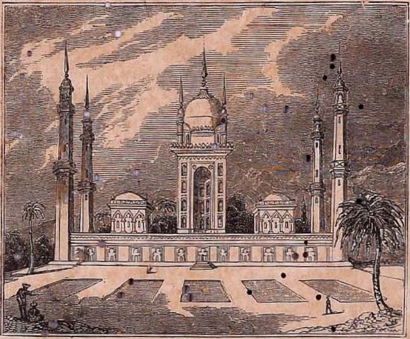

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THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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NECESSITY OF A CONTROLLING POWER IN INDIA AS A SECURITY AGAINST MISRULE.

In entering on the Second Volume of our Work, we take occasion to express the satisfaction with which we have witnessed its reception in the circles, where its merits or defects could alone be adequately estimated; we mean, among those formerly resident in India and the Colonies, and others, whose connexions with these quarters have induced them to turn their attention to the affairs of the Eastern and Western world.

The difficulty of creating an interest in the fate of distant countries, or of rousing a sympathy in distant sufferings, has been felt and acknowledged in all ages: nor is there less reason to lament this at present, than there has been at all former periods. It appears to be a truth, illustrated by universal experience, that whatever is near, excites our feelings most powerfully, and whatever is remote, operates on them less effectually, in proportion to the distance of time and space through which the information has to pass before it can reach us. We do not complain of this, any more than of other laws of nature. All that we desire is, to see the knowledge of this fact applied to the lesson which it ought evidently to teach; namely, that the superintendence and control of affairs in any one country, ought never to exist beyond that country itself; and that it becomes less and less efficient, in proportion to the distance at which the seat of such control is placed from the scene of action.

This indifference to Indian and Colonial affairs, which is observed in all classes of English society, except those immediately connected by former residence or present intercourse with the countries themselves, ought to convince all who consider the subject worthy of a moment's attention, that nothing can be more pernicious, than the prevailing idea of men in power in our distant possessions being responsible to Public Opinion in the mother-country; and nothing more mischievous, than their being permitted to rid themselves of all responsibility to Public Opinion in the countries they govern, on the plea that they acknowledge submission to its influence in another hemisphere.

All who have read Mill's History of British India, must have seen in almost every chapter of that instructive work, instances of the ill effects of having a country professedly governed by a power, at an immense distance from all the transactions which it attempted to regulate and superintend; but actually tyrannized over by men, bowing with affected submission to the orders of their masters at home, yet contriving, whenever it suited their purpose, to counteract the will of their superiors, by so ordering affairs, that events should apparently plead an excuse for their taking all power into their hands. Yet, if no such History had been written, and not a single instance of the evils of such a system could be found on record, it ought, still, to be sufficiently apparent to every thinking being, that distant superintendence and control is of infinitely less force and value than the exercise of a supervision on the spot.

This one fact—which all must acknowledge and most men must have experienced—the lively interest taken by mankind in whatever occurs within the range of their personal observation and touches their immediate interests, and their indifference to what is at once remote and entirely unconnected with their past recollections, their present enjoyments, or their future hopes,—is enough to establish it as an indisputable truth, that good government can never be effectually secured, without the governors being made responsible to Public Opinion, exercised by the community over which they rule; and that all pretended submission to the influence of Public Opinion elsewhere, is utterly nugatory, and consequently mischievous wherever it is credited, as its only effect must be to lull mankind into a security which is fatal to their best interests.

This doctrine, we are aware, would lead to the conclusion, that all Colonies and distant Dependencies must be worse governed than countries which are independent, and manage their own affairs without reference to other states. The fact is, we believe, too well supported by experience, to be denied. America has been infinitely better governed since her independence than before it; while Canada and our West India possessions remain nearly stationary. The South American States, though but in their infancy, are already better governed than when they were dependencies of Spain and Portugal; and we doubt not, but that a day will come, when the independence of India will make that country what it never can become while it remains a mere dependency of such a distant country as England. If there be any truth in the maxim, that civilized nations are rarely or ever stationary, but either retrograde or advance, such an event as this, however remote it may be, must happen; and all who desire the progressive improvement and happiness of the human race, must hope for its being accelerated rather than retarded.

No man can entertain a doubt, but that the affairs of Britain are better managed while the Ministers are responsible to Public Opinion in England, than they would be if the English Press were entirely silenced, and Public Opinion on their conduct could only be freely exercised in New South Wales. To bring the point within a narrower compass: most men are persuaded, that the strictures of the Press are more influential on the conduct of those who fill the offices of state in the metropolis, when made immediately after the measure to which they relate, and on the very spot where the affair in question originates, than they would ever be, if the Metropolitan Journals were all silenced, and no papers could comment on the proceedings in Parliament or the Courts of Law, except the Provincial ones published in the obscure parts of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. If it be true to this extent, how much more important is it that in a country so little known, so remote, and altogether possessing such slender holds on the attention or sympathy of the great mass in England, the conduct of men in office should be scrutinized on the spot, and not referred to the expression of Public Opinion here, where it never *can* be exercised with any effect?

The speed and certainty with which disgrace and punishment attend on the commission of misdeeds, is the surest check to their commission. The delay and uncertainty of both, operate almost as a bounty on the commission of crime: added to which, a Ruler may be guilty of almost any enormity, in India, without dread of the consequences, when he knows that *there* no one around or near him dare even express an opinion on his conduct: that there is, therefore, a hundred chances to one in favour of his guilt never being known beyond the country itself; that even if known, a year must elapse before it can be told with effect in England; that here it has little chance of being listened to beyond a day, when it may serve to fill up the gossip of an idle hour; that after all, supposing an impression to be made against him in England, there are a thousand chances to one against his being visited with punishment from hence; and that, admitting even this to be ordered, it will be another year before the authority to do so will reach him, when, perhaps, both himself and the victim of his oppression may be numbered with the dead; or if both are living, means will be always at hand still to evade the mandate, pending a reference to the mother-country, which may be repeated to the end of time, until the whole affair sinks into oblivion, to give place to some new object of interest and attention, which will have to pass through the same stages in search of a redress, that, however ardently hoped for, is never likely to be attained!

These are but a few of the evil consequences of countries being governed by laws made at a distance, and by rulers made responsible, not to the public opinion of the people over which they

reign, but to the voice of a community in which their motives and actions can never be fairly appreciated, where they are altogether unknown, and where neither their virtues nor their vices can excite praise or censure, because none among that community are favourably or unfavourably affected by the one or the other. We say, these are only a *few* of the evils; because a volume might easily be filled with an enumeration of others:—but the mind of the intelligent reader will readily suggest them. Our desire is to see these evils remedied; and we are satisfied that the mode of gradually effecting this, by making all men responsible to the public opinion of the community in which they live, is not only practicable, but unerringly safe and efficacious.

We are as sincere as we are warm in our admiration of the system of confining the legislation of all countries to the countries themselves, and making the people, as much as possible, the source of all power: we are, in fact, advocates, from conviction, of pure representative governments, emanating entirely from the people, and made responsible for the exercise of all trust to those from whom they receive it. To this state, we believe that not only India, but all the countries of the earth, will at last come: and our conviction of this rests on the same basis, as our belief in the progressive establishment of every other science on its highest and most perfect eminence.

We see around us every department of knowledge advancing with rapid strides towards perfection. Chemistry, scarcely known a century since, is now becoming familiar to the humblest of mankind. Political Economy, but lately confined to the manuscripts of the studious and the unread volumes of philosophers who appeared on the earth before the world was ready to receive them, is now taught in public lectures, and understood by "the multitude," though it is still "a sealed book" to many of our nobles and pillars of the state, who have remained stationary, while all the rest of mankind have been advancing in their career. Why, then, should we despair of seeing the science of Government and Legislation brought to the same perfection, and equally well understood by all? Though ranking first in importance to the happiness of man, as giving birth to most of those institutions on which his enjoyments and privations are made chiefly to depend, it has been the last to be taught and understood; and there are consequently more delusions to be dispelled in this branch of human knowlege, than in any other that can be named. The reason is obvious:—the "educated classes," as the rich are generally called, are themselves as ignorant as the "uneducated" on this important subject; and while a hundred institutions are scattered through the kingdom, for teaching every *other* thing desirable to be known, the all-important science of Government and Legislation, by the right or wrong administration of which the happiness or

misery of the many is chiefly determined, is left untaught and unattained. In every other pursuit, except this, men have been allowed to make experiments, and lay up a large stock of information from their own discoveries. In discussions on public affairs they have been perpetually restrained; and this has been well remarked, by an acute observer, as a reason why such extreme ignorance does and still must prevail, till more enlarged limits are granted to the exercise of men's faculties in this respect.

"Politics, as a science," says this writer, "having very seldom been permitted to men freely to study, and to publish the result of their researches in, proportionate advances have not been made in it with the advances made in most other sciences. Where truth has not been permitted freely to be published, in any given science, it would be folly to expect a people should have made great advances in it. This deficiency of knowledge is not to be attributed to any natural defect in individuals, or to any superior difficulty in the subject: the established system of education (in England) affords no instruction on the matters in question. Neither the children of the lower, nor of the higher orders, are instructed in these matters while at school, nor young men at the Universities. In the more advanced periods of life, the majority of persons are content to think they have nothing further to learn; and even for those, whose superior understandings urge them to the continued pursuit of knowledge, there are but few sources of information generally known and of established repute, for the matters in question."*

That the Universities, which are professedly intended for the education of our Legislators and their children, should, even up to the present day, be entirely deficient in the means of teaching the only science which it is important for statesmen to know—we mean the science of Government,—is an absurdity not easy to be paralleled. But that it should not be taught in every school in the kingdom, ought equally to excite astonishment. There is only one dignity, and one occupation, to which every man in England may aspire, and to which every man, however humble his origin, however slender his talents, however limited his means, may hope to arrive:—it is that of taking some part in conducting the business of government, from acting as the administrator of the existing laws, in the capacity of a juryman, or an officer of court, to sitting in the parliament of his country, and becoming a repealer of old and a framer of new laws, for others to carry into execu-

* A Treatise on the Offence of Libel, with a Disquisition on the right, benefits, and proper boundaries of Political Discussion. By John George, of the Middle Temple, Special Pleader. 8vo. London, published by Taylor and Hessey, 1812. We have given the title at length, to direct the attention of our Indian readers to the excellent treatise, from which we may probably draw largely on some future occasion.

tion. Every man cannot aspire to be a naval or military commander,—or to take the lead in the learned and liberal professions, as a physician, a bishop, or a judge: but every man may become a Legislator, be his profession in life what it may—sailor, soldier, doctor, lawyer, merchant, and even mechanic:—yet, the science of Legislation, which *all* should know, is not taught to any class, whether high or low, in our Universities or our schools!* Is it then to be wondered at, that a subject, on which no labour is bestowed, should be so imperfectly understood?

The reproach with respect to the absence of all sources of information on these subjects, of known and established repute, has, however, though but of late years, begun to be wiped away. The invaluable labours of the profound and philosophic Bentham, the masterly treatises in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, understood to be from the powerful pen of Mr. Mill, the historian of British India, contain more of sound knowledge on the science of Government, than is to be met with in the books of all the philosophers that ever preceded them. The works of the former are a rich mine of intellectual treasure, which the industry of posterity will turn to better account than the present generation. Mr. Bentham is, indeed, one of those rare beings who appear but seldom on the stage of life, and have to encounter an array of prejudices against them, because they live in an age not yet far enough advanced in the knowledge of the particular sciences taught by them, to appreciate their worth. "Ordinary minds," says the writer from whom we have quoted before, "may comprehend matters less obvious; and capacities one degree larger may take in matters which may be deemed intricate; and so on, till we arrive at the highest standard of minds which are commonly found in the earth: for now and then it happens that God gives the world a man of a sagacity superior to all his contemporaries; of a sagacity which can penetrate far beyond all others into the deeper recesses of knowledge." Newton, Bacon, and Locke, are acknowledged by all to have been of this order. Shakespeare and Milton are so considered by others; and we doubt not that when the lapse of time shall have softened down the hostility to which all living writers who oppose existing errors, must be subject, the names of Bentham, Mill, and Ricardo will be enrolled among the number of the illustrious dead.

To the minds of such men as these, maxims that will be regarded as truisms in another century, but which are quite incomprehensible to the mass of the present generation, appear in all the force

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* We must make one exception. In the excellent school of Mr. Hill, at Hazelwood, near Birmingham, not only is the theory of Legislation and Government taught; but the students have the best possible opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with all the merits and defects of the existing system, by seeing it in practice among themselves.

of the clearest conviction. The institutions favourable to freedom, and the privileges which should be enjoyed by the subjects of all well-governed states, the mention of which fills the minds of ordinary men with terror and alarm, appear to them, as they will appear to our posterity, as clearly as the sun in the firmament, and cause them to marvel at our ignorance, as we do now at the *wisdom* of our ancestors. In temporal as well as spiritual matters, the multitude behold things "as through a glass darkly," and, like men of defective vision, they doubt and even dispute the nature and existence of what they cannot perceive or comprehend, merely because their intellectual organs are less powerful than those of the "shining lights," whom they can decry, though they cannot pierce the veil by which their superior knowledge is shrouded from their weak and erring sight.

To the great mass of the British community, it will, for these reasons, no doubt still appear,—that India is a well-governed country—that it would be dangerous to introduce knowledge or permit discussion on political questions among its people—that its rulers ought not to be responsible to public opinion there—but that, though England is many thousand miles distant, and the utmost indifference prevails throughout all classes of its inhabitants, as to the good or evil that is happening in their remote possessions, yet that a responsibility to public opinion in this country is quite sufficient to operate as a check on the misconduct of rulers in that. It will appear of no importance in their estimation, that owing to the absence of all public discussion there, we cannot even get at a knowledge of the facts of such misdeeds, except through the information of the parties exercising the power, and consequently interested in practising deception; nor will it weigh a feather with them to know that even could we get the facts, public opinion will not be pronounced upon them here, where no class is sufficiently interested in the matter to command the sympathies of the rest. It is enough that the system is considered, by the *few* who profit by its defects, to "work well,"—though it entails misery and suffering without end on the *many*. It is enough that it *has been;* and this is the strongest argument that such minds can comprehend as a reason why it should still continue *to be*. It is of no consequence that ignorance, and suffering, and crime, have desolated the fairest portions of the Eastern world, and keep even the still inhabited portions in the lowest stage of civilization—things have prospered (as they contend) under all these circumstances, and therefore they are still to remain unaltered. If the justice of this decision be admitted, then human sacrifices, murder, incest, rapine, violence, perjury, cruelty and oppression, might still be suffered to continue *ad infinitum*, under the "countenance and protection" of British power, and British influence, rather than disturb the self-love, and humble the vain pretensions, of some

half-dozen Secretaries, a Governor General, and (oh! more monstrous than all) a British Judge upon the bench, who might take it upon themselves to violate the laws, by regulations framed to keep millions in ignorance, merely to secure to themselves the privilege of acting as they please with impunity, and shielding themselves from that public scrutiny, to which all innocent and honourable men ought to be, and indeed always are, proud to submit.

We have portrayed the evil. Let us look around us for the source from which we may at least hope for good. India is now in a more deplorable state, as it regards the enjoyment of intellectual freedom, than she has ever been since the British flag waved in dominion over her distant hills and plains. We have absolutely retrograded, as far as the existence of securities for good government is a criterion of advance or retreat. We found the country in the possession of a people among whom the utmost freedom of speech and writing on the conduct of their rulers prevailed.* We permitted a Free Press among the earliest English settlers, and in the most dangerous times. As our dominion extended, and our power became more consolidated and secured, the despotism of Lord Wellesley imposed a censorship on the Press. A few years afterwards, when our conquests were spread over a still wider range of territory, and no power disputed our supremacy, this censorship (under which some freedom was occasionally enjoyed) gave place, under Lord Hastings, to other restrictions, forbidding any strictures on the public acts of public men connected with the Government at home or abroad, and threatening banishment for any breach of them. An acting Governor General, and an acting Chief Justice, Mr. Adam and Sir Francis Macnaghten, next completed the degradation of the Press, by passing, during their brief and temporary authority, a licensing law more odious than the strictest censorship that ever existed, and fitter for the Inquisition, or the Sublime Porte of the Turks, than for a British settlement; and Lord Amherst has given the final death-blow to even the faint expectation of improvement that was left, by actually suppressing and putting down entirely the only Journal that dared to contend for the rights of Englishmen at the hazard of every thing its projector and conductor had at stake in the world.

Where then is our hope? We have none in the laws of this country: for these require impossibilities as to evidence of motive, and the fortunes of plundered provinces to boot, before any pro-

* "I scruple not to affirm, that the regions over which we rule, down to the arrival of the Europeans in the East, enjoyed a freedom as extensive as any part of Europe, before the invention of the press; for on the only means of circulating knowledge without type, on *written* books, there was no restriction." See the eloquent speech of Mr. Stavely on the press of India—*Oriental Herald*, vol. I. App. p. xii.

gress can be made towards obtaining redress. We have but little in the King and his Council: because they may put off appeals, till the resources and the life of the injured appellant are both exhausted, in the protracted anxiety and suspense of that "Hope deferred," which "maketh the heart sick." We have still less in the Senate of the land: for those who have shown themselves the most decided enemies of the Press in India, being either Noblemen, or Whigs by political connexion, are likely to be screened by the Aristocracy as a part of themselves, and by some of the Opposition as branches of their body; while the Ministerial party will no doubt take especial care to defend them and their measures as part of themselves. We have still less hope of sympathy or relief from the Proprietors of India Stock; for to them the good government of India is a matter of greater indifference than to any other class of the community: they know not, neither do they care about, the past state, the present condition, or the future prospects of the people from whose labours they derive their wealth: they buy stock for its dividend, and if this be paid, the Government under which it is secure is the best of all possible Governments in their estimation. Last and least of all do we expect a ray of hope from the Directors, who though many of them, individually, amiable and honourable men, are, collectively, interested in opposing every thing that can, in their estimation, disturb the existing order of things, or bring delinquencies, of any description, to public notice, or to public execration.*

Where then, the reader will ask again, is our source of hope? We answer, it is in the growing intelligence of the people of England; the rapid spread of sound principles in political economy; and the dawn of a brighter era in the knowledge of those of legislation. With these, silently but gradually preparing the minds of men for the reception of truth, and disposing them to apply those principles not only to their estimate of public affairs at home, but to the conduct of Governments abroad, much may be expected to be accomplished; and if to these be added a patient but unwearied perseverance on our own part, to bring continually before their eyes the subjects which especially deserve their attention, as connected with the government of our distant possessions in the Eastern and Western world, we may succeed in effecting such a revolution in the prevailing opinions in England, on the best

* "To connivance at delinquency in India, the Directors may be supposed to be led by three sorts of motives:—1. Inasmuch as they may have been delinquents themselves. 2. Inasmuch as they may send out sons and other relatives, who may profit by delinquency. 3. Inasmuch as delinquents may be proprietors of India stock, and hence exert an influence on the minds of Directors. East India delinquents may also operate on the minds of ministers through parliamentary influence; and the latter, it is believed, will certainly appear to be, out of all comparison, the stronger and more dangerous operation of the two."—*Mill's Hist. of British India*, vol. IV. p. 496, 497. 8vo.

policy to be pursued towards our Colonies, as can alone make these dependencies what they ought to be—advantageous to us, while they remain dependencies, and still more so when the time shall come (as come it must,) for their separation from the parent state, and ultimate admission among the ranks of independent nations.

This consummation can neither be prevented, nor even delayed, but by opposing the progress of that improvement which we all profess a desire to forward and promote: and if it be our duty, as men, to assist in making others as wise and as happy as ourselves, fulfilling, in short, the first maxim of our religion, by doing to others as we would they should do unto us, we ought to enlighten the ignorant; the necessary result of which must be, that they will emancipate themselves. It is in vain to hope that schools can be established in the East, and idolatry, ignorance, and patient submission to arbitrary rule still maintain their ground there. It is in vain to try the experiment of preaching the gospel in the West, and still hope to keep the multitude there as contented with slavery as before. The two things are incompatible. The clause in the East India Company's charter, which establishes it as the duty of this country to introduce among the inhabitants of her Indian empire useful knowledge and improvement,* must be expunged from the statute-book, if the British Government desire to see India always remain in its present state. The various acts and professions of ministers, by which they encourage the moral and religious instruction of the negroes of our plantations, must be all forfeited and given up, if they hope to retain our islands for ever in the state of degraded servitude, to which their black population has for so many ages been cruelly subjected. If knowledge be suffered to grow up among them, they will inevitably discover that "knowledge is power;" and they will use the discovery to effect their own deliverance. If all attempts at improvement of their condition be repressed, they will, sooner or later, from mere impatience of suffering, relieve themselves by the resistance of numbers and force. So that, on either hand, their ultimate separation from the mother country may be predicted with as much certainty as any event that marks the progress of man from infancy to old age.

Under these circumstances, it behoves us to consider, what are the best means of rendering India and the Colonies productive of the greatest advantages to us, while they remain subject to our rule; and by what means we can most effectually ensure the con-

* "It is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India: and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and of moral improvement; and in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs."—53 Geo. III. c. 155, s. 33.

tinuance, and perhaps the increase, of these advantages, when they shall become independent of our control. These will, probably, form topics for future consideration. For the present we content ourselves with having endeavoured to show—

1st. That indifference to Indian and Colonial interests is to be accounted for by the distance of the countries, and the general ignorance respecting them which prevails.

2ndly. That therefore the greatest necessity exists for the establishment of some control on the acts of men in power there, by the exercise of public opinion on the spot in which the transactions of the government originate, and on which they are productive of their good or evil effects.

The remedies we propose to introduce, or to recommend, as far as our exertions can promote the ends they are calculated to accomplish, are the following :—

1st. To bring the passing events of these distant countries nearer and nearer to the observation of those whose interest and whose sympathies we desire to enlist in the cause of their improvement; so that some faithful pictures of East and West Indian life may be made to pass continually before them, till their information is more accurate and extensive, and their feelings more alive to the happiness or misery of countries and people that have now no place in their affections or their thoughts.

2ndly. As the press is entirely silenced in the one hemisphere, except to praise whatever may emanate from men in power; and even in the other is not free to comment fearlessly on the existing system of misrule by which the people are held in bondage; and as the expression of public opinion cannot, therefore, effectually be commanded in either :—to give the inhabitants of each an opportunity of stating, from time to time, the facts of misgovernment that dare not be told elsewhere, and of pronouncing their honest opinions on the characters and measures of their rulers.

By a perseverance in this course, we may hope to make the people of England better acquainted with the condition of their fellow-countrymen and fellow-subjects abroad; and convey to these, the sentiments of men at home on the system of arbitrary rule under which they are doomed to live. We may give the rulers themselves also an opportunity of knowing what is really thought of their measures among those by whom they are surrounded; and show them how hollow and empty is the homage which they receive from men who dare not venture even to hint disapprobation. By this, some good may be effected; and though it will fall infinitely short of the benefits that would result from the existence of a free press and a controlling power of public opinion on the spot, yet it is perhaps the best and only succedaneum that could be found.

The time is fast approaching, when the dominion of the East India Company will be at an end. The intelligence of the age is already sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of political economy, to be satisfied that exclusive monopolies, whether of trade or government, are contrary to the interests of the many, and ought not to be endured. Before the expiration of their charter, an equal advance in the knowledge of legislation and government, will convince thousands, to whom the maxim seems now but as a vague and ill understood paradox of what is contemptuously called "mere theory," that the good of that *many* is the only legitimate end of all governments, and that none should thenceforth be tolerated upon the earth, which does not make the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" its constant rule of action.

When these principles are well and generally understood, (and this will as certainly take place, as further advances in the discovery of mechanical and chemical truths) all that will be wanting for the formation of correct opinions, will be accurate information as to the existing state of the countries to which these opinions will be applied, in search of remedies for present evils and securities for future good. This it will be our duty, as far as it is practicable, to promote; and although most of the public sources of information are effectually closed by the late suppression of Native and English Papers in the East, yet, we have still an abundant and continued stream of intelligence, on which we can safely rely, pouring in materials for discussion and comment by every ship that approaches our shores from the different quarters of the Asiatic world.

It would be easy, indeed, to fill a much larger volume than our own with purely East Indian matters every week, instead of every month. But though we could not easily set bounds to our zeal, there are limits beyond which, neither the time, the attention, nor the means, of our readers can be taxed with advantage. Even among those, for whom subjects purely Asiatic have the most powerful charm, and who look to our pages for information on such topics exclusively, there would be an impossibility of their reading all we *could* present them on these subjects alone: so that selection, arrangement, and condensation, are necessary to ensure even *their* attention. If our object in the establishment and continuation of this Work, were merely the gratification of this class, and the consequent pecuniary advantage which its sale among Indian readers would produce, we might rest satisfied with very slender exertions, and make our Book a mere compilation from the Indian Papers, without taking the trouble to interest a single being in the fate of the countries to which our labours relate. But we are proud to feel, and to avow, that we have far higher, and we hope more laudable views: we desire to interest as many other classes of the British public as we can, and particularly the

wealthy and influential classes, in the welfare of our East and West Indian possessions; and to secure this, we must win them by other inducements than those of severe research into unpopular and uninviting subjects. We may repeat what has been said on a former occasion, "to make a work like this extensively useful, it must be widely circulated; to ensure this it must be rendered attractive; and to point its attractions to minds of various complexions, it must contain what is new, agreeable, and entertaining, as well as what is pre-eminently useful." We have kept this constantly before us, and are pleased to find that the most intelligent of our readers cordially approve the plan we have pursued.

It is thus, that while endeavouring to draw the attention of the British public to the state of their possessions in the East and the West, and discussing the graver questions of policy and government in either hemisphere, we have been anxious so to mingle the agreeable with the instructive, as to invite even those who read merely for entertainment, to look into our pages. We consider this union of the pleasing with the useful so essential to the general estimation in which a Periodical Journal must be held, before it can produce any powerful or lasting effect, even on the topics which it especially professes to discuss, that we shall never make our own *exclusively* Oriental or Colonial, though nothing of importance that can promote or illustrate these branches of inquiry will be omitted. We shall endeavour to do ample justice to these, and still find room for lighter and more general subjects to relieve the attention, and give an agreeable variety to our pages. Our distant readers, in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, will, we know, be happy to receive these occasional reliefs from matters having less of novelty to recommend them; and we should hope that even the old retired East and West Indians at home, will readily yield up a portion of what they may consider their exclusive claims, to those, who, having no immediate personal interest in the affairs of either of the Indies, cannot be brought to look into works exclusively treating of these only; but who are, nevertheless, disposed to give an occasional glance at what is passing in distant quarters, and bestow even a momentary attention on the consideration of graver questions, arising out of our Indian and Colonial Policy, provided they can be at the same time repaid for their search in some respects when disappointed in others.

This explanation is deemed necessary, to satisfy the inquiries of many excellent friends of our Publication, as to the varied nature of the Numbers already issued; and is equally important to others, as an indication of the course that will be pursued in future. We entered on our career with the assurance that we should endeavour at least to afford gratification to all classes of readers interested in the improvement of mankind; and we continue in the confident hope that this end will be attained.

L'ESPERANCE.

I.

Salut! ô divine Espérance!
Toi dont le charme seducteur
Donne une aîle à la jouissance,
Ote une épine à la douleur;
Quand sur son sein l'homme repose,
Ah! qu'il goûte un doux abandon!
Si le Plaisir est une rose,
L'Espérance en est le bouton.

II.

Ton ancre soutient la nacelle
Du malheureux, battue des vents;
Toi seule lui restes fidelle
Quand ses amis sont inconstants:
Malgré les verroux effroyables,
Dans un cachot tu suis nos pas;
Si les enfers sont redoutables,
C'est que tu n'y pénétres pas.

III.

Des amours charmante nourrice,
Que seroient-ils sans ton secours?
Ce sont tes soins, ton lait propice,
Qui les font croître tous les jours;—
En vain, après bien des traverses,
Ils sont au comble de leur vœux;
Sur tes genoux quand tu les berces,
Ils sont souvent bien plus heureux.

IV.

Je te vois repousser dans l'ombre
Et les craintes et les regrets,
Et sur l'avenir le plus sombre
Jeter un voile plein d'attraits:—
Quand par les maux l'âme epuisée
Touche à l'heure où tout n'est plus rien,
Au loin tu montres l'Elysée,
Et la mort nous paroit un bien.

ON HOPE.

I.

Hail! Hope, fair daughter of the skies!
The charm of whose seductive reign
Gives wings to pleasure as it flies,
And plucks away the thorn from pain:
Lulled on thy bosom to repose,
How sweetly sleep our mortal cares!
And oh! if Pleasure be a rose,
Hope is the sweetest bud it bears.

II.

Man's shatter'd bark thine anchor stays
Till the rude storm has o'er him blown,
And thy bright star still lends its rays
When fortune, friends, and all are flown:
Tho' frightful darkness gathers round,
Thy light the wanderer's path can cheer;
Nor would hell's self a hell be found,
But that thou never enterest there.

III.

Of love the tenderest nurse confest,
To thee the infant passion clings,
And, fed at thy propitious breast
With life's invigorating springs,
It finds at length, when quitting thee
Possession's warmest vow to meet,
Fondled on thy maternal knee
Its bliss was often more complete.

IV.

O! Hope, 'tis thine o'er present ill
Thy magic ray of light to pour,
And the dark future brighten still
With pictured scenes of joy in store;
E'en when the soul exhausted yields,
In that last hour when life must cease,
The dream of thine Elysian fields
Makes death itself a pledge of peace.

HUMOUR, AND GRAVITY.

It is the fault of readers that authors sometimes render themselves despicable by their levity, for they still require a seasoning of humour in every thing. But there are subjects that will not receive it, which, nevertheless, are well worthy of attention. Humour, in fact, is hostile to true eloquence, which is nothing if it be not impassioned. For when the springs of the heart are broken up, and flowing into the main current of the understanding—when life, and society, and nature, seem nothing but as they are molten into the stream of passion, what has the quaint face of humour to do in the picture? By the side of passion it looks like the dwarfs who, in the old romances, travel in the company of giants. But there are compositions of which it is the pervading spirit; such as are those we take up to while away the intervals of business or study. Here it is at home; here it may strut and bluster about, like a jolly host, and see to the entertainment of the guests. True humour, like a good landlord, should have a kind of ubiquity. In every composition in which it is admissible, it should be the groundwork, the woof, appearing across every thread of the texture, and visible through every superinduced ornament. This circumstance alone would distinguish it from wit, which should come in flashes like lightning, and be gone as rapidly. The one is a continuous, the other a momentary feeling. While reading a humorous work, the face wears continually a kind of suppressed smile, easily relaxing into laughter; a witty one induces a succession of cloud and sunshine, and is productive of a higher, though less sustained, pleasure. Moliere is the most witty writer I know; but there is no one that deserves the title of most humorous.

In that light and fugitive prose, that is the happy medium through which many ordinary writers convey their ideas to their readers, humour might well take place of that unbecoming pomp so assiduously cultivated, and so disproportioned to their conceptions. When the mind is full, nay, overflowing with its own richness, it may be allowed to pour forth its exuberance, *ore rotundo;* but when it has only a few tiny arrows to shoot away, it were folly to borrow the bow of Hercules:—therefore, should an easy and modest style be adopted by all the *rank and file* gentlemen of the republic of letters.

It is of course inadequate to the expression of great ideas, to the unfolding of new principles, and incongruous to the passionate pursuit of truth. Gravity, with sparing figure, and solemn march, is the natural matrix for the ripening and bringing forth of lofty speculations. To throw the gaudy mantle of fashionable eloquence over them, would be to deck the Crotonian wrestler in gauze and ribands. Lord Bacon's language, grave and sententious, is as

much the production of lofty wisdom as his ideas, and approaches nearer to the expressive brevity of Tacitus, than that of any other modern writer. It is earnest, severe, and yet glowing with the grandest metaphor: it is the most exalted writing in the English language. But such a style is not to be imitated by a man of less genius than himself; and an equal magnitude of mind would always give birth to equal dignity and richness of expression. For to one who was perpetually following the track of nature, through all her heights and depths, and making the experiment as it were, of how far the human soul could keep pace with her movements, language must have been a lever of immense power, to lift about and support the weight of his speculations. He had no occasion to seek for ornament, it was enough if he could find expressions adequate to the force of his ideas.

But how would a man after Bacon's own heart be received now? Would his sententious wisdom be listened to? It would, by as many as truly value Bacon; but it would not be popular. He is not popular himself, and no wonder: for, to follow him through all his route, it would be necessary to possess a preliminary knowledge, which very few can attain; and to take up with him for part of the way without that knowledge, would be impossible, you would part with him again before you understood his method.

I have often depictured Wisdom to myself, as an immense forest, situated a little out of the road of life; and writers as so many woodmen, who undertake to furnish mankind with their necessary fuel. Some when they get to this wood, go to work seriously, with hatchet and rope, and do not return until their burden be nearly as large as they can bear; but others, as soon as they reach it, snatch up a rotten stick or so, and hasten back, lest they should lose the credit of having purveyed for the fires of the public. The latter by going often keep up a show of business, and entice numerous customers; whereas, when the former return, their load is frequently too great for any single buyer, and they are allowed to keep it for themselves, and make the best they can of it. These men had need be grave, unless, indeed, they become witty upon their own mistake, and take to picking their burden to pieces for the convenience of sale. But gravity has been treated as a mask, behind which folly is supposed to have mocked at mankind. This may have sometimes been the case; but folly is seldom mistress of so much forbearance, as is implied by the act of hiding her beauty. She generally, to do her justice, loves to show her own features, whatever to the contrary may have been said to her disparagement.

Gravity is not the sourness of a monk, but the earnest thoughtfulness of a legislator, and in reality has never been allied to shallowness or imposture. It is as different from the frozen com-

posure of a quack, as is the calm surface of the ocean, still moved by tides and currents, from the stagnation of a summer pool. It is the habit of face and mind of those who deal in weighty and massive thought—they have much on board, and cannot dare the shallows like an unloaded skiff. Minds of great depth and solidity have never been remarkable for natural humour, and seldom for wit; the former requiring a slight contortion of mind, and the latter a facility of turning round to catch the glances of a meteor,—both which are incompatible with their nature. Humour, united commonly with shrewdness of observation, has a natural repugnance to intense speculation. It would always feel itself at ease, and be able to observe its own movements, and the effects of them. The man of humour grows more humorous from perceiving the effects of his character upon mankind; and a man who naturally has none at all, may acquire it by being attentive to its sources and mode of operation. There is a certain ingenuity of thought, for which, perhaps, we have no name, exceedingly resembling humour, but still possessing a difference, which is observable in writers of the highest kind. It is conversant about ordinary ideas, conferring on them a kind of importance very different from bombast. I recollect one instance of it in Plato's Dialogues.

" Alcibiades. I consent to answer your questions. For no harm, *I think*, will come to me that way.

" Socrates. *You think as if you had the spirit of divination!*"

This seems to be neither wit nor humour, but something superior to them both. It is the carrying on of an idea out of the common highway, and placing it in the cell of a temple. It may, perhaps, differ from the humorous only by being more subtle and refined; but the degree justifies its exclusion from that class of things. It is a kind of purified fire which plays about the horizon of wit, but is visible only to a few. This is not incompatible with gravity, because it is rare, gentle, and seemingly accidental. The mind gives into it unconsciously, and is warmed and enlivened, and made sensible of pleasure, without being seduced from its track, or called to look aside upon the tricks of an intellectual mountebank.

It is as difficult, however, to be an ascetic in the use of wit, when one possesses the power, as in that of figures and elaborated fancies. Men commonly go into the regions of imagination, as children do into a flower-garden, resolved to deck their discourses with as many metaphors as possible; not being aware that self-denial is in this affair, as in virtue, the true foundation of greatness. Gravity implies this self-denial, and is the highest possible compliment to the judgment of the reader; as it supposes him capable of following the natural march of the understanding through

a path which cannot always be strowed with flowers, but must sometimes be pursued over the cold and rugged heights of truth. I have met with critics little mindful, it would seem, of the spirit of the great writers of antiquity, who imagined their abstemiousness in this respect to flow from poverty of fancy; and therefore concluded that the writers of Greece and Rome, in whom it was a kind of ruling principle, were destitute of what we understand by the word *genius*. But it does not follow that the richest soil must be covered by the thickest foliage, or that the rude tree of the forest should yield to the pretty shrub in the nursery. If cultivation be anything, it is as much the art of clearing away the exuberances of nature, of repressing her endeavour to shoot up into useless beauty, as it is that of appropriating to each soil the things it is capable of bringing to perfection. The Greeks seem to have been possessed of this art; and it savours something of presumption in a critic of the nineteenth century to speak so contemptuously of a people who reckoned among themselves an Aristotle, a Dionysius, and a Longinus. But it is really inconsistent with genius to evaporate in trope and figure;—it lays hold of images when, like a speculum, they can reflect its ideas out upon mankind with greater lustre than a plain statement, but never suffers them to grow up into a second surface over its meaning. Words even the most closely connected with ideas are inadequate to represent them fully, and are apt to cloud and distract the meaning in spite of all endeavours to the contrary; but to introduce a new language of metaphor, would be to draw another curtain over a thing you were obliged to contemplate, and could hardly perceive, through one. You may occasionally stand in the shadow, as it were, of a metaphor, and see more clearly than you could in the open glare of a bare surface; but who is not sensible that to multiply shadow must be to obscure the view? The Greeks were not ignorant of this, and therefore, unless by a simile they could add beauty at once, and clearness to their expressions, they severely rejected it. The ancients laid it down as a rule that nothing could be illustrated by anything more obscure, or less known, than itself. We are not so fastidious; and one of our greatest poets has, in a very beautiful passage, attempted to illustrate an universal thing by comparing it with one very little known. I allude to the likening of the dying away of an Italian sunset to the changing hues of a dolphin expiring. In reality, it is the fading of the evening light which illustrates, in this instance, and makes known the thing meant to bring it nearer to our conceptions. For few have marked or seen the fleeting colours of that beautiful fish when dying; but the delightful lapses of light through the darkening west have not escaped any eye. This simile, then, adds beauty and splendour to the language, and by the bringing together of things so unconnected, communicates admiration and pleasure to

the mind; but no additional clearness is derived to the original ideas from its introduction, but rather obscurity.

But although excessive imagery, and allusion, and comparison, detract something from the character of gravity, as implying too much endeavour to be striking, still there is nothing in them incongruous to its nature. The excess may arise from over richness of fancy, and may be subdued by time, or worn into proportion and harmony by the operation of reflection. But should something of it still remain, and survive the hand of correction and time, it would yet be no more than the triumph of wild nature over the principles of art, and would not militate against the utmost gravity of mind. Many of the common writers of our age, imagine that to be serious is to be dull; and dismissing, in consequence, every propensity to it from the moment they take up the pen of authorship, they pursue a kind of phantom of the Rabelais vein, until it leads them neck-deep into absurdity. The truth, that whatever be our end we cannot all reach it by the same path, seems lost upon them: they would all be light, gay, and graceful in their style, be the subject of their discussion what it may. There is no quarter given to serious and passionate inquiry; nor is there any thing for which we can consent to hush the spirits to quiet: we must laugh—we must be tickled—we must be wafted about in the car of humorous fancy—or we are undone. A serious style is like a quaker's hat in a drawing-room—the butt of every witling's jest. Even men of talent give currency to this mintage, by bending before the mode. What then can a writer of earnest feeling expect to gain? Will he turn his vigorous fancy, as our ancestors did their trees, into apes and lions, to divert or terrify the vulgar? Will he shrink his dimensions, like the Genius in the Arabian Nights, till he be small enough to enter the box of tea-table criticism? He will prefer awaiting, unthumbed by greasy students, the fulness of time spoken of by Swift, to undergo purification, and ascend the sky.

True humour and wit are always valuable, but they are as stubborn as gravity, and not more conforming to the mode. Those who possess little of either, endeavour to make up by pliability what they want in power; and if they cannot be the dictators, will be the parasites of the public. An excellent writer of the present day, remarkable for true wit and agreeable fancies, in speaking of the genius of Hogarth, has ventured a very questionable doctrine, which has been made use of by his lucky contemporaries. He tells us, that a work should be estimated by the *quantity* of thought required to produce it; and that, therefore, Hogarth may be deemed (if it shall be found that his works contain *as much thought*) as great a genius as Raffaelle or Michael Angelo. But this was said *pro tempore* to suit the occasion, and was never meant to be strictly believed. For the writer must have known

that it is the *quality* of thought which determines its rank; that a square mile of common, is not worth a square mile of rich arable or pasture land—that thought is valuable only when productive of great results—that a man may in reality waste all the vigour of his mind in thinking on a subject which is not fertile in one useful or noble truth. Helvetius tells us of an honest French author, who spent twenty years' study in composing a Treatise on the Nightingale. His own work on the Mind, by which he will be known to posterity, was not, perhaps, the production of a *greater quantity* of thought—but how different the results! It appears, in fact, that thought is noble or worthless, great or contemptible, as it is directed to sublime and useful, or mean and petty ends.

Many who hold this pleasing doctrine, respecting the quantity of thought, are doubtless to be ranked with the author of the Treatise on the Nightingale.—But is it not unfortunate that a writer of undoubted excellence should thus contribute to the propagation of a pernicious error? That he should persuade those who, perhaps justly, look upon him as their oracle, that provided they think a good deal, it is no matter upon what? Every thing which looks towards this conclusion, should be considered by a writer as heretical, and destructive of the commonwealth of letters. Carried into morals, it would, in reality, be subversive of political states; for were citizens persuaded that virtue was measured by the *quantity of action*, how long would any polity continue? Thus it is that *Respice finem*, may be accounted a divine maxim, for half the errors of the world are occasioned by the neglect of it.

But the worst effect of the heartless levity spoken of above, is its being destructive of the passion of study. For when the mind comes to regard every thing as a fit subject for trifling upon, or erects trifles by nature into important objects of study, we may be sure it will not regard any intellectual attainment as a thing to awaken the ardour of passion, or will soon be thrown back in its ascent by the frivolity of its object. Earnestness is the only thing that can preserve the elasticity of the mind throughout its pursuit of knowledge, and that can only be maintained by allowing the object of our wishes to preserve the gravity and dignity of its port. We shall then be persuaded that we do not fly after a phantom—that there is worthy occasion for effort—that to persevere is to succeed—and that if once we can lay hold of the skirts of knowledge, the remaining part of our journey will be rendered easy by the force with which she will thenceforth hurry us along. A strong leaning towards humour will be sure to retard our progress, by throwing ridicule, and an aptitude to take things by the wrong handle, in our way. For, while we pause to amuse ourselves with these, the main object is moving fast away, and distancing us by fearful strides. In knowledge, as in the things of this life, the agreeable should always be thrust aside when it stands in our way

to the useful. Nor should the latter be shunned because ridicule may give it the name of common-place,—the science of what is dignified, and useful, and beautiful, being always less common-place in reality than ridicule, and the tact of humorous levity. The public is not unjust in this respect; for though it sometimes joins the frivolous wit in a laugh at the awkward earnestness of science and genius, it preserves, nevertheless, its esteem for the latter, and suffers oblivion gradually to draw her mantle over the head of the other. BION.

TO LEILA.

(*From the Turkish.*)

Nay, cease to chide my wandering love,
Or deem that love unhallowed all,
Say not that I a traitor prove,
Nor thus my prowess folly call.

True, there are daughters of the West,
Fair as the snow its scenes unfold:
But what to me the snow-white breast,
If, like that snow, the heart be cold?

True, there are eyes of azure hue,
Which other climes have hymn'd, so soft;
But, as their sky, those eyes of blue
Can frown in hate, or change as oft.

True, there are lips that Love might see,
To banquet on the sweets they shed;
But, if they breathe no sweets for me,
I sigh not for those lips so red.

Then, come, my Leila! turn thine eye,
That large and languid orb of light;
What though its lid be deepen'd dye,
Beneath it live but glances bright.

What though thy cheek of Houri youth,
Be not as tintless lilies fair,
'Tis yet so more than soft, in sooth,
My lips could cling for ever there.

And thy young form of sylphic grace,
That floats in beauty o'er the view,
Oh! who the Irem scene would chase,
By one rash murmur at its hue?

C. J.

ORIENTAL TABLE TALK.

The Fables of Pilpay.

In what country the Apologue took its rise is altogether unknown; but there remain certain slight traces, discoverable through the glimpses of tradition, which induce us to place its earliest seat in Assyria or Persia. For the Jews, who were a people sprung from the Chaldaic root, together with various other relics of their original country, seem in all their wanderings to have carried about with them a strong predilection for fable and allegory. The most ancient fables, indeed, that have come down to us, are of Persian and Jewish composition; and although the Hebrew literature had its origin subsequent to the Egyptian captivity, and might be supposed to be no more than a copy of that which prevailed in the country of Isis, where learning and science had flourished from time immemorial, we are nevertheless inclined to believe that *fable* sprung from Iran. It must not be denied, however, that *allegory*, which is of the same family with *parable* and *apologue*, was supposed by antiquity to have had its birth upon the banks of the Nile,* and the general opinion became condensed into a proverb. But for many ages the Greeks were unacquainted with the Assyrian empire: Homer, says Strabo, knew nothing of it, nor of the power of the Medes; otherwise he who celebrated the Egyptian Thebes, would not have failed to speak of the magnificence of Babylon, of Ninus, of Ecbatana. Herodotus informs us also, that as late as the reign of Darius, the Lacedemonians did not know the distance of those royal cities from the sea. We must not, therefore, expect to discover among the Greeks any very distinct notion of the inventions or literature of those ancient empires; although certain obscure hints, and vague perceptions, seem to have reached them, of what these *barbarians* had thought and done. Cicero, indeed, laughed at the vast antiquity which the Chaldeans claimed for themselves; but it is plain that in this particular his wit was fed upon slender knowledge, and, like a hungry bird, pecked at the hand of the feeder, out of mere anger. The bearded Magian, however, in Hyde, has the hoar of antiquity upon his countenance—he looks, as you view him bending over the victim bull, in the mystic cavern of Mithra, a primitive being, coeval with the very sun he worshipped. His religion was all allegory, and symbol, and fable. It was the first spring which the human mind opened in the world of superstition, whence such vast streams have issued, and poured a deluge upon the earth. Magism has a dubious air about it, as if hesitating between truth and falsehood. It seems to have

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* Ἀλληγορεῖν οὕρημα τῶν Αἰγυπτιῶν.

begun with time; and to have come forward, the herald of eternity; but locking its commission in its bosom, it died without executing it. It is, nevertheless, in the caves of Mithra, that we are to seek the origin of all fable, religious and moral. There are various indirect testimonies which point to Babylon as the birthplace of all science and knowledge; and, among the rest, Vitruvius, while speaking of things appertaining to astronomy, constantly cites the Chaldeans, never mentioning the Egyptians.

Tradidit Ægyptis Babylon, Ægyptus Achivis;

was a common saying among the ancients.

But whoever were the first possessors of knowledge, the practice of concealing it from the vulgar seems to have obtained very early: hieroglyphics, parables, &c. were invented for this purpose, and served as cases in which the divine forms of the Muses were carried about unseen. What at first, however, was intended as an impediment, served afterwards to give force and permanence to the stream of knowledge; as a weak dam only collects the waters which in the end destroy it, and rush on with redoubled fury through their bed.

The Fables, whose title stands at the head of this article, were composed, we are told, for the sole instruction of an Indian king; and were meant to convey that instruction in a manner not calculated to give offence. To their author a vague tradition has given the name of *Pilpay* or *Bidpai;* "two names," says Mr. Charles Wilkins, "of which, as far as my inquiries have extended, the Brahmins of the present day are totally ignorant." * M. Galland, indeed, informs us that Pilpay is a *Persian word,* and means "*Elephant's Foot;*" a name applied, in derision, to a club-footed man. But it is useless to seek in Hindoo literature for any elucidation of the question concerning the name of the author, or the date of his production, "for," says Mr. Wilkins, "few Sanskrit books bear either the name of the real author, or the date of the year in which they were written." But Sir William Jones cuts the Gordian knot at once, by declaring that Veeshno-Sarma was the original author, and that Buzurjhumihr, physician, and afterwards vizier, to Nouschirvan, translated them into Persian in the sixth century. He then proceeds to call in question the existence of Esop, because the Arabs *believe him* to have been "an *Abyssinian;*" and concludes by informing us that he is not disinclined to suppose, that the first moral fables which appeared in Europe, were of Indian or Ethiopian origin.

Why Sir W. Jones should thus reduce honest Esop to a shadow, seems rather unaccountable; especially as he could not mean to deny that the Fables which go under his name are much more

* Preface to Translation of the Hitópadesa. 8vo. Bath, 1782.

ancient than the Hitópadésa of Veeshno-Sarma. The greatest antiquity which the learned Mr. Wilkins could attribute to the Hitópadésa did not exceed eleven hundred years; and as Herodotus mentions Esop, "the Writer of Fables," he must have been celebrated at least a thousand years before the time of Veeshno-Sarma.

But the truth is, that the Hitópadésa *is not* the original of Pilpay's Fables; and has scarcely any resemblance to it. The frame-work, which in Pilpay is so ingenious, in the Hitópadésa is awkward, and sometimes unnatural; and, although Sir William Jones entitles it "the most beautiful collection of Apologues in the world," the book is so obscene in many places, that it is incapable of translation. In Pilpay also, there is not the slightest trace of the *avatars*, or incarnations of the Hindoo gods, or of the Brahminical system in general, further than it might be noticed by a stranger: but in Veeshno-Sarma, there is not a page, and scarcely a sentence, in which we do not meet with an exposition of some point of Hindoo faith, or some familiar allusion to their mythology. The Fables of Pilpay, we are told, were composed for the instruction of a great king; those of Veeshno-Sarma were related to entice the two naughty sons of a certain Rajah into a love of learning.

Frazer, in his Catalogue of Oriental MSS. asserts that the former were compiled by the ancient Brahmins of India, and entitled, *Kurtuk Dumnik*, (in which some authors find a resemblance to Kalilah and Damnah;) and that Abul Fazel, secretary and vizier to the Great Mogul Gelaleddin Mohammed Akbar, illustrated its obscure passages, abridged its long digressions, put it in an easy and familiar style, and gave it the name of *Ayar Danish*, or "The Criterion of Wisdom."

Doctor Aikin ingeniously observes, that, although many authors pretend that Pilpay lived upwards of 2000 years before Christ, there are evident traces in the work of an origin much more modern; "and," he adds, "it is not improbable, but that it was the production of some ingenious *Persian*, who, to give it the greater credit, passed it upon the world as a relic of the ancient Indian philosophy."

Now this is precisely what we are inclined to believe; for, although we enter the inquiry by many mouths, like the Nile, they all lead to one current of tradition, which loses itself in darkness about the time of Nouschirvan. Beyond that epoch there is no proceeding. The fame of the book began, it is said, about his time to gain ground in the world; and as he was a prince who loved letters, and protected learned men, he not only conceived the desire of possessing a copy of it, but was likewise fortunate enough to find in his dominions, nay, in his court, a man possessing the necessary enterprise and learning, to procure and explain it to

him. This man was his physician Burzouiëh. He set forward on his laudable expedition, loaded with immense riches; and on arriving at the court of the *Dâbschelimat* at Soumenat, pretending to be engaged in traffic, and behaving in a very generous and polished manner, he so far won upon the Indians that they permitted him to copy these celebrated Fables; though they had always lain, up to that time, concealed in the library of their kings. The Baron de Sacy supposes that he made his translation upon the spot, and never brought any copy of the original into Persia; and, in order in some degree to soften the improbability of the whole story, imagines that he really might have had some commercial views in India, and only accidentally employed himself in purloining the Apologues. But he has no authority for either of these suppositions; and the Orientals, so far from wishing to sift away the marvellous from the relation, seem to respect it only inasmuch as it is improbable. They have no conception of our cold criticism, which is perpetually snapping at every appearance of a falsehood, and occasionally even at Truth herself, if she come in a suspicious form; but being fond of having the surface of their imaginations shaken by the blast of wonder, give way very passively to the gale, and are thankful for the emotion it causes.

Were these Fables the production of the remote antiquity which some Oriental scholars have believed them to be, it must be allowed to be somewhat singular that no copy should have found its way out of the intellectual Bastille of the Indian sovereigns, before the reign of Nouschirvan, in the sixth century; especially as we observe that from that time forward all civilized nations have displayed an eagerness to possess a translation of them. It would be paying too great a compliment to Nouschirvan to suppose that he was the only prince or great man in all the East possessed of sufficient curiosity to desire a sight of this famous book. It seems more natural, and likewise more consonant to history, to suppose that the book was written during his reign; and that the mission and translation of Burzouiëh are all a fiction. By this we should at once get rid of a number of absurd tales, that now cling to the history of the work; and might please ourselves with possessing a very splendid monument of the ancient genius of Persia. The steps by which it passed through the Arabic, modern Persian, and Turkish, into the European languages, might then be followed with pleasure, as we should be sure we were not pursuing the track of an *ignis fatuus* over uncertain and dubious paths.

The first translation which was made into any of the more western languages of Asia, according to Asseman, was the Syriac. He tells us it was made by a certain Boud or Buddas, a travelling or visiting Presbyter, who governed those Christians inhabiting the frontiers of Persia and India. "*He is said,*" observes Asseman, "to have understood the Indian language, from which he

translated the book called Kalilagh and Damnagh into the Syriac tongue." This Boud, he likewise informs us, lived in the times of the patriarch Ezechiel, about the year 510; "that is, in the reign of Nouschirvan," says M. de Sacy, "and precisely at that epoch in which should be placed, the mission of Burzouièh into India."

Now Burzouièh, according to M. Galland, was himself a Syrian, though living at the court of Persia, and he might have written his book in his own language, as well as in the Pehlavi. But the animals, who are the chief interlocutors in the fables, have Arabic names, *damnah*, signifying *to hate with a desire of vengeance*, and *kalilah*, *to crown or perfect*. These names, therefore, may have been imposed by Abdallah ben-Almokaffa, a *Persian* also, who, in the reign of the Khalif al Mansour, translated it from the Pehlavi into Arabic. He was originally a Magian, was converted late to Islamism, and was all his life suspected of being an atheist. Nevertheless, he was a very learned man, and translated from the Pehlavi many works on the ancient history of Persia, which are supposed to have considerably assisted Firdausi in the composition of the Shah Nameh. From Abdallah's translation, were made the Greek version of Simeon Seth, A. D. 1080; and the modern Persian version of Abou'lmaali Nasr-allah ben-Abdahamid, A. H. 510. John of Capua likewise translated it into Latin; and there is a Hebrew version, which is attributed to the Rabbin Joël.

Ali Tchelebi-ben Saleh translated it into the Turkish language, in the reign of Sultan Soliman, and employed twenty years in accomplishing his task. From this translation it was that MM. Galland and Cardonne made their version, published at Paris with the title of "Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et de Lockman."

D'Herbelot's account of the Kalilah and Damnah is at once meagre and contradictory. Under the title of *Djawidan Khired*, he attributes it to Houschenk, an ancient king of Persia; but the Djawidan Khired is a totally different work, if we may credit M. de Sacy. Still we perceive in this another proof that the book was suspected to have had its origin in Persia; and though D'Herbelot did not exercise much judgment in what little he has collected concerning this work, we may perceive that the genuine sources were few, and that there was none which could conduct him beyond the time of Nouschirvan.

In speaking of David Said, of Ispahaun, who translated a part of these fables into French, which was printed at Paris 1644, under the title of the "Book of Lights, or the Conduct of Kings," D'Herbelot contradicts the assertion of that author, that the first Arabic version had been made by order of al Mansour; but afterwards, in the article *Homaioun Nameh*, he himself tells us that it *was* done by that Khalif's order, and published under the title of

Kalilah and Damnah. A new edition of the "Bibliotheque Orientale" is wanting, in which some able oriental scholar should weed out these imperfections, and melt ten or twelve of its barren short articles into one connected and clear narration.

A dry enumeration of editions, however, or even of the recastings, if we may use the phrase, of this ancient statue, cannot be so entertaining to the reader as an account of the work itself; although it certainly be curious to pursue the path, as far as we can do so in light and safety, by which so singular a production found its way into Europe. There is a peculiar feeling that accompanies the perusal of a book of uncertain origin, especially if it has any pretension to high antiquity; for while our judgment may be able to fix upon the real station where it fell in with the march of time, and certainly determine that it could not have done so at an earlier portion of the journey; yet does our imagination rather side with the deception, because it has a perpetual reluctance to be confined within the pales of truth and possibility. Man is not naturally fond of abstract truth:—he may think he is, and seem to act as if he were; but where is the mind that is not prone to interweave something of its own creation with the bare and inartificial woof of verity? It is surprising how little truth there is in anything, and how poor and shivering a thing it looks, when by a fierce metaphysical alchymy we have melted away the bulky and baser ores which enwrapped it, as it were, like a nucleus, and got at the simple and unmixed thing. It is said, that all the pure matter in the universe, if reduced to its real dimensions, might be contained within a nutshell; and the same thing may perhaps be predicated of simple truth. It seems, however, that error is our patrimony, and it cannot be said of us that we neglect to make the most of it. Our laws, our education, our manners, our very literature, are raised as so many fences about it; and with inconceivable art it has been made a matter of bad taste to be in the right. The human mind, it appears, is a wide region, which, as well as spots of beauty and fertility, contains dark and barren wastes, near which it is dangerous to linger for a moment; and there are vigilant watchmen stationed on the paths leading to these, to warn the inexperienced or denounce the obstinate who may attempt or persevere in exploring them. This is the perfection of cunning, and it is no wonder that we observe so many men walking and thinking according to fashion and authority. But what in reality *is* surprising, is the facility with which men are turned from their intentions by the prevailing mode. Nevertheless it is capable of explanation; for the generality of men think, in the same manner as straws swim in a river, as they are impelled by the strong current of things, few having the power of steering as they please over the ocean of thought and nature.— But to return to Pilpay—

The history of the book appears, we see, after all that has been said, to be as obscure and unsatisfactory as that of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; to which work, though far inferior, it bears some resemblance in the freshness and vividness of its paintings. There is likewise a sense of vastness and great antiquity which goes along with the development of this author's ideas. We are transported back to a time when those notions and maxims, now become trite common-place with us, were important and new, and considered as mysteries, the penetration of which was reserved for sages and kings. It is pleasing thus to call up the mind of man before us, clad in its earliest costume, and redolent of the cradle and the breast. It is the better part of necromancy. In advanced stages, indeed, of knowledge, it seems to be one of the most useful works of study to penetrate back as far as possible over the vast abysses of time, in search of the starting-place of the understanding. In this voyage, ancient books, like little islands scattered in a boundless sea, afford occasional resting-places to the mind; but their series at length ending, we coast along fearfully upon the skirts of eternity, and are glad to return, shivering at our own audacity. The ancient little volume before us, may not perhaps be one of these islands; but it was written on the plains of Iran, when our forefathers were yet little better than savages from the woods; and, in spite of the numerous *rifacimenti* it has undergone, still exhibits manifest tokens of an early and remote origin. For two reasons the manner of Pilpay has always prevailed in the East, and, more or less, in every barbarous age and country. For, in fact, no more safe or effectual method could be chosen, of disseminating wholesome but unwelcome truths under a despotic government; and, secondly, it is suited, by its simplicity, to the apprehension of uncultivated minds, arousing attention by its approximation to story, and communicating instruction by the force and obviousness of its moral. With us, fables (excepting those of La Fontaine) rarely trespass over the threshold of the nursery. Esop and Phædrus, in our public schools, are mere Greek and Latin. But with the Orientals, the reverse of our practice takes place; for, besides the ordinary object of moral treatises—the regulation of the affairs of common life—it is with them customary to infuse into their apologues, maxims of policy for the direction and better government of the state, and to consider them, in consequence, as a treasure to be possessed and valued by the greatest princes. And it is really questionable whether the whole art of government be not reducible to a few simple maxims, to be varied and applied according to circumstances. But be this as it may, such was the belief of the sage Pilpay.

It is a remarkable peculiarity in all eastern productions of this kind, and is indicative of no mean knowledge of the human mind,

that a very wide range is left for the imagination in respect to place and time. "Towards the eastern confines of China, there once reigned a monarch"—Thus begin the Fables of Pilpay. This prince is then described as mighty in power, remarkable for the splendour of his virtues, for the pomp of his attendants, for the magnificence of his palaces. He is surrounded by wise and learned men, and listens to and is guided by their counsels. Once upon a time, this monarch, attended by his vizier, goes forth upon a hunting expedition; and the heat of the day becoming excessive, they betake themselves to a cool spot at the foot of a certain mountain. Here the trees wave, the cold rivulets wind through the meadows, the birds sing, and the flowers put forth all their odours and beauty. All this induces in the king's mind a train of laudable meditations. Looking about him, he perceives a swarm of bees that were making honey; and, never having seen an object of this kind before, he questions his vizier concerning the nature of these little creatures. The minister explains all the economy of bee-government, and accidentally lets fall a mention of the Brahmin Pilpay, and of the great King Dabschelim. Upon this, the monarch, who had never before discovered the extent of his vizier's knowledge, desires him to relate the history of that "philosopher." The vizier obeys, and forthwith we enter upon the foundation of the apologues.

Dabschelim, it seems, reigned upon the banks of the Indus, near the sea, and diffused over his dominions the light of wisdom and justice. He loved peace; and it was his greatest pleasure to see his people happy. The countries in the neighbourhood of the Indus have not often, from that time to this, been blessed with a just government; and it is no wonder if the Indians look back with a pleasure, mingled with regret, to those remote days, and suffer their imaginations to repose upon them as upon a golden period of time, departed never to return. It is something to meet with a good king, even in fable, as it shows that the thing is not altogether inconceivable. Dabschelim, indeed, was quite a Titus; and after having passed the day in the necessary toil of government, would lay himself down upon his bed, to taste the sweet repose which follows the exercise of virtue. He is at length informed *in a dream* (the usual mode of communication between heaven and earth in the East) that his good conduct is not to go unrewarded; he is directed to mount his horse by break of day, and to ride towards the East, where he is to find an "inestimable treasure."

The events which follow upon this, and at length introduce the Brahmin Pilpay, are conceived in a fine style of imagination, and possess much of the richness and rapidity that distinguish the Arabian Nights. It is certain that a desert is a place highly suited for the habitation of fancy, who, like an antelope, loves to

bound upon the free plain, to drink at hidden and unknown springs, to pluck the solitary fruit of the waste, and to repose amidst lofty and silent ruins.

Passing, as hastily as possible, through the inhabited part of the country, the prince arrives at a desert, beyond which, arises a mountain reaching "far above the clouds." At the foot of this mountain, he observes a cave, "obscure, dark, and black within, as the hearts of wicked men." In this cave there is of course a hermit, who, knowing by inspiration, that the prince before him is the person designed by fate to possess "the will and treasures of the great King Houschenk," desires that the prince may command the cave to be searched by his attendants. In a little time they make the desired discovery, and bring before the king "a vast number of chests and coffers full of gold, silver, and jewels. Among the rest, was one chest of a smaller size than the others, which was bound about with several bars of iron, and fastened with a multitude of padlocks, the keys of which were not to be found, notwithstanding all the care and diligence that were used to seek them." The result is that they break open the chest, and find a piece of white satin, with something written on it in the Syriac language. It is now taken for a "talisman;" but procuring a person skilled in the Oriental languages, they discover it to be "the writing of the great King Houschenk left with his treasures." This "writing" is an abridgment of the good rules proper to regulate the conduct of a king; and is forthwith given in fourteen maxims, by no means a-kin to the politics of Machiavelli. But it immediately appears that Houschenk did not consider his quintessence of policy in any other light than as a clue to more complete instruction; for he informs Dabschelim that if he would obtain a full development of the ideas contained in these maxims, he must travel to the mountain of Serandib, "which," says he, "was the mansion of our fathers, and there all the histories composed to illustrate and explain these admonitions will be related to him; and every question that can come into his heart to ask, will be answered as from an oracle of heaven."

As the prince had entered into this business, with the intention of going through it thoroughly, he forthwith deliberates upon the journey to Serandib; but being accustomed to take the advice of two favourite ministers upon all occasions, he is unwilling to put his present design in execution without hearing the decision of their wisdom upon it. Upon learning the monarch's design, they desire time to deliberate; but in the end endeavour, by the usual method of apologue, to turn him from his purpose, as likely to be of no benefit to himself, and of much injury to his kingdom.

The ministers not prevailing, Dabschelim sets forward on his journey to Serandib; and upon arriving near the mountain, stops three days in the city, and then proceeds in quest of the sage's re-

tirement, crossing "a mountain which he found wonderfully high and steep, but environed with a great number of pleasant gardens and lovely meadows." In an obscure cavern he finds the hermit Bidpay, or the Friendly Physician, "whom some of the Indian grandees called Pilpay."

The king has "something of a prophetic apprehension" that in this old man he shall discover what he is in search of, and recounts to him "the whole story of his travels, his dream, the discovery of the treasure, and what was contained in the piece of white satin." Seeing before him a prince of so excellent a disposition, it is no wonder that the Brahmin experiences a feeling of delight, and accounts the people happy who lived under his reign. "Then, taking occasion from hence, he opened his lips, like a cabinet of precious knowledge, and charmed Dabschelim with his admirable discourses. After several things they talked concerning Houschenk's letter. Dabschelim read the admonitions it contained one after the other: at the end of each, Pilpay gave the Fables which served to illustrate them, and the monarch heedfully kept them in his memory."

The first admonition contained in the letter of Houschenk was one which might still be addressed to kings with as much propriety as ever: it cautioned him to beware of flatterers and backbiters. In illustration of this, Pilpay relates the fable of the Lion and the Ox, in which the two chacals, Kalilah and Damnah, are the principal interlocutors; from which circumstance, the whole work has generally been called by their names. But in coming to the principal fable, there are several others introduced, and this makes the plan of the whole obscure and difficult to be committed to memory; for fable, in truth, is heaped upon fable, until the groundwork is lost sight of; and, in general, the mind becomes weary of keeping the original plot in view, and only attaches interest to the story immediately before it. However, even in this manner of considering them, they are highly amusing and instructive; and have greater fulness and more complete development than those of Phædrus, or even, perhaps, of Esop. The manners stand out in bold relief; and from the various acts of treachery and guile perpetrated by the animals who are the actors in them, it is certain that they were very corrupt in the East, even in those early times. For the author, we may be sure, caused his animals to act as the men his contemporaries acted; and it is probable that he rather softened than exaggerated the vices of the times: for Asiatic monarchs require a degree of management, however docible they may appear, hardly ever relishing the whole truth; and the author having to do with one of these, was probably under a necessity of moderating his zeal.

In the conversations between Kalilah and Damnah (the two chacals), and in the apologues they relate to each other, to very

little purpose; the former endeavouring to dissuade the latter from a crooked line of policy, and he, in turn, adroitly defending its pursuit; we have a very fine picture of that kind of deception, by which the mind avoids perceiving the cogency of any argument which happens to make against its preconceived notions. Damnah is projecting the ruin of Cohotorbe the ox, who is in great favour at court, to the great prejudice of the aforesaid Damnah's plans of ambition; and, in order to convince his wife of the practicability of his scheme, and to impress upon her mind a great respect for his ability in general, he relates various instances of strength falling beneath the attacks of weakness when aided by cunning; and she, in order to turn him from his design, enumerates as many, to show that, sooner or later, unjust policy is detected and punished.

But Damnah, being a thorough-bred politician, is not to be deterred by reasoning, or the prospect of danger to himself; he looks only to the ruin of his enemy, and that being once accomplished, he imagines he shall be able to take the lead of circumstances, and carve his own fortune as he pleases. Under this persuasion, he practises upon the credulity and fears of the king and his favourite, and gradually inflaming the rage of the one, and the apprehensions of the other, brings about the terrible catastrophe by the complete destruction of the ox.

Here, therefore, we have the picture of a successful villain; but in the very moment of his triumph, his humane wife, Kalilah, foretells his ruin. Suspicions, indeed, soon fall upon Damnah; and the husband and wife frequently discussing the matter aloud in their own house, it happens that the leopard overhears Kalilah reproaching Damnah for his heinous wickedness. Being in possession of their secret, he fears, however, to communicate it immediately to the lion; but relates what he had heard to the queen-mother. The old lady, being a very prudent woman, does not directly disclose what she has heard, but rather excuses herself by the usual mode of fable. The lion's curiosity being roused, he presses his mother to keep him no longer in suspense; and she therefore accuses Damnah of having wickedly wrought the ruin of the innocent Cohotorbe. Being thus accused, Damnah has again recourse to his fables, and by his eloquence and ready wit puzzles his majesty's brain in so notable a manner, that he is unable to distinguish between right and wrong. This the queen-mother perceiving, she redoubles her attacks, and at length succeeds in having Damnah confined in prison. Thither Kalilah goes to comfort him; but being virtuous and given to talk, as well as affectionate, she cannot even then repress her propensity to chide him for his evil doings. A bear, who overhears their conversation, informs against Damnah; and at length it becomes evident that he must suffer for his crimes. The tender Kalilah, however she might

be given to scold her spouse, is overwhelmed with grief at his increasing danger, and while he is being hurried to and fro between the palace and the prison, dies of a broken heart. Damnah now becomes careless of life; but is still, by a friend, persuaded to endeavour to live. But the king, being rather worried into compliance with the desires of those about him, than convinced he is going to perform an act of justice, orders Damnah to be left to starve to death between four walls.

This concludes the original work; the remaining Fables being the additions of the various translators. It appears from this that Pilpay is a dramatic personage, who performs his part in a kind of play; and is no more to be accounted the author of the fables he is made to utter, than King Lear and Hamlet were the authors of the speeches they make in Shakespeare. But, whoever was the author of the Fables, they are eminently beautiful; and may not be the less valued because their origin is lost in the obscurity of antiquity. We have given a short outline of the main story, in preference to a mere critique; both because it will be more useful to those who may not be acquainted with the book, and may serve as a foundation for any remarks we may have thought it necessary to make in the commencement of the article. In a future Number we may give our readers some account of the Hitopadesa, and the Gulistan of Saadi; as it is our object to select such works for criticism as may call forth a development of the national characters of the eastern people, at the same time that they display the peculiar turn of their imaginations.

THE ARAB.

He treads the burning waste,
It is his native plain;
Yet never shall its sand be traced
By that bold foot again:
The Arab host no more shall greet him,
The Arab wife no more shall meet him.

He treads the burning waste,
With pride upon his brow;
Yet ere that path is farther traced,
The daring will be low:
The sand he treads on will be o'er him,
His grave will be the earth that bore him.

The fatal winds arise,
The sandy columns join—
A monstrous chain!—the earth and skies
Its massy links combine.
It comes in all the pomp of gloom,
And leaves no traces of his tomb.

D.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEFENCE PUT FORTH BY THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.*

No Governor General that ever went to India possessed more abundant, or more favourable opportunities, of rendering himself universally popular, than were offered to the Marquess of Hastings during his administration of the affairs of that country; and yet it is notorious and incontrovertible, that no Governor General has ever returned from India more completely out of favour with all parties, than this unfortunate nobleman. He ought to have quitted the seat of his power with the praises and the thanks of all classes of men, over whom he had ruled, through a period distinguished by brilliant and unvaried success in every enterprise in which he engaged: yet, when he left the country, we believe, there were scarcely a hundred individuals among the millions he left behind him, who could conscientiously declare that they regretted his absence, or who did not hope for a much better ruler than himself, in his expected successor, Mr. Canning. It is true, that at the moment of his departure, addresses were poured in upon him from all quarters, and nothing was too extravagant for the addressers to utter in his praise. It is equally true, that a statue, a picture, a diamond star, and other marks of honour were proposed and voted in the assembly convened for that purpose, before his lordship's embarkation from Bengal; and to the distant and uninitiated observer, these would seem to be indications of respect, admiration, and regard. It is thus, however, that history is perverted to the worst of purposes, and by the suppression of truth, and the propagation of falsehood, the commonest events are so misrepresented, that even the individuals among whom they happen, are perpetually misled as to the real nature of things, which they fancy they see and hear for themselves. In Calcutta, where it might be supposed delusion would not be suffered to prevail, as to the character of certain transactions happening within that city, and within the sight and hearing of hundreds of witnesses, the most opposite opinions were entertained, as to the claim that Lord Hastings possessed on the gratitude of the community. He was believed to be hated as a tyrant by some, despised as a hypocrite by others, and pitied as one of the weakest of men by the greatest number of

* This pamphlet bears the following title, "Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government, by the Marquess of Hastings, during the period that he filled the office of Governor General;" and has prefixed to it the following advertisement:—"In the absence of the Marquess of Hastings, his friends have deemed it expedient to print some copies of the following Summary of his Lordship's Administration in India, with a view to the information of the Proprietors of India Stock. A transcript of this document was left in the hands of some of his Lordship's friends, and of certain of the public authorities, previous to his late departure from the country."

those even who felt themselves bound to join in the clamour of applause, which they knew, while they swelled the shout, was entirely undeserved. And yet, if the language of the addresses were to be taken as a criterion of the public feeling on the occasion of his quitting India, it might be inferred, that no ruler was ever before so honoured and beloved; that every blessing which man could hope to enjoy had been conferred on India by his rule; and that after his departure no ray of consolation would remain to cheer the drooping spirits of those he had abandoned to their misery. Among some of the most hyperbolical and extravagant expressions vented on this occasion, the following, from Native Indian Papers, will be regarded as curiosities; the originals are in Persian verse, of which these appeared as literal translations in the English Papers of the same country:—

Whatever is *necessary* in the assembly of kings,
The Marquess of Hastings has taken with him from India;
He carries along with him a royal canopy, composed of the *prayers of the people,*
As an offering to overshadow the head of a king, like unto Jum.

It would appear from this that no kingly quality remained behind him when his lordship was gone; and that the prayers of the people attended him as a canopy: the prayers of that people whose sentiments he so much suspected, that he thought it necessary to restrain their free expression; and made it punishable with the severest penalties for any one to venture an opinion that might be unfavourable to his government! The other example, however, is equally worth transcribing, for the poetry as well as the sentiment; we give them both *verbatim et literatim* from the English Papers published in Calcutta, and those in the service and pay of the Governor to whom they allude—

When Lord Hastings came first to India,
All felt attached to him on account of his *politeness.**
Nine years and three months here he remained;
Then he took his departure out of this country,
On the first of January he left Calcutta
With the intent of proceeding to London,
He got into the ship while people *wept.*
I am going to say what like a scene it was,
He intended to depart from India,
The *River of Tears* marched with his stirrup.

The language of the British addressers was, in many instances, scarcely less extravagant than this; and from the entire absence of all apparent dissent from the general testimony of unqualified praise, many, even in India, and still more in England, no doubt, concluded that every heart was grateful to the Marquess for the

* To be "the most polished gentleman" in India, was no doubt thought to be as great a distinction as to be "the most polished gentleman" in England; and it is remarkable enough that the flatterers of all countries know where their compliments will tell best.

blessings he had conferred on the country he governed, and every tongue as sincere as it was seemingly loud in his praise.

Alas! how infinitely remote is this from the truth,—and how different an impression would have been created if that truth could have been spoken on the spot. The Addressers had, however, unlimited power to praise; but no man was permitted, except at the hazard of all he held dear in the world, even to *hint* at the existence of cause for blame. Never, perhaps, was there a more striking illustration of the utter worthlessness of the privilege of speech or writing, when confined to the mere expression of eulogy, than on this memorable occasion.*

A meeting was convened, for the alleged purpose of paying some suitable testimony to the merit of the Marquess of Hastings's administration. It was composed almost wholly of men in the same service as Lord Hastings himself, who have been since declared, by one of their own body, and late temporary Governor General, Mr. Adam, to have no right whatever to pass any opinion on the acts of their superiors; their only duty being to yield implicit obedience to the orders issued for their guidance.† No man in that service could have dared, even if disposed, to rise up and oppose a resolution of praise, without hazarding his place, and perhaps having all his prospects in life blasted for ever. Even the mere act of absence from the meeting, or the omission of their names from among the signatures to the Address, would be likely to render obnoxious such individuals as had virtue enough thus to express their tacit dissent from the proceedings of others,—and mark them out for persecution, as men not easily enough to be bent to some future despot's purpose; while of those who did not belong to the service of Government, not an individual among them could venture to propose even an inquiry into the merits or demerits of Lord Hastings's administration, without rendering himself liable to be banished and ruined for his pains! Yet the

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* "As the real point of importance is to establish correct opinions in the minds of the people, it is as mischievous to inculcate a favourable opinion when an unfavourable one is deserved, as an unfavourable opinion when a favourable one is deserved. We believe it may be rigidly demonstrated that no evils are greater than those which result from a more favourable opinion of their rulers on the part of the people than their rulers deserve; because just as far as that undue favour extends, bad government is secured."—*Supp. to Enc. Brit.*

† "That the public, as it is called, of India is entitled to exercise it (the right of passing an opinion on the conduct of the Government), or qualified for the task, will scarcely be maintained by any one who has considered how that public is composed: 1. Of officers, civil and military, of his Majesty and the Company. 2. Of persons engaged in mercantile pursuits, residing in India under license from the Court of Directors, liable to be withdrawn by the local Government, *without a reason* assigned. 3. Of a lower class of men of business, residing similarly under a license at will, or without any such sanction, and therefore in the *hourly commission of a misdemeanour at law*. It is a MOCKERY to claim for a community so constituted, the right to discuss in public assemblies or newspapers the measures of their Governors."—*Mr. John Adam's Narrative, or Defence.*

"farce" of assembling a meeting of such persons, was "enacted," to give an impression of fairness and deliberation, which was never intended, and which even if attempted at the hazard of the fortune of him who should move it, would have been met by the resistance with which discussion had always been opposed in India, by clamour, by calumny, and by threats of brute force.

The Papers were so effectually silenced, and the tongues of men so completely gagged, that it was held unsafe even to give a faithful report of what actually did pass at the meeting, and considerable danger was incurred by the attempt to approach fidelity, in describing what really happened. The business of the meeting was, however, adjourned almost immediately, from the Town-hall to a secret Committee-room, where the only debate that took place, and that within closed doors, from which all but the Committee were excluded, was, which of two Addresses that had been previously prepared should be adopted. One of these was from the pen of the Reverend Mr. Parson, a Church of England minister, well known in India for his hatred to "pernicious publicity," (a phrase of his own formation;) and the other was from the pen of the still more notorious Dr. Bryce, the Presbyterian clergyman, whose subserviency as a flatterer of men in power, and whose hostility to all freedom of discussion, except the freedom practised by himself to tear in pieces the reputation of others, was on a par with that of his fellow-labourer in the vineyard. These two worthy eulogists of authority, who might each have been more consistently and usefully employed in the labours of their *holy* calling, divided the honours of the flattery between them; and hundreds were weak, and, we must add, servile enough to sign the Address adopted, although they made no scruple of avowing their almost entire disapprobation of the chief feature of Lord Hastings's government, his contradictory professions and practice as it regarded the freedom of the Indian Press.

After the Address had been signed, subscriptions were opened for a statue and picture; and many names were obtained for these by the zealous Presbyterian Divine, who, in addition to his other numerous occupations, was constituted Secretary of this Committee of Deception and Flattery. But such is the unstable nature of praise thus wrung from a dependent multitude, by the fear of being marked for their silence, and rewarded accordingly, that the Governor General had scarcely left the shores of India, before the signatures began to decline, and many delayed even to pay the sums for which they had entered their names on the list. The setting sun had departed, and a new orb was about to rule the day. Mr. Adam appeared as a successor; the same honours were lavished on him; and though he reigned but for a few brief weeks, he too received the usual addresses, pictures, and the accustomed tributes which the veriest slaves often pay to those who tread on their necks,

and rule them with a rod of iron. Lord Amherst, on his arrival, received *his* share of admiration also; and if he were to quit the country in a month after he landed, he would, like Mr. Adam, be lauded to the skies for his private and public virtues, though they should know nothing of the one, and have seen only good dinners and gay balls as proofs of the existence and exercise of the other.

It is remarkable, that in India, especially, Englishmen should not perceive how far they are outstripped in this respect by the Asiatic nations among whom they live. The Emperor of China, the Mogul of Hindoostan, the King of Ava, the Sovereign of Oude, the Shah of Persia, and the Sultan of Turkey, receive, with every letter presented at their court, assurances from the furthest extremities of their dominions, of their being the most enlightened, the most magnanimous, the most virtuous of earthly beings. The bloodiest tyrant that ever desolated the earth has been praised by his courtiers for unexampled clemency; the most abandoned voluptuary that even the East could produce, has been renowned by those, who were daily witnesses of his debauchery, for his temperance, chastity, and sobriety; and the most monstrous of all the vices that exist, have been characterized as virtues, in the addresses of flatterers in all ages, countries, and climes. Many of the eastern princes, in order to ensure an abundant supply of this grateful incense, employ poets laureate and court newsmen, on handsome salaries, for the express purpose of producing daily *proofs* of their being the most envied, honoured, and beloved of human beings (as far as the repetition of these assurances can be considered proofs). Did it never occur to the Governors General of India, that the praises of their hired flatterers might be on a par with these, in point of sincerity? or that where the newswriters and addressers are either in the direct pay, or entirely dependent on the favour of their rulers, large abatements would be made by the rest of mankind from the high strains of eulogy lavished on them by men, to whose praises no limits are set, but who cannot dare even to suspect cause for blame? The Governors themselves, if they ever awake from the dream into which the pomp and state of office generally lulls them, must be ashamed of the servility of their followers; and if they ever reflect on the subject, must naturally conclude that since they themselves forbid, at their peril, any of their dependents from daring to censure their public conduct, the more enlightened among mankind, whose approbation they should aspire to obtain, would attach no importance whatever to praises which no one dares, at the moment of their utterance, to call in question.*

* "If it is evident that it ought not to be permitted to speak *evil* of public functionaries without limits, while any limit is put to the power of speaking well of them; it is equally evident that for the purpose of forming a correct opinion of their conduct, it ought not to be permitted to speak *well* of them, and oppose any

We have thought it necessary to say thus much, (though a great deal more might be added if further arguments were needed,) on the utter worthlessless of those testimonies of approbation which governors of distant provinces bring with them in the addresses presented to them when abroad. We might see enough in England to convince us that the crowds of "life-and-fortune men," as they have been not inaptly termed, who assemble together to testify their loyalty to the reigning monarch for the time being, are generally among the first to hail his successor with the acclamations due to a deliverer. And if this can happen where there is a legislative assembly, a free press, and a bold and fearless people to encounter, in all public proceedings; we can hardly wonder at the same interests leading men into the same servility, where none of these checks to the most extravagant pretensions of despotism exist. It may be safely inferred, therefore, that if in the former case such testimonies of public esteem are of little value, in the latter they are of infinitely less; and our firm conviction is, that none but the most senseless among mankind would attach the least importance to them, were they as numerous as the stars in the firmament.*

To come to the immediate object of our remarks, we admit that Lord Hastings quitted India with Addresses enough to gratify the man most greedy of popular applause. But he must have known at the time, that they were of less value than the ink wasted in writing them. And he had not been a month in England before he found that others entertained the same opinion. His reception by his sovereign may be judged of from the fact that no place of honour or emolument could be found for him either at court or in any other part of his majesty's dominions: and monarchs are seldom without the power to reward their favourites when the desire to do so is sincere or strong. His reception by his brother peers and nobles did not appear more cordial or encouraging than at that Fountain from whence all their honours are equally derived. His reception by the East India Company can hardly be mistaken, when it is understood that they refused to grant him the pension usually given to Governors General on

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limit whatsoever to the power of speaking ill of them. It ought not to be permitted to speak evil of them without an equal liberty of speaking well; because, in that case, the evidence *against* them might be made to appear much stronger than it was. It ought not to be permitted to speak well of them without an equal liberty of speaking ill; because, in that case, the evidence *in favour* of them might be made to appear much greater than it really was. In either case the people would be misguided, and defrauded of that moral knowledge of the conduct of their rulers which they ought to possess."—*Supp. to Enc. Brit.*

* It is well known that Caius Verres on his return from his government in Sicily, where he had exercised the utmost cruelty and injustice, received the most flattering testimonials from the principal municipalities in that island. Notwithstanding these, however, he was prosecuted and condemned for *extortion* at Rome. The Romans, it seems, knew the exact value of such testimonials.

their retirement, even under ordinary circumstances, and the withholding of which has been generally interpreted as a mark of tacit disapprobation. His reception among the people of England, by whom he was at one period of his life almost idolized as the *beau ideal* of a chivalrous yet patriotic nobleman, was unmarked by any demonstrations of joy at his return. With the exception of a dinner given to his lordship by some of his personal friends, at which, so careful were they of his reputation, that the freedom of the Indian press, the great feature of his administration on which he especially prided himself in India, was never even remotely alluded to by any of the speakers; there were no tokens by which a stranger, or even the people of the country, could discover that a popular nobleman had just returned, after an absence of ten years, from a country in which his government had been the most popular ever known. Alas! where were the "kingly qualities," the "noble canopy," the "prayers of the people," and the "river of tears," which he brought away with him from India? All dissipated, dried up, and vanished, as if they had never been.

We have expressed our opinion, that Lord Hastings was himself sensibly alive to this fallen condition to which he was reduced; and our proof is this: He has found it necessary to write with his own hand, a eulogy of his administration; and "his friends have deemed it expedient to print it:" for the information of the world. What! could not all the Addresses from Asia, numerous, unanimous, and powerful as they were, save so honoured a name from neglect? Could the sighs and tears, the gratitude for the past, and the prayers for the future, which filled his sails when he embarked for Europe, avail him nothing when he touched his native shores? Oh, chivalry! how art thou declined! Oh, freedom! how are thy sons forsaken!

We are not among the number of those who are said to hate this nobleman as a tyrant; we have no such feeling even to those who more especially deserve it; neither are we among the number of those who are believed to despise him as a hypocrite, though we fear this feeling is very general. But we honestly confess that we do sincerely pity the state to which his weakness, and *that alone*, has reduced him. When we recall to mind the regal pomp and more than regal power with which he was armed and surrounded in the East, and contrast it with his present condition, as a humble pleader before the Proprietors of India Stock, obliged to dwell on the merits of his own administration, in order to establish his claim to a pension for his declining years, it is impossible not to be deeply impressed with the fleeting nature of all honours that are not founded on the esteem and approbation of the virtuous portion of mankind. We remember the acclamations with which the return of the Governor General from his campaigns was greeted in India; we still hear the plaudits with which the volun-

tary exposé of his plans and arrangements was hailed by those to whom it was something new to hear a Governor General appealing to them for their favourable judgment. We recollect that as long as *this* continued to be pronounced on all the acts of himself and his functionaries, the freedom of the press was the fashionable and popular topic on which his lordship loved to declaim, while all his satellites took their inspiration from his lips, and dared not do otherwise than admire what their lord and master had applauded. When some of the sincerest and best friends of himself and the press ventured, however, to avail themselves of its powers, to recommend improvement and reform, where they honestly believed it to be necessary, how was the tone of the "Liberator" and his parasites changed! It was then impudently asserted that it was "a gross prostitution of terms" to represent an appeal to the community, conducted with the greatest possible decorum, as "a temperate and moderate discussion" of a public question, with a view to public good. The Government had by this time "become perfectly sensible" (to use the words of one of Lord Hastings's own letters,) "of the practical objection which attends these irregular appeals to the public." It was then that his lordship talked of "exercising the chastening power vested in him," by banishing the individual who should dare to use the press for any purpose not strictly compatible with his highly-altered standard of propriety and taste; and this too, without admitting "any previous discussion" as to the merits of the case, which he might assume as sufficient to warrant immediate punishment.* If this were to be the sort of justice meted out to Governors General, on their retirement from office; if they were allowed only the same degree of liberty that they would measure out to others when in power, Lord Hastings and Mr. Adam would have been unable to publish the Manifestoes which both have found it necessary to put forth to the world in defence of *their* conduct. This fact of itself speaks volumes. When others were accused, these were the men who were most vehement in their denunciations against any attempt at defence: the first threatening, and the last carrying into execution, the most arbitrary measures for preventing all but themselves and their partisans from addressing the public through the press. And yet, they are now themselves driven to the humiliating task of asking for themselves what both have denied to others—a fair and impartial hearing. Alas! can they, whose praises but a few months since literally rent the Indian air, and who were each extolled in their turn, as the most able and upright of Governors, and the most immaculate of men—can *they* need to defend themselves too from their enemies? We look

* See the Letter dictated by Lord Hastings to his Chief Secretary, as published in the Oriental Herald, vol. I. Appendix, p. xxvi, xxvii.

around and ask, Who were their accusers? In India no man dared to assume that office; in England, no one has yet taken the trouble to enter on it. But there is a "still small voice" within, and a "stifled murmur" without, which need no help to urge men on to pay the debt that they are at last made to feel they owe to the world, and which they must discharge before they can ever have a chance of wiping away the stains of a sullied reputation. It is this, and this alone, which could have induced either the Marquess of Hastings, or his temporary successor, Mr. Adam, to make this appeal thus earnestly, and yet humbly, to a once-despised, but now an honoured and a courted public! Had they been, in truth, as their flatterers endeavoured to make the world believe, esteemed and beloved of all men, and blessed with the gratitude and prayers of those over whom they ruled, such defences as they have both put forth would never have been needed.

> "To guard a title that was rich before,
> To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,
> To throw a perfume on the violet,
> To smooth the ice, or add another hue
> Unto the rainbow, or with taper light
> To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish;
> Is wasteful and ridiculous excess."

And never was there an occasion in which this excess would have been *more* ridiculous than the present, if it had not been that the gold was *not* refined, nor the violet of the purest perfume that could be desired.

But they have been heard—and to them it ought to be no slight subject of congratulation that they have attained thus much. We remember that on one occasion when a military officer of high character and distinguished talents in India, ventured to request an interview for the purpose of obtaining a hearing as to the cause of what he deemed an undeserved supersession in his post, he was told that the Commander in Chief was not bound to hear any man's reasons against the propriety of any of his decrees, and was dismissed accordingly. We remember, on another occasion, when permission was asked in India to publish, without comment, certain official documents to the world, to give them an opportunity of judging for themselves as to the merits of the individual concerned, it was tacitly refused, and treated with contempt; it being then the fashion to hear all that *accusers* had to say against the supposed offenders of Government, and to give all possible publicity to their accusations; but not to admit the accused to use equal freedom in, or give equal currency to, *his defence*. Times are greatly changed since then; and, however unsafe it may be thought to let *other* men speak out, these Ex-governors and their friends now find the Press convenient enough for their own purposes; and would no doubt be indignant at any attempt on the part of their enemies to stifle or suppress their productions instead

of answering them. We have no desire to do this; and are accordingly pleased at the opportunity of giving all possible publicity to the fact of such a Statement as that of Lord Hastings being printed, and of inviting all who desire to inform themselves on the subject to procure and read it for themselves.

It was our intention, on first commencing this paper, to say a few words on the pamphlet in question; but we must content ourselves, for the present at least, with adverting to the singular and remarkable fact of its being necessary to put forth such a statement at all; and as certain propositions are now before the India Court, the result of which may lead to the obtaining of the pension claimed by his lordship from his honoured and honourable masters, we should regret exceedingly to do or say anything which might be supposed hostile to that end. No great evil can accrue to the British or the Indian public by the grant proposed, even supposing it to be entirely undeserved; and if it would render the declining years of the Marquess more happy, we should be pleased to see it awarded him. But great and incalculable evils must and do arise from false estimates of the merits of men in power; and from the absence of severe and constant scrutiny into their motives and their acts. Had the East India Company established a truly Free Press in their dominions, they would not now have had to grope in the dark for papers and documents by which to estimate the characters of their Governors when their reign is at an end, and when it is a matter of little importance to those on whom they inflicted evil, what posterity may think of their career. If public opinion were allowed to express itself on the spot, they would find its verdict pronounced while it might produce the effect of restraining evil and inciting to good; and the merits or demerits of their rulers would be more accurately known through such a channel than by the production of all the papers that could be called for at any subsequent period, or all the debates that ever took place within the walls of their Court; and if they still continue to remain so blind to their own interests as to prevent the aid which they might derive from that salutary engine in their possessions abroad, they deserve to suffer all the evils which unchecked and unawed misrule can bring on their concerns, till the country is entirely wrested from their hands.

Although we shall not go into the details of the pamphlet before us at the present, we hope to do so at a future time; but before we close the observations which we have thought it necessary to make on this occasion, we will state, in as few words as possible, what Lord Hastings may safely claim praise for having done; and what we consider him as deserving blame for having left undone.

1.—He conducted the campaign against Nepaul with success; having borrowed from the Vizier of Oude upwards of two millions

and a half sterling, to meet the necessary disbursements of it; and repaid this sum by a transfer of some of the conquered territory to that Chief: reserving, however, a portion for the East India Company, sufficient not only to pay all the expenses incurred by them in the war, but to leave in the treasury a clear gain of 600,000*l.* sterling. (p. 12 to 15.) This was no doubt highly beneficial to his employers; but the Nepaulese, from whom this rich country and these treasures were taken, would probably view the matter in a very different light from the English.

2.—He prevented the formation of a conspiracy between the native chiefs for the expulsion of the British from India, (p. 16.) and put an end to the freebooting excursions of the Pindarrees throughout the south; taking care, however, as in the former instance, to make the natives of the country pay largely for the dissolution of this confederacy for the expulsion of men who had invaded their territories, usurped their governments, and, after stripping them of all their liberties, continued to drain them of their wealth. This, also, was unquestionably a signal service rendered to the East India Company:—but what would be said of it by those who wished to expel the usurpers, and regain their original rights?—If the people were so much more happy under our rule than under that of their native princes, these might be safely left to themselves; for men will not join the ranks of those they hate, to expel and drive out those they love. The very fact of conspiracy proves, however, a deep-rooted and extensive hatred: and if ours was a "Glorious Revolution," to expel a single family of the Stuarts, who were of the same country and the same faith as ourselves, and who held their power over us by long and undisputed descent; what epithet of praise and honour ought we not to apply to those "Patriots" who sought a combination to expel a race of a different country, a different faith, and who had waded through conquest and injustice to every inch of the country on which they had forced themselves as rulers?—Is it virtue in one country to combine for the expulsion of domestic tyrants, and vice in another to combine for the expulsion of invaders and usurpers, who are foreigners and tyrants too?*

3.—He warded off a threatened blow from the Birman monarch, by a piece of deception which, in state matters, is considered wise and even honourable; but which, in private life, would be regarded in a very different light. The demand of this sovereign was for the surrender of certain provinces east of the Ganges, (p. 41,) to

* Mr. Mill, whose book abounds with the most useful and instructive lessons on almost all topics connected with Government, gives repeated instances of Lord Wellesley deeming it a virtue of the highest kind to remove, expel, and dethrone those whom he deemed unworthy of power, and set up others in their stead: and the East India Company has often acknowledged and acted on this principle. What is virtue in them, however, is, it appears, a crime of the deepest dye in others.

which he had at least as good a right as the English to any part of their territories, because they lay near his empire, and he wished to add them to what he already possessed. In this, also, Lord Hastings rendered some service to the Company, as it was a preservation of what they had taken from others, and a prevention of its being again transferred to other hands.

4.—Lord Hastings sent Sir David Ochterlony to make a tour through the territories he had conquered, to ascertain what had been the practical results of the endeavours made to ameliorate their condition (p. 45): and Sir David reports, as any other officer sent on a similar mission would be sure to do, that the country was everywhere overflowing with happiness; that discontent and oppression were equally unknown; and that, from the prince to the peasant, every tongue was eloquent in the expressions of gratitude to the British Government for the blessings they enjoyed! (p. 118.) The Asiatic Sovereigns, with a better knowledge of human nature than their successors, used frequently to disguise themselves as ordinary men, and visit the courts of justice, the markets, the streets, and the assemblies of all classes, to see for themselves whether justice or injustice, happiness or misery, prevailed among their people: and this was the *only* way in which a monarch or a chief could learn the *real* sentiments of the mass, by mingling with them as one of themselves. We have no doubt but that Sir David received the assurances he mentions; any other officer of rank would, however, have received the same, even had the people been as oppressed and miserable as they were declared to be contented and happy. One remark presses itself on our attention in this place.—If the people were so superlatively blessed, as they are said to have been, by having the English to settle among them, why does the Indian Government express such alarm at the bare idea of permitting more English to settle there, and in other parts of the country? Are they afraid that these enviable beings, who are now so "eloquent" in our praise, would hate us, if they saw more of us among them? or, that they would become too happy for mortals, if we added one drop more to their cup of delight? If these grateful beings, from the prince to the peasant, were all loud in the praise of their rulers, why are the East India Company afraid to trust them with the Freedom of the Press, to pour out their gratitude in one continued stream? Do they fear, that on comparing notes on the subject, they might find they were not altogether so superlatively happy as Sir David Ochterlony had represented them? Or can it be that Eastern Governments are averse to praise, and are therefore unwilling to trust their happy subjects with the means of expressing the fulness of their bliss? The assurance of Lord Hastings that "the nature of this statement admits no loose representation, because it is an official report, to the accuracy of which the character of the officer is pledged," must raise a smile

on the countenances of those who read it. Unfortunately, it is the most loose of all the loose statements that could be produced; resting merely on the bare assertion of an individual, whose situation alone rendered it impossible for him to get at the truth, and is unsupported by a single tittle of evidence. An officer's character may be some pledge for his not uttering what he did not believe. It is not his *sincerity*, however, but the *accuracy* of the report, for which his character is offered as a guarantee; whereas, he could not fail, under such circumstances, to be himself deceived, and consequently his character is of no value whatever in assuring others that they may not be made to participate in his error. Every man who has been in India, must know, that a native would assure an officer of rank, who asked him any questions on such a point, that he was the happiest of mortals,—that the English were his deliverers,—and more to the same effect, at the very moment of his suffering under the greatest oppressions, and hating the said English from the bottom of his heart. Enslaved and abject minds are nearly the same in all countries; and we may see, even among ourselves, how deceptive the senseless praise of those who surround the great would be, if it were not counteracted by the free pens and free tongues of others. In India, the Government trembles at the exercise of this check; and this one fact is worth a thousand arguments, to prove that the people are not so happy, nor so eloquent in the praise of their rulers, as Lord Hastings and Sir David Ochterlony would represent them to be.

When we add, that Lord Hastings acquired for the East India Company a considerable accession of territory, and a consequent increase of revenue, so as to put their finances in a much more flourishing condition than they were in on his entering into office, we shall have enumerated, we believe, all that he *has* done. If the great object of the British Government and the East India Company, with respect to their Asiatic territories, be, to grasp at all they can, to take every country under their own *protection*, and make them all pay largely for this undesired and unvalued privilege, Lord Hastings has, no doubt, fulfilled their purpose admirably. This same virtue of extending territories and levying contributions, was regarded in another and a greater personage, Napoleon Buonaparte, as an unpardonable crime. Though called and chosen by the people of his own country, he was termed a usurper; though invited and hailed by some among other countries, he was deemed a scourge and destroyer; and all the world was invoked to make war upon this common enemy of mankind. What! then, are conquests, tributes, and the most slavish subjection, virtues in Asia, and vices in Europe? Are those who are not called, not chosen, not hailed when they come, to be regarded as deliverers in Hindoostan; and others, who have had all these claims, to be considered as destroyers in Italy or Germany?

Alas! for Legitimacy! its staunchest friends and supporters in England and France, are the greatest violators of its most sacred rights in Bengal, Oude, and the Dekhan. Lord Hastings has dethroned old and established princes, and set up new ones in their stead; he has borrowed money from one sovereign, and repaid him by the spoil of conquered provinces wrested from another. He has taken territories that belonged to independent monarchs, and added them to the British; and he has caused the tribute which used to flow into other channels, to be poured into the coffers of the East India Company.—This, at least, he has done; and as it is written "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn," so we may add, "The labourer is worthy of his reward."

On the question, therefore, whether Lord Hastings is entitled to further payments of money from the East India Company, we might conscientiously say, that if they would measure their pecuniary reward by the pecuniary benefit accruing to them from the administration of their respective Governors, they ought, undoubtedly to give him a pension of 5,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* a year, if he needed it; for even this last-named sum, for the few years that his lordship can have to live (we wish them to be as many and as happy as his warmest friends can desire), would be nothing, compared to the amount he has gained for them during the period of his administration. It is true, that he was munificently paid while at his post; and that, but for his private embarrassments,—which have, at least, the excuse of having been principally contracted in a thoughtless, but, at the same time, benevolent exercise of hospitality to foreigners in distress,—he might have returned home with considerable wealth. This peculiarity in Lord Hastings's affairs (if, indeed, that can be called peculiar which is so common to men of his rank), ought not to be laid to the Company's account. The Governor-generalship of India should be a place of higher consideration than a mere retreat, to escape from debts at home, and acquire the means of paying them in a shorter time than could be done elsewhere; and yet, we believe more Governors than one have received the royal appointment from no higher motive than this. But, when the only object of those who possess the monopoly, those who appoint to posts, and those who fill them, is to get as large a dividend, or salary, or fortune, as they can, it is strictly in place for a Governor General returning from his duties to state, as Lord Hastings has done, in his printed pamphlet, the exact amount of rupees added to his employers' coffers since he directed their affairs; and as Mr. Rothschild and other loan-contractors generally give handsome douceurs to their managing clerks when they make a successful bargain, so, on the same principle, we really think the Honourable Company should, on occasions like the present, adopt this liberal and encouraging practice, and make the donation worthy of their high-sounding title.

As to the alleged charges of Lord Hastings being implicated in any fraudulent transactions of a pecuniary nature with the Hyderabad state, or deriving any pecuniary emolument from that or any other source, as connected with his Indian government, we never thought it worthy of credit for a moment: nor could any one who knows his lordship's truly *noble* disregard of money, even for the purposes of paying off the many and long-standing claims on his estate, have ever suspected him of such a transaction. It is hardly likely, that he, who so far forgot his own affairs, as to offer to yield up the whole of his prize-money to the army at large, who left India with many bills unpaid, and who could not even satisfy his creditors in England on his return, but was obliged to go to Brussels, and thence to Italy, to avoid the expense of living in his own country—it is not possible that such a man should have cared for money, even for honourable purposes, and still less that he should have possessed himself of it for dishonourables ones. We do not regard this as more than thoughtlessness in him, though in any but a man of noble blood it would be punished with imprisonment, and ranked as no small crime: but we think it at least affords an argument, and a very powerful one, against the falsehood of the rumour that imputed this as the reason why the Court of Directors refused to give him the pension which he expected at their hands. The behaviour of these gentlemen has, to us, appeared inexplicable. Whether their refusal was on general or specific grounds, they ought, in common justice, to have assigned a reason, and given the injured party an opportunity of defence. But the same system of mystery, secrecy, and opposition to inquiry, seems to have pervaded every department in turn; till each at last has found it necessary to make that appeal to the press, which both did all in their power to prevent others from doing.

We have left ourselves but little room to enumerate what Lord Hastings has *not* done; and, indeed, the catalogue would be so long that we should not soon come to an end if we began it. We must content ourselves, for the present, with naming only a few of the principal points neglected by him, during and after his campaign; and shall take an early opportunity of returning to his Pamphlet, for the purpose of going through its statements in detail.

1st. Lord Hastings has done nothing to fulfil the first duty enjoined on the country by the East India Company's Charter, namely, that of encouraging the introduction into India of European knowledge and skill, and granting every facility to the settlement in that country of Englishmen, desirous of remaining there for the purpose of promoting these benevolent designs. A representation from him to his Majesty's Council, to the Board of Control, or the East India Company, as to the value and importance to India of Colonization, and the injurious nature of the restrictions on settlement, as well as of the power of banishment

from the country, in deterring men from exercising their rights with firmness, or entering with vigour into their pursuits, would, we doubt not, have effectually removed the impediment, and Colonization might then have begun even under his reign. He could not but have been convinced of its advantages, yet he never, as far as we have heard, took any one step to promote it; though, on the other hand, he used the power of banishment to send some three or four individuals out of the country, and assumed the right and threatened its exercise on others, for daring to perform the duty to which he had himself invited them—that of exercising public scrutiny on the conduct of public men.

2d. He did not establish the Freedom of the Press, notwithstanding that he suffered all Europe to ring with his praises for this act of supposed magnanimity. He removed the censorship, as he professed, and as thousands then believed, because he recognised the right of free discussion as belonging by birth to every Englishman, and as of the greatest possible value to the governors and governed. He kept in reserve, however, a set of restrictions prohibiting the exercise of any discussion whatever on the only topic that it was of any importance to have left open, the public measures of the Indian Government, and of the public conduct of its principal functionaries. These restrictions were never mentioned at the time, but were brought forward afterwards against those who had been entrapped, by his fine speeches, into a belief, that what he said was sincerely meant to be acted on. It is now said that the Censorship was abolished principally because the last Censor, Mr. Adam, to whom all the proof sheets were submitted, found it inconvenient to be disturbed, often at dinner, and sometimes in the midst of an agreeable party; and the restrictions substituted were so severe, in the sweeping prohibitions they enjoined, that though the Censor was relieved from his troubles, yet the press, it was thought, would be under even heavier bonds than before. The firmness necessary to enable a man to stand up in the face of a large assembly, and receive the most extravagant compliments for the magnanimity of delivering the press from all its former shackles (while ten times heavier ones were secretly imposed); and the cool self-possession which could affect to court the fullest exercise of freedom, while threats of summary banishment were held over the head of any one who dared to accept and exercise the proffered gift, are quite characteristic of Asiatic duplicity.—If there were only this blot on Lord Hastings's reputation, it would, in our eyes at least, be such as all the "rivers of tears" that flowed after him from India could never wash away. It may be said he did not exercise this power; but he did worse, he professed the utmost regard for freedom, while he threatened her destruction. His successor was a bolder, but he was a more consistent man: he *hated* freedom; he would have none of it; and *his* banishment

of a man for doing what he himself denounced as dangerous, is not, to our view at least, half as reprehensible as the conduct of another, who *threatens* to transport and ruin the same individual, for what he himself praises as one of the greatest virtues he can perform.*

3d. Lord Hastings did not exert himself to promote a reform in the judicial administration of the country, which, in its present state, is so defective, so corrupt, and so tardy, that it may be safely said there is scarcely any hope of right prevailing over wrong, even where no bribery is used, from the wretched nature of the law itself;—that this hope is, however, much lessened by the universal influence of corruption among all its native administrators, on whom the Europeans chiefly depend;—and that, besides these two enormous evils, there is one of greater magnitude still, namely, that of almost interminable delay:—there being many of the Courts of Justice in the interior that have thousands of causes undecided on their files, so that a plaintiff who institutes a suit against some rich oppressor, has little hope of seeing his case brought forward during his own lifetime; and may die with the assurance that, when decided, it is more likely to entail disappointment and expense than relief from wrong to his children. A certain consequence of this system is, that the powerful and bold oppress the weak and the timid with impunity, well knowing that they may riot for years on the fruits of their spoil, and that they, and the victim of their injustice, may be in their graves before redress can be obtained. Lord Hastings must have known this to be the case; and he might have done much to remedy it, by proper representations to the Government and the Court at home, as to the imperative necessity of reform in this important branch of administration, and by exertions to effect this in the country itself. He did *not* however do so, although, during the five years of repose that followed his military campaigns, he had nothing of equal importance to occupy his attention; his time in Calcutta being chiefly passed in the mere details of official business, which any intelligent clerk would have done better; in holding levees and durbars for the reception of compliments from Native and English visitors; or in giving ear to the petty feuds of envious and jealous malignants, who disturbed the peace of society with their own private piques and revenge, and threw the blame on the freedom of the press, one of its most sure and certain correctives. Lord Hastings might, during these five years of petty warfare against principles which he was himself the first to encourage, have done more good by promoting reforms in the Government of India, than

* "Let the triumph of our beloved country, in its awful contest with tyrant-ridden France, speak the *value* of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments.—*Lord Hastings's Speech at the Government House, July* 24, 1819.

during all his previous campaigns. He did not do so; and he has, therefore, much to answer for on this account.

4th. Lord Hastings did nothing to improve the condition, elevate the character, or provide for the future permanent employment of the Indo-British race, now so numerous, and promising to be so respectable, in India. Their petition to him for the official recognition of a name and station in society, could not perhaps have been better answered than it was; but there were higher objects than those adverted to in the petition, which both parties seem to have overlooked. It might be said by some, that what they did not ask, his lordship was not bound to bestow: but, as India, like most other despotisms has been characterised as being a *paternal* government, we may say, that if fathers gave their children only what they asked, they would but ill perform their duty. Parents and Governors are often justified in refusing what is asked; because children and subjects may ask that to which they have no right either by law or reason. On the other hand, they are equally bound to give them some things, whether they ask them or not; for instance, cheap justice, useful employment, and the means of instruction. The sagacious mind of Sir John Malcolm discovered at a very early period the growing importance of the Indo-British race, and in his Historical Sketch of India, strongly recommended measures for their improvement, their employment, and their attachment to the state. Lord Hastings had the power to recommend this subject especially to the notice of the Parliament and the Court in England, or to institute measures for that purpose in India. Governors General undertake much more impertant matters on their individual responsibility, without waiting for advices from home, when they have any particular object to attain, for their own personal gratification. But, when the benefit of the community is concerned, they know no such power, or cannot be sufficiently stimulated to its exercise. Mr. Adam, for instance, could raise four new regiments without authority, and suspend the laws of the country at his own individual risk; (for the permanent licensing the press, in a time of no danger, is, at least, as great a measure as the temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus in a time of acknowledged alarm); and Lord Hastings could undertake campaigns, and set aside the Trial by Jury, when he wished to punish his enemies without, and put down all comment on his administration within. If he could do this on his own responsibility, to accomplish his own particular purposes, surely he might have stretched a point or two to benefit so large and important a class of his fellow-subjects. This would have been a case in which it would have been a virtue to "wrest the law to his authority," and effect "a great right" by attempting "a little wrong." An institution for the education of the Indo-British, supported at the public expense, would have been of infinitely more value than the

sums lavished on the construction of a college for the Bishop, and the projected palace for the same Lord Spiritual, which was long talked of as likely to rival in wealth and splendour that of his Grace of Lambeth, making the Ganges richer in public edifices than the Thames. A million bestowed on the improvement of a race that will, sooner or later, be the possessors of India, and spread our name and language over all the Eastern world, as the Americans are doing in the Western one, would have been a nobler object than the same sum expended in building the Government House of Calcutta, or the formation of an English park, for the mere pleasure of an evening drive, at Barrackpoor. If money could be spent on such objects as these, and even more trifling and unworthy ones, one handful out of the many taken from the Treasury might have been given to the education of this neglected race; and it would have returned again to the state with large increase in the benefit it must have produced. Again, if new regiments could be raised, for whatever purpose required, it would have been as easy to have formed some of them out of this class, and thereby have given honourable employment to a number of officers and men, who would be made happy and useful by such appointments. For want of this patronage, so easily bestowed, the Indo-Britons are, in general, a degraded, discontented, and may become a dangerous body, if not nursed into union of feeling and interest with their fairer relatives and brethren. Among them there are many excellent and amiable individuals, of both sexes; some taking the lead in the improvement of their own class; and some emulating, though it must be confessed but humbly, the manners of our English fashionables, and for want of a better direction of their choice, copying our follies rather than not imitate us at all. The few that have been elevated in their rank by marriage with civil and military servants of the Company, were not considered quite beneath Lord Hastings's notice, during his stay in India, as some of these gave routs and parties, on a scale of expense in which even the English could not surpass them. But the condition of the whole race (on which these privileged few, from the weakness inseparable from vanity and false pride, are often the first to turn their backs) were not at all improved by any act of Lord Hastings, during his administration of India, and they have now undertaken the establishment of an institution for themselves. In this, therefore, his Lordship neglected what was a sacred duty to his country and to mankind, and it deserves mention in an estimate of what he has performed, and what he has omitted, in the execution of his trust.

5th. Lastly, Lord Hastings did nothing towards the abolition of that hideous and execrable practice of immolating human victims, which continued in full force up to the moment of his quitting the Indian shores. During his stay in that country, he must

have seen that there was nothing which the English Government could command, that would not be instantly and unresistingly obeyed by all classes of people. He must have known that infanticide had been lessened, if not suppressed, by the exertions of individuals; he must have known that the practice of throwing children into the Ganges at Saugor, to be devoured by sharks, had been put down by order of Lord Wellesley; he must have known that the Brahmins had submitted, without a murmur, to several modifications of the rules respecting burning of widows, limiting the age, time, place, form, &c. and rendering a written permission necessary; and that if similar restrictions to those which he placed on the *virtue* of men "expressing their honest sentiments," had been placed on the *crime* of destroying human life, they would have been more consonant with law, with reason, and with humanity; and would never have been infringed. He must have been aware, that among the Brahmins themselves, great difference of opinion prevailed, as to the lawfulness of this practice, according to the tenets of their own religion; and that by far the most intelligent among them considered it as totally unnecessary, and contrary to the spirit and intention of their own lawgiver. Yet, with all this knowledge, can it be mentioned, without reproach, that he took no steps whatever to abate or abolish this murderous custom? In this case, at least, it cannot be said that he needed solicitation. Every newspaper in India, (excepting those in the pay and interest of his Government) teemed with the most heart-rending descriptions of human sacrifices taking place within a few miles only of his own imperial residence. Every such description was accompanied with an expression of horror and indignation, on the part of the Correspondent who witnessed and described, or the Editor who inserted the notice of, the frightful scene. It was mentioned as a reproach to the British Government that *they* should permit these immolations of human beings, and suffer the blood of the victims to drench the soil of their territory, while the Dutch, the Danes, and the French, would neither of them permit this abomination in their insignificant possessions of Chandernagore, Serampore, and Chinsurah, where they did not fear to encounter popular prejudice, though each had not more than fifty soldiers at their command; while we pretend to tremble at it, who have an army, and a police of thousands, always ready to do our bidding. It was declared again and again, in the Indian Papers, and that too without contradiction, not only that it was the duty of the existing Government to put down this odious practice, which entailed disgrace on all who permitted or participated in its bloody rites, but that it might be most effectually done, without the slightest danger, by simply (as it had already been made criminal to burn without express permission) directing the English magistrates not to grant such permission in the British territory, but

allowing the parties to go and burn in other lands, as the Governments of the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, had done. Ye even this simple experiment was not tried, and British India continues to enjoy the exclusive honour of seeing the horrid flames, and hearing the piercing shrieks of living and unwilling victims ascend to the skies, while the wretched beings thus sacrificed are bound to the burning pile, so that they cannot escape, or thrown back again, half consumed, if their struggles should break the bonds that hold them; and drums and trumpets, shouts and frantic yells, drown the last dying groans with which they yield up their injured spirits unto death! This is no fictitious or exaggerated picture. It is happening *every day* in some part or other of British India. The pages of the Calcutta Journal contain details of hundreds of such instances; and every ship that arrives from India, brings accounts of others still occurring. Lord Hastings might have abolished the practice himself, by that substitution of "simple force" with which he and his predecessors and successors, have all, at one time or other, set aside the law, to serve their own unworthy purposes (for so we must call the threatening and the punishment of Englishmen without trial). He did *not* do so; and he has, on this account also, much to answer for.

We should extend this article to an undue length, were we to continue the detail. There are few men living, perhaps, who have occupied so high a station, and enjoyed such opportunities of doing good, that have so little improved them as the Marquess of Hastings; and he may with great truth repeat the confession—"We have done those things which we ought not to have done; and we have left undone those things which we ought to have done."—Such an avowal may be made, perhaps, by all men, in ordinary matters; but to repeat another maxim quite in point, it will be remembered that "where much is given, much is also required," and that whoever undertakes an important trust, ought to be prepared to execute it in such a manner as that he may be able to yield it up without just cause of reproach.

To sum up our estimate of the Marquess of Hastings's character, as Governor General of India, we will add but a few lines more. We believe that one of the leading motives for his appointment to this post, was to give a favourite nobleman an opportunity of repairing his shattered fortunes; and in this it is perhaps something to the credit of his character for one description of public integrity, though but little to the praise of his thoughtless disregard of private obligations, that he has not entirely succeeded. He went to India to administer a bad system of government, which he observed but too faithfully, and which he has done but little, except in empty professions of the desire, to reform. He undertook wars of conquest and aggrandisement, as well as of self-defence: and though he showed striking marks of

disinterestedness as it regarded his own personal emolument, he makes it his greatest boast, and refers to it even as the standard of the excellence of his plans, that he acquired for the East India Company, by these conquests, a considerable portion of treasure, which, however, he does not even pretend to have *created*, but merely occasioned to change hands, taking it from the treasury of its former possessors, to put it into that of the conquerors. This is the only ground on which we think him fairly entitled to the pension he claims; though it is perhaps a little hard that this pension should come—as come it must, even if paid out of the funds in Leadenhall-street—out of the wealth taken from others without their consent, and by a process which subjected them all to actual loss as well as humiliation.

We consider Lord Hastings to be a high-minded and chivalrous nobleman, as far as disdain for money on his own account, and a certain punctiliousness of ceremony and courtly demeanour towards others, can deserve these epithets. But he is neither a wise, a firm, nor a consistent statesman. His military career in India was brilliant and imposing; his civil administration possessing only one merit, that of wringing money from the pockets of the people for the benefit of his masters,—a virtue, in which a Turkish pasha of a distant province would far surpass him, though he would not apply it so honestly to the sultan in whose name he levied his demands. His whole career, since the end of his campaigns, has been a tissue of evasions and inconsistencies, quite unworthy a man of the commonest understanding, as every one who has watched his proceedings with regard to the press must have already determined. He has a benevolent heart, and may even easily be moved to tears: but the cries of burning widows, piercing the flames that enveloped them, never touched his bosom with sufficient force to make him rid the world of this abomination. He professed to admire the noble spirit that could declare its honest sentiments; and yet he could threaten ruin to that which he admired. He was firm and unbending in his treatment of those military officers who offended him by too great a love of freedom; and yet he could be easily turned from his purpose, even in military matters, by an influence to which it is amiable and pardonable to submit in other matters, but not always safe or politic to yield to in affairs of state. He might have been disposed to do good (and the repeated professions of this disposition in his speeches and public declarations would seem to warrant the belief); but some evil genius so contrived events that there were generally many obstacles to the accomplishment of his benevolent purpose. He, perhaps, sometimes *did* do good; but this same evil genius often afterwards marred it. If he had been quite alone, and uninfluenced by others, we sincerely believe his administration would have been of a very different nature: but in a statesman holding so much power, and

almost without responsibility, the want of firmness to resist whatever attempts may be made to turn him from his purpose is, in our view, as great a blemish as the total absence of the disposition to use it for good ends. To the mass subjected to his power, its effects are all that they can estimate. Neither they nor we have aught to do with motive. All might have been well-meant and undertaken for the best; but the issue has not justified the hope; and as it is not permitted us to ascribe evil results to bad intentions, though there is no limit set to praise for the opposite union of beneficial results and good intentions, we must be content to suppose it the lot of humanity to be fallible, and pity where we cannot safely condemn.

Notwithstanding all we have said, however, and we have spoken with the most unreserved sincerity, we still think, that, as the Marquess of Hastings has obtained undoubted advantages for the East India Company, they ought to give him a handsome provision for his declining years; though we would recommend them at the same time to have some compassion upon the Indian people, from whose industry all must come, to whomsoever they award it. While we have endeavoured to do our duty, as a guide to *future* Governors, rather than a help to the past, who are now beyond our fears or our remonstrance, we earnestly hope that the Marquess will receive his pension, and that he may live to pass many years of happiness in the enjoyment of it. We shall perhaps return to his book on a future occasion.

THE BIRD-CATCHER.

(*From the Greek of Bion.*)

Young birds pursuing in a shady grove,
A youth perceived forever-fleeting Love
Perched on a box-bough; and, on coming near,—
For now the God did as a bird appear,—
Pleased he prepared to spread his trusty net,
And followed Love, but came no nearer yet.
At length, indignant, down he threw the snare,
His master's home being near, he hastened there,
Told the mischance, and, in the vale below,
Pointed where Love was sitting on the bough.
His rustic teacher smiling shook his head,
And, "From this hunting quick abstain," he said;
"That bird pursue not, rather from it fly,
For 'tis the veriest monster of the sky;
Happy thou'lt be till in thy snare he fall;
But when thy boyish days are past recall,
And thou art man, though now he shuns thy way,
He'll uninvited come with wanton play,
And perch upon thy head, and drive thy peace away."

Olen.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY OF TEA.—LETTER II.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, London, April 1824.

DESIROUS of not occupying too great a space in your valuable publication, I confined myself, in my last letter, to arguments not touched upon by the writer in the Edinburgh Review; but on a subject so deeply interesting to the community, it is important that the facts should be fully stated, and I have therefore to request you will insert the following extract:

	Highest Price at Hamburo' and New York, in 1823. *per lb.*	Selling Prices at E. I. Co.'s Sale, June 1823. *per lb.*
Bohea	0*s.* 10*d.*	2*s.* 5*d.*
Congou	1*s.* 2*d.*	2*s.* 6*d.*
Campoi	1*s.* 0*d.*	3*s.* 5*d.*
Souchong	1*s.* 4*d.*	4*s.* 4*d.*
Twankay	1*s.* 7*d.*	3*s.* 4*d.*
Hyson Skin	1*s.* 7*d.*	3*s.* 4*d.*
Hyson	2*s.* 6*d.*	4*s.* 5*d.*

Not to multiply figures, I have omitted the fractional parts, and the lowest prices at those places; and comparing them with the prices at Gibraltar and other parts of the world, not compelled to buy Tea through the East India Company, I find, upon an average, that we are paying in this country double the price of any other. After this, it is almost needless to state that no Tea has been exported for several years, except to those colonies which are compelled to take it from us; and I only mention it as a proof of the price being so exorbitant, as to exclude us from a profitable branch of commerce, which, from our capital, enterprise, and connexion with China, we had it in our power to command. The supply of our colonies has been greatly diminished by smuggling from the United States; through which, in Canada, they can obtain it cheaper than from this country in bond, although enhanced in value by the payment of the heavy American duty.

The only inference, therefore, which can possibly be drawn from these facts is, that through the Monopoly of the East India Company, the country is paying a most exorbitant price for Tea, exclusive of duty; that a considerable proportion of the people are, in consequence, deprived of this harmless luxury; and that it is imperative upon the legislature to correct the evil.

If it be asserted that the faith of Parliament has been pledged to the East India Company, until the expiration of their charter; I answer, that it was not granted for the oppression of the people, and a power is reserved by which the East India Company may be compelled to afford a sufficient supply. Is it to be imagined, that, at the will of the East India Company, we could be made to pay double the present price? Yet, if their charter is to shield them from interference, I see no security for their not doing so. The East India Company are obtaining nearly as high prices for their Teas now, as during the war, although every charge incident to its importation has been reduced, I should imagine, at least thirty per cent.

Is not this, in itself, sufficient proof that some correction is necessary?—Papers, relating to this subject, having been moved for by Mr. Hume, I hope that the East India Company's contracts for shipping will be included; by which it will be clearly perceived at how much cheaper a rate they are now carrying on this trade than formerly. The nature of the papers will be a test of the spirit which has actuated the Mover, and I hope he will not allow his interest as an East India Proprietor to seduce him from the duty he owes to the public as Member of Parliament.

Were this trade not a Monopoly, the East India Company, as a commercial body, would clearly have a right to put up for sale as little as they chose; but the case is altered when they enjoy the exclusive privilege or supplying the country with what may now be considered almost a necessary of life, and the regular and abundant supply of which was one of the principal motives for granting their charter. That it has been regular is admitted, but *regularly too little*, and the public voice now calls upon them to make up the deficiency. The quantity which was sufficient for ten millions is not so for fourteen millions of people. As the call upon them, however, is rather sudden, and they may not be prepared to supply all our wants at a moment, let them begin by an additional declaration of a million pounds every quarter. I will suppose that four millions more sold in the year would reduce the sale price sixpence per pound on 28 millions, which would be a loss to Government, in duty, of 700,000*l.*; but then the duty on the four millions additional would be about 500,000*l.*, leaving a balance of only 200,000*l.*, which would be returned by the saving to the people of 6*d.* per lb. in the cost, and 6*d.* per lb. duty, or 1,400,000*l.* per annum, being expended in other exciseable articles. I am aware that this is only assumption, but the experiment ought to be tried; and let the amount of duty received at the end of the year be the criterion whether the quantity should be still further increased, or reduced to the old standard. Surely there cannot be a fairer proposition than this; and if not acceded to by the East India Company, it will be a further corroboration of the necessity of some alteration. I have heard it asserted, as a proof of the quantity put up for sale by the East India Company being sufficient for the demand, that at any time 2000 or 3000 chests of tea may be purchased on the market; but it is only a proof that at the present prices the consumption cannot be greatly increased; and the high price of Bohea tea, which is of a quality hardly fit for use by itself, shows the demand for an inferior article, for the purpose of reducing the finer sorts to a price approaching nearer to the consumer's ability to pay.

The East India Company's declaration of tea for the June sale, is rather an extraordinary one. They have increased the quantity of Bohea 100,000 lb., and Twankay 50,000lb., both of which have been higher, comparatively, than other kinds; and considering that the East India Company are actually dependent upon further arrivals for the supply which they have declared for sale, the act is entitled to approbation, whether originating in deference to public opinion, or in their own unbiassed sense of propriety. The diminution of the quantity of Congou, 50,000lbs. is in a directly opposite spirit; and when it is known that the East India Company have a two years stock of this sort on hand, and the average price has been enhanced every sale for some time passed, it appears opposed to their own interest, and still more unjust to the public.

To appease the public mind, the advocates of the East India Company's

monopoly prices must give a satisfactory answer to the following queries:—Why should the price in England, exclusive of duty, be double what it is in every other country?—Why should the consumption be stationary, with an increased population and taste for tea?—Why cannot the East India Company afford to sell it cheaper, when their officers can make a profit with the East India Company's deduction of 27*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. on the selling price, equal to 100 per cent. on the cost price, and valuing their tonnage at 50*l.* per ton?—Why should the difference of charges, in war and peace, make no difference in price to the consumers? Until they can give a satisfactory solution of these queries, it will be useless for them to raise the cry of an "ignorant impatience of taxation," or of a desire to destroy all vested rights; the public have also rights to be maintained, and, in this instance, I think it is sufficiently evident, that the arm of power can be properly exercised in their behalf, if milder measures prove unavailing.

Though of minor importance, there is yet one other view of the Tea trade, which demands the attention of Government, and if not intruding too much on your limits, I shall take this opportunity of bringing it under the notice of your readers.

	Putting-up Price at E. I. Co.'s Sale. per lb.		Selling Price. per lb.		
Bohea	1*s.* 6*d.*	....	2*s.* 5*d.*	a	2*s.* 6*d.*
Congou	2*s.* 2*d.*	a 2*s.* 4*d.*	2*s.* 6¾*d.*		3*s.* 8*d.*
Campoi	2*s.* 9*d.*	December	3*s.* 2¾*d.*		3*s.* 10½*d.*
Souchong	3*s.* 0*d.*	....	3*s.* 9½*d.*		4*s.* 10*d.*
Twankay	2*s.* 5*d.*	....	3*s.* 6½*d.*		3*s.* 10*d.*
Hyson	3*s.* 0*d.*	a 4*s.* 0*d.*	4*s.* 2*d.*		5*s.* 9*d.*

I ask no stronger proof of my assertion, that the East India Company do not declare Tea enough for the consumption of the country, than the above statement affords. It cannot be supposed that the buyers would give the advance upon the putting-up price, if the supply were adequate to the demand; but they are driven to it by competition: and, on the other hand, the East India Company would not put up the Tea at prices which they could not afford to take. It is therefore a mockery to put up Bohea at 1*s.* 6*d.* when there is a moral certainty that it will fetch 2*s.* 6*d.*; and however it may answer to deceive the public into a belief of the moderate expectations of the East India Company, the veil is too thin not to be seen through.

By the Act 4 Geo. 4. cap. 80. sec. 9. it is provided, "That nothing therein contained shall authorize any of his Majesty's subjects, other than the said Company, or persons properly licensed by them, to carry on trade or traffic with the dominions of the Emperor of China, or to export or import from or to any ports or places within or without the limits of the said Company's Charter, any tea, *or in any manner to trade or traffic in tea.*" And, by a prior Act, I believe any vessel found on the high seas, having on board more than six pounds of tea, or one pound for the use of each person, is liable to seizure and confiscation. The effect of these restrictions is entirely to exclude our shipping from the carrying trade in this article; for, as I understand them, no British vessel can carry a chest of tea, imported into Gibraltar by an American vessel, up the Mediterranean, or to any other part of the world.

In the same manner no tea can be conveyed to or from any intermediate places in the East Indies, or the Americas, by British ships, without the special leave of the Company, which they take special care not to grant. Of what use is all this jealousy ? or what terror should the traffic strike into the hearts of the Honourable Directors ? unless the inauspicious term of gunpowder, applied to one description, has led them to imagine that more is meant than meets the eye. If it be intended to prevent smuggling into this country, it is altogether nugatory, as the smugglers can be supplied from the opposite coast on very moderate terms; and American vessels can hover round the coast of Ireland, within a certain distance, and discharge any quantity without fear of molestation. It can never be the wish of the East India Company to throw unnecessary impediments in the way of British commerce, nor exclude British subjects from participating in a trade which foreigners can at present exclusively pursue. The East India Company have never attempted the supply of foreign countries themselves, and have therefore no motive to prevent their countrymen, except from an apprehension that their resort to Canton may lead to an interruption of their own trade. If a plan therefore should be devised, by which this very remote contingency can be provided against, their only objection would be removed, and I cannot doubt that the invidious restrictions would be taken off.

Let the East India Company retain their privilege of supplying this country with tea, but in a more liberal manner ; allow British vessels to be the carriers of tea from one part of the world to the other, save only to our own hallowed ground ; and until the experiment is tried, continue to exclude them from the ports of China.

On the first view of this proposition, it would appear that no advantage could be derived from the concession ; but to those conversant with the trade nothing would be easier than to obtain abundant supplies of tea without a direct communication with China. The East India Company allow country ships to trade between India and China, for the purpose of disposing of the surplus produce of their own territories, and bringing back the small quantity of tea, &c. required for the consumption of India ; but these vessels can seldom obtain a full lading home, and consequently would fill up with tea to be delivered at Singapore or in India, from whence it would be exported to South America, the West India Islands, and Europe, in British vessels. Or the Chinese junks would bring down their tea to Singapore, return freighted with British manufactures, and in all probability take tenfold the amount which we now send by the Company's ships. There is nothing chimerical in this idea ; for we know that the Chinese junks traverse the Indian Archipelago, and carry tea down to Siam ; and the saving of the Chinese port charges would be equal to the freight on their junks.

By this method, all apprehension of quarrels between the natives and private traders would be quieted ; the country ships, now rotting in port, would find employment ; British ships would have a new carrying trade opened to them ; and our manufactures a more extended market. But suppose that the expectations which I have formed are not realized ; is it nothing to have removed the invidious distinction which is now made in favour of foreign shipping ? Would not the East India Company gain popularity, without expense, or the loss of a single advantage to themselves ? If they refuse this concession, will not the fable of the dog in

the manger be applicable to them?—an application most opprobrious in private life, and still more so in a public body, not one of whose Directors individually but must spurn it. All that appears necessary is, that the East India Company should avail themselves of the power granted by Act of Parliament, and issue licences for British ships to trade in tea to any other country than this: it is a measure at once so just and politic, that I hope so fair an opportunity for gratuitous concession will not be allowed to escape. P. B. P.

INDIAN WAR SONG.

Paraphrase of an Indian Song, or Ode, written in the Brij Bakah language, and discovered in the cummerbund or sash of a Pindarrie chieftain, who had fallen during a night skirmish between the freebooters and a detachment of our cavalry in India, during the last campaign.

MOUNT and away! Hark, the nuqura's* loud call,
Bids the serf quit his labour, the chieftain his hall;
Bright looks and sweet voices awhile must give way
To the flash of the spear, and the war-courser's neigh.

The kaffers † shall tremble, who view from afar
Our conquest-crown'd banner, like Buehram's ‡ red star;
And fly to the ships, whence they treacherously came
To rob us of glory, to clothe us in shame.

Would they track our bold march, let them look where on high
Our war-fire's reflection hangs red in the sky:
An Iris of hope to the free and the brave,
A meteor of fear to the coward and slave.

Let the Musulman rise, with his old battle cry,
For the glad hour of freedom and vengeance is nigh;
Let him think on the sceptre his forefathers swayed,
And the might of past ages shall rest on his blade.

Will the fiery rajpoot hear the trumpet that rings
With a nation's appeal to the offspring of kings,§
Nor rush to the field, like his proud sires of old,
The vanguard of valour, and guide of the bold?

Sound! sound to horse! hark! the loud clanging hoof
And the neigh of impatience gives gallant reproof;
March! and the trump of our Durrahs shall roll,
Like a fast-coming storm on the infidel's soul.

C. J.

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* Indian drum.

† Literally unbelievers, infidels, a term of reproach mutually applied by Christians, Mohammedans, and idolaters, to the enemies of their respective creeds.

‡ The planet Mars.

§ The rajpoots are the kingly and warrior *caste* among the Hindoos: and from the men of this class, the British army in India is principally supplied.

SKETCHES IN INDIA.

Sketches in India, treating on Subjects connected with the Government; Civil and Military Establishments; Characters of the European, and Customs of the Native, Inhabitants. By William Huggins. London, 1824. 8vo. *pp.* 237.

Since the publication of Mrs. Graham's Journal of a Residence in India, we have had no popular work on the manners of the European inhabitants of that country: and our estimation of the book now before us, is not such as to induce a belief that this will ever become as popular as that of Mrs. Graham's was in its day. The writer, amidst some things that are useful and true, has mixed up much that is useless and false; and the defective style and arrangement of the whole, is such as to render it a task of no small labour to proceed through the volume without interruption. We have done this, in execution of a duty, but not in enjoyment of a pleasure: and with a view to spare others the toil of seeking for the few grains amidst a profusion of chaff, we shall proceed to give the outlines of the subjects treated of, with occasional passages of the work itself; so that the reader may be possessed, in a small compass, of the principal information contained in the whole. We are aware that this is contrary to the usual practice of reviewing;—but leaving to those publications, which are exclusively devoted to party-purposes, the task of praising, or condemning in the gross, according to the religious and political sentiments professed by the writers of the works reviewed, and in utter disregard of their real merits: we shall, at least, endeavour on this, and on all other occasions, to give a fair and impartial account of the several publications that may fall under our notice, neither refusing praise nor sparing censure where either may appear to us to be due.

The mode chosen by the author of "Sketches in India," for the communication of his sentiments on the state of society in that country, is that of familiar letters; a design which, when well executed, has peculiar charms: but at the same time, one which is too frequently used as a covering for indolence, or incapacity, and often therefore exhibiting the greatest defects in information and arrangement. In this respect we regard the letters in question, as rarely or ever evincing the beauties which often beam, with peculiar grace, through the familiar epistles of friends; though on the other hand they furnish innumerable instances of carelessness, pedantry, and bad taste combined.

The first letter in the collection gives a meagre and feeble description of the entrance to the river Hoogly, and the approach to Calcutta; and as though it were intended that the reader should have an early proof of that entire absence of enthusiasm in the cause of improvement which distinguishes the author's mind, he makes an allusion to one of the most benevolent and public-spirited undertakings of modern times—the cultivation of Saugor island—apparently but for the purpose of expressing his hopelessness of its success.

The second letter furnishes an illustration of the notions entertained by the author as to the peculiar duties of the English Government and the East India Company towards India. He had somewhere read or heard,

no doubt, of the observation of Burke, during the time of Warren Hastings, that if the English were to lose their possessions in India, they would leave behind them no trace of the country having ever been occupied by a civilized race of conquerors: and he embodies this thought on the very first occasion of his seeing and describing the Government-house at Calcutta.

> This magnificent structure, which would not sink in a comparison with most palaces in Europe, owes its rise to the princely disposition of Marquess Wellesley. Setting aside the royal palaces in London, which do not compete with this, I have seen the Thuilleries and palace of Versailles, and think neither of them equals the Government-house in uniformity and majesty of design; the building of it is said to have cost upwards of a million sterling, and to have excited considerable discontent at the India House. I shall here observe, if the East India Company are so mercenary as to deny the expenses necessary for erecting magnificent buildings, their empire may endure, and may perish without leaving a trace of its grandeur behind, or mark to show the tide of its prosperity. p. 6.

The great objects of foreign conquest, and the true symbols of prosperity, appear to this writer to be the erection of great public buildings. Other authors have regarded such monuments as generally recording the wretchedness of the people who reared them, and the vanity or despotism of those for whose gratification they were raised. The pyramids of Egypt, and the caverned temples of India, have been generally considered as monuments of useless labour, wrung from an already impoverished, and therefore abject people. To be consistent, however, this writer ought to regard the excavations at Elephanta, Salsette, and Ellora, with the innumerable monuments of ancient superstition existing throughout India, as proofs of a higher degree of civilization and prosperity than even the Government-house at Calcutta, the erection of which, must have cost much less labour and expense than many of the monuments alluded to. If he had read the History of India with any attention, he must have known that there could be no criterion of grandeur and prosperity more fallacious than this. To erect the Government-house at Calcutta it is admitted that a million sterling was required of the Company. From whence could this fund be raised, but from the source which supplies all its demands—a portion of the property or labour of the people of India, in the shape of revenue from the soil, and duties on commerce? It could be no great benefit to the native inhabitants to have to furnish this million; yet it is they who must ultimately pay the expense of such edifices. If a million were taken from them for the construction of bridges and roads; for the embankment of rivers; clearing of unhealthy spots, as at Saugor; enacting wise laws; establishing schools; or promoting any other object, from which benefits might return to them in their own generation, and descend with increased force to their children, they might readily spare it, and all parties would reap the advantage of such an outlay. But the magnificent palace at Calcutta, which it cost them a million to erect, will not return to them or their descendants a single benefit of any description whatever, unless the annual demand of more money for its embellishment and repairs can be so considered. That the Governor should have a public residence, and a handsome and commodious one, will not be disputed; but that the displeasure of a Trading Company at a servant of theirs paying too large a price for the gratification of his personal vanity, should be urged against them as a

reproach, is an idea that could only have arisen in a confused imagination. We continue the author's remarks:—

What has distinguished the conquests of the Greeks and Romans from those of Timur and Zinghis Khan?—What but the arts, the improvements, the civilization, and the monuments which time has not been able to destroy, but after a lapse of ages remain to excite our emulation, and instruct our minds. Palmyra still towers amidst the desert, and speaks the magnificence of Zenobia, whilst the track of Timur is not seen upon the sand—his armies annihilated and mingled with the dust. If the Company, from another motive, from a spirit of avarice, walk in the track of this waster, and refuse to impress a single stamp of greatness upon the empire they have seized, their conduct is much more culpable. They are not Tartars of the desert, but men instructed in the arts of civilized life—in the history of past ages, aware of the duties which attach to rule and improvements due to their empire; if, then, from the wretched love of gold, they deviate from these, their conduct is highly censurable. The Marquess had collected materials at Barrackpore for erecting another magnificent building there, and had commenced the foundations when his government expired. In consequence of the avarice I have condemned, this design was given up by his successors, and Lady Hastings erected a greenhouse from the neglected pile. p. 6, 7.

If the avarice of the Company were never displayed in a more objectionable manner than their refusing to sanction the erection of expensive and useless edifices, their conduct would be worthy of praise. It is one thing to desolate provinces, as was done by Timour and Zenghis Khan, and another to abstain from studding it with idle monuments of pomp and magnificence. In this, the Company are undoubtedly right: the monuments which they erect, should be more worthy of enlightened men; they should introduce the skill, capital, and industry of their countrymen freely into India; they should teach their subjects the useful arts of life; frame new laws; encourage the diffusion of intelligence; and change the whole character of the people, before they think of palaces and public buildings. The Hindoos, under the Brahmins, are not more barbarous than were the people of England under their Druids in Roman days: but as the English are now much more capable of speedily changing the character of a conquered people, by the introduction of knowledge among them, than were the Romans at the conquest of Britain; so they might, had they acted wisely, have even by this time wrought as great an improvement in the people of India under their rule, as the English underwent from the time of the conquest, to the middle ages of our history. That they have *not* done so, is a foul and deep reproach: but it is even yet not too late to begin. Let them open their dominions freely to the colonization of Englishmen; revise the laws, or have a new code; and restore the freedom of the press. If they would but do this, in twenty years India would make a greater advance in civilization than she has done during the two centuries that she has been subject to the dominion of different powers in Europe.

In the third letter, the author attempts an account of the leading characteristics of the several Governors General, from Warren Hastings to Lord Moira: and in attempting to palliate the crimes laid to the charge of the former, he has some remarks which are worth transcribing, if only for other collateral suggestions, to which they are likely to give rise in the mind of the reader:

The Rohilla war, seizure of Benares, death of Rajah Nundcomar, and annulment of the Bengal leases, are, I think, the chief points on which his conduct has been attacked. I shall not plead in his defence those intrigues which are so

prevalent in an Indian cabinet, and are known only to the actors, those machinations which roused his hostility. I shall not defend his wars on the score of justice, for it is a test to which no conquerors have been subjected, but look simply to consequences; the acquisitions he made added consistency to our possessions; gave them the shape and form of a connected empire; gave them stability. If we censure his conduct, why do we retain them? Why have we an empire in India at all? We have no natural right; we did not purchase it; we have conquered it. Warren Hastings added rich provinces to our empire; we retain them; we glory in them; we reap advantages from them; and shall we arraign as a culprit the man who procured them for us? If England did not wish to be grateful to her benefactor, she should not have ruined him; if she wished to avoid the odium entailed by those acquisitions, she should have restored them, instead of exhibiting a mock resentment against the man who procured them, whilst the provinces acquired by his talents and political ability, are esteemed a precious dowry. It was not generous to brandish the rod of correction above his head, who drew forth a jewel, valued as the brightest in her coronet; which blazes on her brow, and accuses her of ingratitude. p. 15—17.

These questions may be better answered by the East India Company than by ourselves. We are no admirers of the manner in which our Indian empire was acquired, any more than of the manner in which it is at present governed. Let those who approve of both, solve the difficulty which the author starts. We pass on to the brief mention made of Lord Hastings: where, after animadverting on the Nepaul war, which the author conceives his Lordship to have undertaken from mere views of ambition and personal aggrandisement, he says—

His Lordship in this war displayed extensive military capacity, and his operations were planned with a degree of wisdom and skill that do high credit to his talents. In his civil conduct, his Lordship observed that moderation and regard for liberty, which, during the course of a long life, he has uniformly professed. He cancelled those restrictions which had been, before his time, imposed on the press, and by enabling the inhabitants of India to *write their sentiments freely*, has done an important service to the community. In short, if we could blot the Nepaul war out of Lord Hastings's administration, his conduct in other respects would enable us to pronounce him a great and good man. p. 24.

The fallacy of the opinions which prevail respecting Lord Hastings's conduct towards the Indian press, is so mischievous that it can never be too frequently exposed. The restrictions imposed on the press before his Lordship's government, were those of a direct censorship, which compelled all writers (except the most dangerous class, the Indo-British) to submit their writings to the Chief Secretary before they could appear in print. This was abolished by Lord Hastings, and infinite credit taken by himself for this pretended liberality. We say *pretended*, from the deepest conviction, after all that has since transpired, that the admiration of free discussion, so often and so unequivocally professed by Lord Hastings, could have had no foundation in truth; and that the sole object of expressing it at all, was to obtain praise, for what he must have known in his heart, was not in the slightest degree deserved. We were among the first to extol the apparent magnanimity of the Noble Marquess, believing, in the simplicity of good faith, that all he said was truly and sincerely meant to be made his rule of action. Is it possible, however, that any man can admit that "Lord Hastings has done (in the words of the author) an important service to the Indian community, by enabling the inhabitants of India to write *freely*," when this same "Liberator" of the Indian press avows, repeatedly, that he had himself, when he abolished the censorship, framed other and more galling restric-

tions on public discussion, which positively prohibited all allusion to the public conduct of public men in India, and the examination of the only subjects which it was of any importance to discuss as relating to the immediate interests of the country itself?* Can it be believed that Lord Hastings deserves praise for permitting men to write *freely*, when he himself threatens immediate banishment, without trial, to any one who should dare to exercise this proffered privilege on any subject which he chose to prohibit? It might with just as much truth be said, that Lord Ellenborough granted the privilege to Englishmen to stab and maim their neighbours with impunity, when he framed his celebrated act which fixes the punishment that every man should receive who ventured to try this experiment on his fellows. An act declaring forgery to be punishable with death, might as well be called an act to allow the free commission of forgery, as regulations subjecting a man to banishment for writing his sentiments on any prohibited topic, could be called permitting men to write their sentiments *freely*. They might do so, no doubt, as a highwayman may present a pistol to a traveller's ear, but they would do so at their peril: and the former would not be more certain of being hanged, if convicted in a court of justice, and by the verdict of a jury, than the latter would be sure of transportation, without the intervention of any form of law to protect them. The highwayman would not suffer death unless his guilt was clearly established to the satisfaction of his countrymen: the Indian writer, who should even displease the Governor General, or any member of his Council, might be transported, though perfectly innocent of any act known as a crime against the law. To talk of the benefit conferred by Lord Hastings on the Indian community "by his enabling them to write their sentiments *freely*," when this is the penalty to which every man who might venture so to do, would be liable, betrays an ignorance for which it is difficult to find an appropriate epithet. And yet, thousands in England are still in the same error; but it must arise from want of due attention to the subject; and we have for this reason taken the more pains to place it clearly before them.

The fourth letter of the author relates to the East India Company's army. He pays a just tribute of praise to the bravery and discipline of the sepoys; and considers them as well paid, and well equipped, as any troops in the world,—in which we entirely agree with him, taking into consideration their habits of life, and the rank they hold in their own country as compared with the classes of their countrymen from which they are principally drawn. His remarks on the condition and prospects of the officers, though written in not the most alluring style, contain much of accuracy; and evince an intimate acquaintance with the tone of feeling that prevails among the junior classes of them at least. These remarks are sufficiently curious, to be given at length:—

> I shall now animadvert briefly on the Company's officers:—when a young cadet comes from England, he has heard, like other people, of Indian luxuries, and has generally his head stuffed full of the fine things that are to be met with there; after landing, he is charmed with the variety of new sights, the faces, customs, every thing different from what he has witnessed before; but he is posted to a battalion, ordered to a distant station, and the bubble bursts. Although

* See this perpetual reference to these restrictions in the Official Letters of the Chief Secretary, written by order of the Governor General in Council—Oriental Herald, vol. I. App.

an officer's pay in the Company's service is handsome, it will go but a short way to procure him luxuries; indeed, for many years, he will be barely able to live comfortably; for as promotion goes by seniority, and is consequently very slow, he cannot expect to obtain the command of a company in less than sixteen years; and, until that period, an officer without any appointment is but indifferently off. The expenses for servants, for show, and for idleness, are so numerous, that his pay is consumed by them, and very little is left to procure him wines or articles of real comfort, particularly at a distance from Calcutta, where every thing of that kind is extremely dear. In India, a European assumes, or endeavours to assume, the establishment of a gentleman; and this rage for show extends to all orders, so that officers who are gentlemen, and respectable from their situations, are compelled to struggle between the prevailing taste and a narrow income; in order to comply with the one, and not exceed the other. Thus, then, subalterns in the Company's service live, during a long period, in a state of genteel poverty, anxiously longing for war, to cause casualties and accelerate their promotion. In the meantime they are on the alert, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which may present itself for bettering their condition. Of these, the most common is, forming a connexion with some mercantile house in Calcutta. If an officer, through letters of recommendation or other means, can procure a handsome employment, or support from one of these merchants, he resigns the service, *sans ceremonie*, and becomes a man of business; so that one is constantly meeting in agents' offices, auction rooms, and shops, with military men. Pretty soldiers these, you will say; I shall only observe, that interest sways all orders of men in India equally; all think of amassing a certain sum, within a certain period, in order to return and enjoy it at home. This is the magnet to which their wishes turn, and for which they labour, with unabated ardour, under the scorching sun of India. A lack, two lacks, would consummate their wishes, and enable them to descend the hill of life, in the land, to the tomb of their fathers. The spell of country extends over oceans, and binds amidst the feelings dearest to our heart, regard for that soil which nourished its sources of life; absence makes it a passion like love. I have hitherto been speaking of officers, with little but their merit to depend upon; however, there is a very extensive patronage annexed to the Indian army, and those who are fortunate enough to possess interest at head quarters are enriched by it. Besides the situations that exist in all regiments, there are many employments totally distinct from the army, which these *protégés* procure through the interest of friends. Thus an officer of rank may be appointed resident to a native court, with one or two subalterns in the political department. There are contracts for roads, buildings, timber, bullocks, &c. &c. which afford lucrative situations to officers possessed of some interest: in consequence of the various employments these gentlemen obtain, their battalions are often thinly supplied with officers on taking the field.

I have read the narrative of a military man, who produced various instances of this kind, and complained that many officers were detached upon frivolous duties, or filling lucrative offices, whilst their comrades were fighting in the field. That such facts should be permitted to occur, does not redound to the credit of the service; for every officer who holds a civil employment, should be obliged to vacate it, *pro tempore*, and lead his corps against the enemy. What, I would ask, is his use at all, if he is not to be seen on the day of danger? His strutting in regimentals, some hundred miles distant, will not intimidate the enemy. These doughty gentlemen, who get fat in the service, are like drones in a hive, and should be banished from it, or rather the system should be reformed, and all officers obliged to join their battalions in a campaign. p. 26—30.

The fifth letter is on the Jurisprudence of Bengal; and describes the system with tolerable fidelity. After all that has been already written on this fertile theme, in the Reports of the Parliamentary Committees, and in the volumes of almost every author who has treated of India, ending with the masterly work of Mr. Mill, it is difficult to offer any thing new on the subject. Still, however, as the mass of evidence that has already been published to the world, has produced no other effect than *mere* indignation and disgust, without leading to any important reform in the system, it is necessary to repeat, again and again, that in

India, there is more corruption in the administration of justice than in almost any other country under the sun; that crimes of every kind may be, and are, committed with impunity, by those who have money to bribe the native omlahs and officers of court, in order to turn the sentences of the judges in their favour; and that, as it has often been stated, without contradiction, justice is actually put up to sale, and its favourable decisions awarded only to the highest bidder. This, indeed, is the necessary consequence of the *system*, without imputing anything peculiarly corrupt to those who are compelled to administer it: and it is this system which requires a thorough reform in every department of its administration. After a few pages on the several duties enjoined on the officers of the court, and the manner in which these are performed, the author says:—

In fine, perjury is made use of, bribery is made use of, and forgery is made use of, in these proceedings without shame or remorse. Perjury, in particular, is practised to such an extent in India, that a European who has not been there, or one not intimately acquainted with the natives, would not credit the fact; for a few rupees will procure abundant evidence upon any point a man wishes to have attested. When parties go to court, instead of depending upon the justice of their cause, their first consideration is to bribe the judge's omlahs, and to rest their hopes of success principally upon this, whilst they use their influence in favour of that person who has given the largest bribe. It will be necessary here, to explain the manner in which that influence is exercised. The mode in which evidence is taken is this:—a witness makes his deposition to one of these omlahs, who writes it down and hands it to the judge; he looks over it, asks the witness a few questions, and dismisses him. Thus the writer of this evidence, if he has received a bribe, may make material alterations without being detected: for making allowance on account of the judge's carelessness, and timidity of the witness, the chances of concealment are entirely in his favour.

Further, when the evidence of both parties is examined, perhaps ten men are found swearing upon one side, and ten upon the other; so that a judge must be perplexed which way to determine, and unless he is a man of deep sagacity, fit to discover truth from the nature of the facts, he will be completely at a loss. In these cases an omlah's opinion will sway him; nay, there are judges who take their decisions frequently from the omlah's mouth. Where the omlah is a sharp, shrewd man (which they all are), and the judge a soft one, between flattery and cleverness the former gains an ascendancy almost unlimited over the latter. With all the sycophancy of slaves, these men possess great ambition, so that nothing is more common than their governing those Europeans under whom they serve. Indeed I have known instances among commercial men, where this amounted almost to infatuation; and the European could not transact the least affair without advice from his native Mentor: however, he has often occasion to repent it, and finds himself duped by the other's artifices. These circumstances, therefore, give native servants in a Company's court oftentimes great weight; they uniformly receive bribes; the parties at law always offer them; and thus a system of corruption is carried on, which cannot be remedied. p. 34—36.

Thanneders, also, have handsome emoluments from petty offenders, whom they frighten or chastise until a bribe is produced; from great offenders, whom they allow to escape upon paying a sum proportionate to their demerits, and from pound-money for cattle confined for trespass, which belongs to the Company, but which, these gentlemen contrive to pocket themselves. Although corruption is so frequent among the natives of India in office, you are not to suppose they are unshackled by restraint; on the contrary, they are bound by numerous oaths and regulations; but these, like the fillets of the Philistines, this Sampson shakes off, and stalks forth with undiminished strength. p. 37.

The truth of this picture cannot be disputed. Even the Directors of the East India Company must acknowledge it to be a faithful delineation of the state of justice in their dominions. Why, then, is not a reform attempted? They will answer on this, as they do on all other occasions,

that they are unwilling to interfere with established customs, and unwilling to wound the feelings or disturb the prejudices of the natives. This pretended delicacy, which is so perpetually put forth as an excuse for the connivance at every kind of abomination, is hollow and false; and none know better than they who use it as a cloak for their indifference to improvement, that it is so. They have already put Brahmins to death, in defiance of one of the most hallowed prejudices of the Hindoos, which makes it the greatest of all imaginable crimes against their religion to take away the life of so sacred a personage; and they might hang as many more, if they were convicted of any crime warranting such a punishment, by their own laws, without exciting a murmur. Could they not, then, with the same safety, institute inquiries, and reform abuses of various descriptions in the administration of justice, by which all classes, except those who live by corruption and wickedness, would be benefited? Nothing would be more easy than this; but while they have the courage to invade the privileges of which the Hindoo is most tenacious, if the end to be attained is one of great advantage to themselves; yet they have not the virtue to make even the attempt, when the happiness of the community is all that is to be accomplished by the enterprise. As a proof of the little regard which they have for the feelings and the prejudices of the natives in inflicting punishment, we may mention that military flogging on the bare back (to the extent even of many hundred lashes) is common throughout the Indian army;* and that stripes have been inflicted by officers in the civil service on natives of the highest rank and caste, in the prisons of the interior districts; although death has often been occasioned, perhaps as much by the chagrin and sense of disgrace, as by the bodily pain actually resulting from this barbarous and inhuman mode of lacerating the flesh of human victims. The following extract from the work under consideration is quite in point, and will confirm all that we have said respecting the indifference of the East India Company at home, and their servants abroad, to the feelings of the natives, about which they pretend so much alarm when any proposal is made for their improvement.

> The punishment for forgery is peculiar, and expressive of Indian feeling, as regards disgraceful inflictions, which expose a man to contempt. The offender is mounted upon an ass, with his head to the tail, and conducted by a person who proclaims his crime. Hooted by boys, overwhelmed by mockery and insult from all sides, he is led in slow procession through the town. After having served as a butt for general ridicule and contempt, he is relieved from his disagreeable situation, and set at liberty. This punishment, ludicrous in itself, is, however, terrible to the natives, many of whom have been known to commit suicide in order to escape it, or in consequence of the disgrace it has entailed on them; various offences are punished by whipping or fines, which go, not to the injured party, but to the Company's coffers, and from which a considerable revenue must be derived. p. 39.

The sixth letter professes to treat of the Revenue of India, and the mode of its collection. On this subject, the writer appears to have less information than on any other, which is the more remarkable, as his acknowledged occupation of an Indigo planter would lead his readers to expect from him abundant as well as accurate information on this point.

* These sentences may be seen in the General Orders published in the Government Gazette of Calcutta, several times in every year.

We shall notice, however, one or two facts stated by him; and first, the following, namely—that among the taxes paid by the Natives of India to the Honourable Company of Merchants in Leadenhall-street, are several imposed on pilgrims visiting their shrines and temples, at Gyah, and Juggernauth. (p. 41.) These taxes are received by English gentlemen in their service on behalf of their monopolizing masters; and we may add, that as far as our experience goes, we believe these revenues from the shrines of idolatry are deemed disgraceful by all classes of Englishmen in India, and by none more so than by those whose duty it is to collect them for the treasury of the Christian rulers. In England we are accustomed to hear denunciations of indignation uttered against the Turks for their enforcing a capitation-tax from the Greeks;—and it is considered throughout Christendom as something monstrous that Infidel Mohammedans should exact a tax from true believers, who pay their annual visit to the tomb of Christ at Jerusalem. But is not the conduct of the East India Company much worse than this? The tax of the Turks is consistent with the tenor of their religion, and has the authority of their prophet to support it. The tax of the East India Company is in direct violation of the spirit and essence of the religion they profess, and has neither precept nor example from the Christian faith to recommend it. The Turks, too, might plead in excuse their professed and habitual disregard of the religion and religious usages of the Christians, for whom they avow the most open contempt, and whom they subject to every kind of degradation on account of their faith alone. The East India Company have no such excuse to offer. They make such frequent professions of their tender regard for the religion and religious prejudices of the natives, that almost every abuse under their government is defended on this plea. This profession is embodied in their very laws, and interwoven with all their practices; and it is made so criminal in others not to show the same respect to all their follies and barbarities, that any man who should attempt to violate any one of their religious customs, by walking into a man's house while he was eating, pouring water on his food, or any similar interruption of his superstitious observances, would be instantly apprehended and banished from the country as a felon, without any hope of redress. And yet, the Company tax these devotees for their visits to the shrines of their idols, and sometimes seize the idols themselves for payment of the revenues derived from their temples. What an instructive comment on the professions made in England of their zeal to enlighten and instruct the Hindoos in the Christian faith! This is, indeed, an admirable way of patronizing and supporting Christianity. If their object in thus taxing the people, and arresting their gods, were to discourage or put down idolatry, they would then be committing the very outrages which they make it criminal in others to attempt. But this is neither their wish nor their intention. They take the keeping of some of the temples into their own hands; receive all the revenues from their lands, and from the pilgrims; pay the officiating Brahmins, as well as the dancing girls and prostitutes attached to the service of the god; furnish the meat and flowers offered to the idol; keep the temple in repair for the use of future generations of idolaters, and put the remainder of the money into the treasury of the East India Company, to benefit their Christian proprietors! Is it possible, after this disclosure, that the Nation can be any longer imposed on by the pretended zeal of the East India Directors for the propagation of the Gospel in the East?

Is it possible that the people of England should still remain indifferent to the evil of being taxed, shut out from a fertile country, and excluded from one of the richest channels of trade that exists on the globe, to support and perpetuate such an odious and execrable system as this? It appears to be impossible; and we feel persuaded that the apathy which a general ignorance of Indian affairs has hitherto, perhaps, sufficiently accounted for, will soon give place to a feeling of anxious and intense interest, and lead to a general demand throughout Great Britain for some amelioration in the government of that unhappy country.

We must give one short extract from the letter on the Revenue system, before we conclude—

The regulations respecting collection are very strict, as the villages of any landholder who neglects paying his revenue for a certain period, are put up to auction; out of the proceeds, the Company pays itself, and the proprietor receives the residue. This measure is all-efficient, and in consequence of it, the Company's revenues are punctually paid. It is considered disgraceful to lose possession of a village left by one's ancestors; so that the proprietor will stretch every nerve in order to pay his rent. p. 43.

Here is another striking proof—if proofs, indeed, were wanted—of the hypocritical pretensions of the East India Company, when they profess to be alarmed at any wound given to the prejudices of the natives, and when they deprecate the very idea of dispossessing them, in any manner, of the land inherited from their ancestors. It is known and acknowledged by all parties that there is no disgrace which the Hindoo feels more keenly than the loss of his paternal estate. Do the Government of India care a straw for this? If they did, nothing but the most urgent necessity would induce them to drive out the original possessor, and plant another in his stead. But, instead of exercising any such forbearance, they seize the first occasion of an arrear in the payment of the revenue, to put up the estate to auction, and if no other purchaser can be found, they take it into their own hands, without scruple or delay.

Indeed, one of the most palpable delusions practised on the people of England, is the pretended forbearance of the East India Company towards the landed property of their native subjects. They would persuade their countrymen in England—and some of the greatest men of the day have been misled by their attempts,*—that they are the most exemplary of all conquerors; that they have never yet taken, and never would take, possession of a single acre of the soil in India; and this, too, they would make men believe, out of a pure regard to the prejudices, and with a view to abstain from disturbing the possessions, or interrupting the happiness, of the Hindoo occupier. Now the value of this soil, to whoever possesses it, must be its annual produce: a vast tract of country that produced nothing, might gratify ancestral pride, but would not satisfy the Hindoo landholder, whose principal passion is the love of gain—to him the soil is worthless except for what it yields. But the scruples of the East India Company, as to possession, extend only to this worthless part, the mere clay and marl; they have no such scruples as to the corn and rye, the indigo and cotton, the sugar and fruit, produced out of this soil. They take largely of all these, without a moment's hesitation, to an extent

* See the instance of Mr. Canning's being deceived in this respect, in a former Number of the Oriental Herald, vol. I. p. 282.

unknown in any other part of the world, and more than was regularly exacted by the Mogul rulers of India. They leave the labourer just enough to subsist on, from one harvest to another; and they leave the landholder his soil also; but only because it is necessary that it should remain in his possession to produce the stated revenue for the succeeding year: for we are persuaded, that if more were to be gained by taking it away, they would have no scruple whatever in uprooting every foot of earth, and selling or transferring it in any manner that would yield them the largest profit. Yet these are the men who pretend to feel alarm at the consequences of Englishmen being permitted to purchase lands, and settle freely in India. They are filled with horror, if you would credit their assertions, at the idea of Englishmen coming into India to dispossess the natives of their *land*. They themselves came without scruple; dispossessed the natives of their power, and their influence; and they remain to dispossess them annually of their lives, their liberties, and the produce of their industry and wealth; but they leave untouched their black loam and yellow clay—their muddy fields and arid pastures; and for this they claim the praise of the most disinterested of invaders! Oh! sublime self-denial! Oh! unparalleled philanthropy!

From the grinding exactions of the tax-gatherer, and the total absence of all encouragement to agricultural labour, the landholder is unable to pay his rent or tribute: he falls into arrear—the Indian Government seize his lands, and put them up to sale. From the difficulty of employing capital advantageously in the pursuit, and from the absence of active and skilful farmers, in the country, there is no competition excited by the announcement—the Government themselves become the purchasers of the property; and if the price be only equal to the rent or tribute due, the unhappy individual is dispossessed of his land without receiving any equivalent. What would be the consequence of the Colonization of India, in such cases as these, if the purchase of lands, and the free settlement of Englishmen in that country were permitted? The abundance of capital, skill, and enterprise to be brought into the market, would enhance the value of land generally, as every acre in India might be made to produce much more, under an improved system, than it does at present. The competition of purchasers at such sales would be much greater; and the Hindoo, if dispossessed, would be at least consoled by receiving a handsome sum of money in return for his estate.—Dispossession by the Indian Government often leaves a man pennyless: dispossession by colonists or settlers from England would often make the Hindoo richer than he had ever been before. The difference would be as great as if the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury were to take possession of the Duke of Bedford's estates, in payment of arrears of land-tax due to the crown, leaving his Grace without a shilling; while some American gentleman of wealth should purchase those of Mr. Coke in Norfolk, and double his present fortune by the price. This latter is the only kind of dispossession that could take place by Colonization, and nothing could tend more than this to improve the country itself, as well as the condition of all its inhabitants. The East India Company, in objecting to the free settlement of Englishmen in their territories, seem to entertain a notion, that for every white man that plants himself in the country, a black man must be displaced; and that the whites are to take the property of the blacks in the soil, and give them nothing in return. If this were the only sort of Co-

lonization that could take place, we should be among the first to object to it; and we believe that many well-disposed persons do now oppose it under some such erroneous impressions as these. Nothing, however, can be further from the truth than such supposed consequences, the very reverse of which would most probably be produced by the removal of all restraints on the purchase of land in India. There are, at this moment, thousands of acres of the most fertile and productive soil now lying waste in India, not belonging to, or at least not cultivated by any human being. By the settlement of Englishmen on these tracts, the unhealthy jungle and the unproductive wilderness might be turned into healthy plains and fields of plenty. Even the occupied portions of the soil in India are not of half the value they might be made, if British skill and capital were applied to them. Every native landholder might, therefore, part with his property in the cultivated districts of the country to great advantage, if allowed to sell it to Englishmen, and retire, as the American backwoodsmen do, to cultivate parts at present untouched, and prepare them for new purchasers, who would continue for the next century at least to find abundant room for themselves in India, and without displacing a single being by their settlement among them. As it is reasonable to suppose that English labourers, whether agricultural or mechanic, would not stand exposure to the climate of India, there would be nothing to apprehend from the emigration of these in such numbers, as to cause embarrassment or distress. It is principally men of intelligence and capital that are wanted: the mere manual labour might still be performed by those natives who now do it in the country: but instead of these last being injured by the change, there can be do doubt in the mind of any one conversant with Indian affairs, that their condition would be much improved. It is well known, that natives in the service of Englishmen in India are much better paid, and consequently better fed and clad than the same class of persons in the service of Indian masters; and as long as the former are superior to the latter in the means of turning their servants' labour to better account, so long will they be able to give them larger remuneration. This is, indeed, the actual state of the case throughout every branch of service in the country. The sepoy in the Company's Army receives a larger and more regular pay than the sepoy in the service of the Native Chiefs: the lascar in English ships is better paid than the lascar in Native vessels: the cultivator in the rice, cotton, and indigo lands, under European superintendence, is better paid than those employed by native Zemindars, without the aid of European association. And every description of mechanical labour, as well as of domestic servitude, is much better paid by British masters than by Native ones, supposing the skill and industry of the workmen the same in both cases. The extension of this advantage throughout every part of India, would surely be a blessing; and since no one presumes to deny, but that wherever the English have yet settled, the character as well as condition of the natives has been improved by their intercourse with them, it must follow that if we wish this improvement of condition, and this elevation of character, to be still further extended, we ought immediately to encourage by all possible means, instead of studiously opposing, as the East India Company now do, the free and unrestrained settlement of Englishmen in every part of India; making them of course responsible to the laws of their country for any misconduct of which they may be found guilty, and taking

all reasonable securities for the prevention of evil, without an invasion of their privileges as men and Britons, and without shutting them out from that protection which they ought, wherever they may be settled, to derive from that legal shield against oppression—Trial by Jury.

On looking at the volume before us, we find that we have made but little progress with its contents, although we have already exceeded the limits which we have found it necessary to prescribe to ourselves in articles of this nature. The truth is, however, that even "*Sketches* of India" are not to be drawn in a few hurried lines. The innumerable subjects that present themselves at every point of view, require classification, separation, and detail, in order to make them intelligible to those who are expected to benefit by their examination. The volume we have here introduced to the notice of the British public, is essentially defective in this respect. It is loosely written—it is without order or arrangement—it betrays extreme ignorance on some subjects—and exhibits no profound views on any. It is, besides, unnecessarily prolix on topics of the least interest or importance—and brief and unsatisfactory on those which most require elucidation. Notwithstanding these defects, however, the book presents subjects worthy of the consideration of all who are interested in the welfare of India; and on this ground alone, we have thought it necessary to confirm some of its observations, and illustrate others; because, on matters of fact and practice, the author will probably be regarded as a faithful and disinterested witness; and this will secure us all the advantages of commenting on premises generally admitted as accurate, though the inferences we may draw from them will often be different from those generally received as conclusive.

The subjects of the remaining letters are the following—the Press—Civil Service—Agency Houses—Indo-Britons—English Ladies—Police—Hindoo Superstitions—Indigo Planters—and Miscellaneous Remarks—which will furnish abundant matter for another article, without abruptly breaking the continuity of the work, these Letters being so many separate Essays, as independent of each other as any two papers in a single volume of our own publication. For the present, therefore, we close the book, and promise to resume the consideration of the topics that remain in a future Number.

SONNET TO JUPITER.

Thy youth, they say, was passed in ancient Crete;
  Thy manhood gladdened bright Olympus' brow,
  Skirted with pure inviolable snow,
And woods that stretched around thy high retreat;
Thence for th' accomplishment of many a feat
  Stolest thou delighted to our world below,
  Not in the trappings vain of gaudy show,
But decked in humble weeds of rural state;
  Or, changing with th' occasion, that or this
  Appearing, as thy wishes suited best;
Now, as her husband, on Alcmena's kiss
  Feasting; then fluttering on fair Leda's breast.
Where dost thou *now* these sweet allurements miss?
  Or sleep'st thou in thy native isle at rest?

Bion.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS OF THE BENGAL ENGINEERS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, April, 1824.

I FEEL equally confident with the writer in your last Number, signed CANDIDUS, that you will permit me to offer a few observations in reply to his critique on CATO.

CANDIDUS asserts that "if CATO had consulted and examined a Calcutta Directory previous to publishing remarks totally erroneous, he would have found that the Bengal engineer corps have appointments in their favour at least ten to one compared with the other branches of the service, and are further advanced in promotion."

I have looked into the Calcutta Directory, but cannot discover the salaries of the engineer appointments. I observe that many of the officers have some title or designation attached to their names, and hence, I suppose, CANDIDUS concludes they have all fine salaries.

Now, Sir, I know an engineer officer who, for a period of nine years was employed in a multiplicity of duties—in the field, in cantonments, on survey, and in garrison—and during the whole of that time, while so employed, he never received one rupee over and above bare infantry pay; though he had a high sounding designation attached to his name in the Directory, which according to CANDIDUS gives a handsome salary. But I know that this engineer officer was indebted to his relatives in England to make good his expenses and losses sustained in the public service. If CANDIDUS doubts this fact, and will write to Messrs. John Leckie and Co., Bombay, giving his real name and address, he will receive all the particulars and the name of the officer, with other cases similar. So much for appointments: now for promotion.

CANDIDUS says that CATO is wrong in stating that the cavalry, artillery, and infantry have been repeatedly increased. I have examined several Directories for many years back, and I find that CATO is right. Again, CANDIDUS asserts that the engineer officers have not been superseded in *every rank*, because there are subalterns, captains by brevet, in the cavalry and infantry, but none in the Bengal engineer corps. CATO writes generally on the new organization of the *three* engineer corps: CANDIDUS, to prove that CATO is in error, selects *one* of the junior ranks of *one* of the three corps. But even in this one case, CANDIDUS is wrong; and if he will only wait until a *new* Directory be brought home from Calcutta, after the new scheme for re-organizing the army be inserted in it, instead of prosing over an old Directory, he will be convinced of his error.

CANDIDUS censures CATO for not mentioning that another colonel has been added to the Bengal engineers, but, Sir, it appears to me that this censure applies to CANDIDUS with redoubled force, for he does not mention that *two majors* have been *taken away* from the Bengal corps of engineers, and not only two majors, but one captain likewise; whereas, in the infantry, one colonel and two captains have been *added* to each regiment.

By the new organization the supernumerary major of the Bengal engineers, who becomes in fact the senior captain, has been forty-one years in the service, the next captain thirty-one, and the third thirty years;

which is nearly twice as long as the average of the first, second, and third captains of the regiments of infantry: and yet CANDIDUS asserts "that the engineer officers are further advanced in promotion!"

Now, Sir, I beg leave to ask of CANDIDUS at what period of time, taking the average of promotion for the last twenty years, the third captain of the Bengal engineers can expect to emerge from the list of captains? I ask of him whether he does not conscientiously believe that long, very long before the third captain of engineers be promoted to a majority, that his cotemporaries in the infantry will have retired many years colonels of regiments? I ask of him, if that be the fact, whether or not the engineer corps have been fairly treated? And as CANDIDUS appears to be in the secret, I should like to know the cause.

The officers of the three engineer corps are much indebted to CATO for his able appeals in their behalf, and equally indebted to you, Sir, for giving them publicity. That you may have every success in your laudable undertaking is the sincere wish of INVESTIGATOR.

LABBRI E OCCHI—O SIA—SORRISI E LAGRIME.

Naque lite di Celia in sul bel viso
Fra' sui belli occhi e le sue labbra belle:
"Noi," disser gli occhi, "i dardi e le fiammelle
"Vibriamo, onde ogni cuor duro è corquiso."

Le labbra:—"In noi godon parole e riso,
"E baci l'alme di Cupido ancelle."
Quì pianger gli occhi, e le dolenti stelle
Dì lor perle versar nembo improvviso.

Le labbra allora, un bel sorriso sciolto,
Di piacer mosse, schuisero dei denti
Il bel perleo tesoro in bocca accolto.

Poi chiesero ad Amore, in dolci accenti,
Se più crescan beltà Celia al volto,
Le perle lagrimose, o le ridenti.

LIPS AND EYES—OR—SMILES AND TEARS.

In Celia's face, a question did arise
Which were more beautiful, her lips or eyes.
"We," said the eyes "send forth those pointed darts
Which pierce the hardest adamantine hearts."

"From us," replied the lips, "proceed those blisses
Which lovers reap by sweet words and by kisses."
Then wept the eyes, and from their looks did pour
Of liquid pearls a soul-subduing shower.

At which the lips, moved with delight and pleasure,
Through a sweet smile unlocked their pearly treasure,
And bid Love judge which now should add most grace,
Weeping, or smiling pearls, to Celia's face. C. J.

FURTHER ACTS OF FOLLY AND DESPOTISM IN INDIA.
SUPPRESSION OF THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL.

"The legislative power in free states shows a disposition to repeal or modify laws in reference to the interests, the opinions, sometimes even to the prejudices of great bodies of the people; while the despot has no maxim but that all must be subject to the authority of Government."—Sir John Malcolm.

Such of our readers as have watched the progress of the measures pursued in India, to extinguish all freedom of expression in that country, need not be told that the "disposition" adverted to by the intelligent writer, whom we have quoted above, has never been apparent in India; while the "maxim" with which he contrasts it, has there held undisputed sway. Most persons, indeed, considered that its effects had already been too ruinously and destructively felt, to admit of any further extension of its baleful influence. But they augured too well of a system known to them only by the follies and the crimes to which it has given birth; they thought too highly of those whose names are now familiarly associated with acts of uncompromising despotism; and whose brief career scarcely yet exhibits one redeeming feature to save it from merited scorn and contempt. Let us justify these assertions by proofs, and give the reader a narrative of the events by which we have been led to our conclusions.

The last act of hostility to Mr. Buckingham, and his concerns in India, (for it is more than a mere hatred of free discussion in the abstract) with which we made the reader acquainted, through the medium of our pages, was the forcible seizure and imprisonment of Mr. Arnot, who was afterwards released from his confinement by order of the Chief Justice in the Supreme Court of Calcutta. We shall not repeat the previous history of the systematic persecution of which this formed a part: it is too tedious and too painful a tale to be gone through again; but we must be allowed to advert to some of the leading events, for the sake of rendering our present article perspicuous, if not complete.

When the temporary Governor General of India, Mr. Adam, issued his decree for the banishment of Mr. Buckingham, the latter, in order to secure his property from entire destruction, placed at the nominal head of it an Indo-British subject, who was not then liable to similar banishment from the country; and could not be punished except after a trial by jury. The principal assistants on the Calcutta Journal were still, however, British-born subjects; and through their aid, and that of other contributors not in the pay of the paper, it continued, even after Mr. Buckingham's departure from India, to maintain, for some time at least, its former reputation.

Soon after this, the odious and illegal restraint of licensing was placed on the press; and under these new fetters, all distinctions between Indian-born and British-born subjects were at an end; the one was not elevated to the condition of the other; but both were equally degraded to the dead level of unqualified submission. The maxim of the despot, in the emphatic language of Sir John Malcolm, knew no reservation, but required that "ALL should be subject to the authority of Government."—It was thought by some that the *few* subjects left unprohibited by the Chief Secretary, might be moderately indulged in;

and accordingly, intelligence likely to forward the ends of justice and lead to the detection of crime, was inserted as usual. Even this, however, was too much freedom to be allowed; and as if the Indian Government thought it better to let crimes prevail, than have them lessened by an influence so hateful to them as the Press, even in its chains and fetters, they determined that they would have no communications made that could at all lead others to suppose crime existed in their happy and well-governed dominions. An atrocious murder of a Mr. Imlach, son of one of the members of their own body, Colonel Imlach, Military Auditor General in Calcutta, had taken place on the Ganges, under circumstances which it peculiarly became the duty of the Police Magistrates to inquire into and unravel. Several writers in the Calcutta Journal urged the importance of this inquiry, in the most moderate and respectful terms, and communicated facts which they were ready to support by proof; but instead of this being received, as any wise Government would have received it, as an aid to their administration of justice, the Chief Secretary addressed the following letter to the Editor :—

To Mr. J. F. Sandys, Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

Sir,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor General, in Council, to desire that you will refrain from inserting in the Calcutta Journal, any further correspondence or remarks connected with the depending trial of the persons charged with the murder of the late Mr. Henry Imlach, or with the conduct of the Magistrate, or other public officers in the district of Kishenagur.

Many of the observations which have been published on those subjects, are in the highest degree objectionable, either as imputing to the public officers a criminal neglect of their duty, or as tending to obstruct the due course of justice, by exciting a prejudice against individuals now under trial, and whose guilt or innocence remains to be proved.

A communication to the same effect will be made to the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru. I am, Sir, your obedient, humble Servant,

W. B. Bayley, Chief Secretary to Government.

Council Chamber, 19th June, 1823.

The threat of withdrawing the licence, or in other words, suppressing the paper entirely, in the event of disregarding this request, is not expressly made; but must of course be implied, as that is distinctly stated to be the penalty to which all papers will be subjected, for any neglect of the injunctions of Government. And such was the impression thus created by this letter of the Secretary, that the following harmless and even useful paragraph, which was set up in type for the paper of the following day, was taken out and destroyed. It was from the letter of a known correspondent, an Indigo Planter in the interior of India, and was as follows :—

In your Journal of the 10th inst. I see mentioned the murder of a ryot, in the Kishenagur Zillah, and as these outrages have latterly increased most alarmingly, I think, were the particulars of each murder to be stated as they occur, by persons in authority at the different stations, for insertion in the public papers, with the names of the people on whose Talook the crime is perpetrated, as well as under whose authority the perpetrators are acting, it would answer a good end, by making Talookdars and others, careful of issuing such peremptory and tyrannical orders to people under them. Take for instance the following :—the murder in question was committed by two peons or burkandosses, in the service of Muddoo Sudden Sandyal, on his own Talook, which he holds in partnership with Cossinaut Baboo (a sirkar, or dewan, in the house of Colvin and Co. Agents, Calcutta), whose servant, Bissonaut Chukkerbutter, the public may recollect was taken up some time ago, examined, confined, discharged, again taken up, and is now confined preparatory to his trial for the murder of the late Mr. H. Imlach.

Now here are two Talookdars, both of whom, we might suppose, would be careful in future how they got their names in the public papers, coupled with such an execrable crime. Of Cossinaut Baboo, I know little, (he may be one of those *innocent* Hindoos about whom people at home, now and then, make such a noise); but I know that he is a partner of Sandyal's in the Talook on which this ryot has been killed. Even he, Muddoo Sudden Sandyal, may be also one of the aforesaid innocent creatures; although a series of beatings, extortions, and oppressions among his ryots, on a late visit, would argue rather otherwise, all of which only ended in the murder of the ryot in question.

This was in the early part of June. Inquiry on this subject was discouraged and suppressed; and being unable to publish even the truth, in matters not agreeable to the Government, the Editors were obliged to look around them for less objectionable subjects. A few weeks only passed away, however, before another letter of complaint was addressed by the Chief Secretary to the Editor of the Journal, and although this was dated on the 18th of July, little more than a month from the former, it enumerated no less than *seven deadly sins*, committed in that brief period: the first on the very day on which the former letter was dated (July 5), and referring to a subject, which it is quite impossible that any man should anticipate would be regarded as an offence. But we must give the correspondence on this subject entire, that the nature of the objections to the freedom of the Indian Press may be seen in their true colours. The letter of the Chief Secretary is addressed, not to the Editor, but to the two principal Proprietors of the Paper, who kindly and handsomely came forward in the hour of need, when a licence was required, and undertook this, to them no doubt disagreeable, office, without any corresponding advantage, with a view to save the property of an absent individual from entire destruction. Their names, therefore, are no further associated with this transaction than as the friendly agents of one who, but for their kind aid, would have been subject to even still greater losses than those he has already sustained, and who is proportionately grateful to them for their services. The letter is as follows—

To John Palmer and George Ballard, Esquires.

Gentlemen,—The Governor General, in Council, has observed with concern and disapprobation, several late indications (as enumerated in the note below*) of a disposition, on the part of the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, to infringe the spirit of the regulations of Government, regarding the press, and to revive discussions and animosities which it was his desire finally to extinguish. I am accordingly instructed by Government to call your attention to this circumstance, and to intimate to you the expectation of the Governor General in Council, that you will require from the Editors and Conductors of that paper, the observance of such a line of conduct as may relieve Government from the necessity, which otherwise must arise, of taking measures which will be seriously detrimental to the interests of the proprietors.

I am further desired to call upon you to state to me, for the information of Government, the names of any British subjects who may be now employed on the establishment of the Calcutta Journal.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient, humble Servant,

W. B. Bayley, Chief Secretary to Government.

Council Chamber, 18th July, 1823.

* Articles objected to:—July 5, "Prospective Arrangements," and Advertisement referred to in it. The Advertisement has been repeated several times since. —7th, "Intelligence regarding Nawab Moatumud Dowla."—11th, "Affairs of Oudh."—14th, "Letter, signed Paul Puzzle Brain."—16th, "Colonial Policy."—17th, "The Tories' Gridiron."—18th, "Intelligence regarding Oudh."

This letter was enclosed to the Indo-British Editor, Mr. Sandys, (who, it will be remembered, was selected, not for his talents, but merely because he was a native of India, and enjoyed by the privilege of his birth an exemption from that banishment to which all English-born Editors are liable,) by the gentlemen to whom it was addressed, with a request that he would, in reply, offer such explanations as might be presented to the Chief Secretary, for the purpose of being laid before the Government. The reply of Mr. Sandys was as follows:—

To John Palmer and George Ballard, Esquires.

Dear Sirs,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst. with its enclosure of the 18th, being the original letter addressed jointly to yourselves, by the Chief Secretary to Government; and in attention to your request I now beg leave to give the explanation required.

The article, headed "Prospective Arrangements," was not inserted, even with the most distant view, to revive discussions and animosities which it was the desire of the Governor General in Council finally to extinguish; but simply in attention to Mr. Buckingham's instructions to convert the Calcutta Journal Library into a circulating one, the better to improve the funds laid out in his extensive concern. The advertisement referred to, was written and inserted by Mr. Buckingham's wish, and it has continued to be inserted, from time to time, as space in the advertisement sheets permitted, until the receipt of your letter under acknowledgment, when it was immediately discontinued!

The three articles relative to Oude, were translated from the "Jam-i Jehan Nooma," a Persian newspaper, which has a wider circulation amongst the natives, and is better understood by them than the Calcutta Journal can possibly be. I was not conscious that, by translating from the Jam-i Jehan Nooma for the Calcutta Journal, I was infringing the spirit of the regulations of Government regarding the press.

The letter signed "Paul Puzzle Brain," and the article headed "The Tories' Gridiron," exposing the contradictory opinions maintained by the Editor of the John Bull newspaper, I was not aware would have been considered improper by the Government; and still less did I apprehend that the observations, headed "Colonial Policy," on the critique contained in the Oriental Magazine, of a work on India, would have called forth the disapprobation of the Governor General in Council. I can only now apologize for this very unintentional offence.

To assure you of the sincerity of my disposition to meet the wishes and conform to the orders of the Governor General in Council, I have only to draw your attention to the Calcutta Journal of the 5th of March last, containing the second article from my pen, as Editor, and being "An Explanation" to the public of my views in undertaking the management of that Paper; and also to my letter to your address, under date the 16th of April last, previous to making the affidavit necessary towards obtaining a licence, under the new rule or ordinance, for the Indian press. To these I can only add the proof of my punctual obedience of the orders contained in every letter which I have received from the Chief Secretary to Government.

With advertence to the second paragraph of the Chief Secretary's letter to your address, I have only now to state the names of the British subjects employed on the establishment of the Calcutta Journal; they are, Mr. Sandford Arnot, Assistant Editor; Mr. James Sutherland, Reporter; Mr. Thomas Heckford, Bookkeeper; and Mr. Frederick Blacker, Librarian.

I herewith return the original letter from the Chief Secretary to Government, as requested. I remain, dear Sirs, your most obedient servant,

Calcutta, 29th July, 1823. J. F. Sandys.

The English reader will naturally conclude that there must have been some treason lurking under the articles here enumerated; and will be anxious to see what defence of them can be made. It would be considered an evasion to assert merely that they were perfectly harmless; a caviller would immediately interpret our not giving them, as a proof of our unwillingness that they should be seen. To avoid this imputation,

we shall present the leading points of each, and refer to the sources wherein the whole of the original articles may be found, for the satisfaction of the doubting and the curious. The first in order, as well as enormity, is the Announcement, said to have been written in conformity to Mr. Buckingham's wishes, expressed before he left India, and inserted some months after his departure. Its only crime appears to be that of its evincing a solicitude for the welfare of an individual, whose prospects the Indian Government seemed determined to destroy for ever; its speaking in terms of unwelcome approbation of that individual's exertions; and anticipating the success of his labours in the new publication he contemplated establishing in England. These were regarded as crimes of so deep a dye in the estimation of the Indian Government, that they determined to put an end to their further commission accordingly. But the reader must see this "offensive" Announcement for himself. It was as follows :—

PROSPECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS.

The ship Stentor having brought us about 3000 rupees worth of valuable English books, and as from letters received by the Hythe, we have reason to expect soon, further large additions to our stock, we take this opportunity of announcing to our friends and the public generally, the extension of the Calcutta Journal concern, long contemplated by its original conductor, previous to his departure, and which there is now a near prospect of being realised. Mr. Buckingham's sudden removal from this country, prevented him from doing more than leaving general instructions for the execution of the plan he had laid down; and the events which followed soon after, rendered the footing on which the whole property stood, so uncertain, that all minor arrangements for its general improvement were lost sight of, or at least regarded as in the meantime comparatively unimportant. The confidence acquired by the experience of several months, and the late advices from England, as well as the hope that Mr. Buckingham is now, or will shortly be there to look after his own affairs, and make every provision his experience may suggest for the improvement of his property in this country, induce us to turn our attention again to those long contemplated arrangements.

On the arrival of the large stock of books commissioned from England, it was determined to form these and the extensive collection of books accumulated for Mr. Buckingham's use, and not disposed of at his departure, into a Public Circulating Library, which would turn this part of his property to some account, and help to indemnify the proprietor for his great sacrifices.

The books are at present chiefly of a higher order than those used in circulating libraries; but these will be agreeably varied with books of light reading, by a monthly addition of works of that description to its stock.

The subscription will be fixed at the low rate of four rupees per month, to enable readers of all classes to avail themselves of this accommodation.

The Reading Room will continue open to the subscribers to the Journal, on exactly the same terms as before; and every accommodation afforded them in the use of the late Papers and Periodical Publications there; while those who desire the use of the books at their own residences, may have them on the easiest terms.

Subscribers to the Journal will understand from the above, that there is no intention to curtail their privileges in the slightest degree; the Library still remaining open to them as a Reading Room, where, without any additional charge, they may have access to the whole of its valuable contents, and to the latest English periodicals and other new publications of interest. And we cannot let this occasion pass without congratulating ourselves and them on the signal advantages we must soon derive from having such an agent in England as Mr. Buckingham, who, whether from his large experience and the deep stake he has in this country, or his personal activity and perfect acquaintance with what will suit the public taste here, is altogether such a correspondent as no Indian newspaper ever possessed before.

Our new system may in one respect be regarded as already commenced, as we

may reasonably hope Mr. Buckingham is now arrived in England; and we cannot doubt for a moment, but the first day he sets his foot on that land of liberty, will be employed usefully for the friends he has left behind him. When the requisite period has elapsed for us to reap the fruits of these exertions, we may expect every vessel from England to bear witness to that indefatigable activity, by which he is so highly distinguished.

We ought not to omit noticing another source of advantage to be expected from Mr. Buckingham's enterprising exertions in England, which, though not so immediate, will, we are confident, be far more important in its consequences. We allude to the establishment of his New Asiatic Journal. The support which that publication has already obtained in this country, is sufficient, we think, to ensure its commencement under the happiest auspices; and when it has acquired a footing in England, the materials which will flow to its pages, in all probability, will soon exceed the narrow limits of a monthly or even a weekly publication. Many articles also which are of too little interest for the public in England, might be highly prized in this country, to which they more immediately refer; and we have thus a prospect of putting our readers in possession of interesting intelligence that would not probably reach them through any public channel.

This was the treasonable and dangerous Announcement, at which the Government of a great country, with a hundred millions of beings subject to their sway, actually trembled and turned pale. This was the alarming article that threw their *serene* highnesses into a high fever! But the "Advertisement" which is said to have been audaciously "repeated several times since"—(i. e. not since it was complained of, for after that, it was instantly taken out, but since the first announcement,) may be thought by the reader to be more flagitious still. Let him read this also for himself. It was as follows:—

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S VALUABLE LIBRARY.

In our number of the 5th of July last, we noticed our intention of throwing open to the public use, the valuable collection of books, belonging to Mr. Buckingham, and hitherto available only to the subscribers to the Journal, in the Reading Room attached to our establishment. We have now to announce that the Catalogues are ready and will be delivered gratis, on application, to the subscribers to the Journal, and at the charge of one rupee each to non-subscribers.

The Library at present is rather select than extensive, but the books are of the very first character, and are constantly increasing, so that even in point of numbers, we shall, we hope, ere long, be able to make no inconsiderable show. All the periodical, as well as all other new works of merit that issue from the London press, reach us regularly, and we are daily adding to our stock of books of light reading; so that, though our shelves will not be found loaded with the productions of the Minerva press, the scholar, the man of science, and the admirer of polite and elegant literature, will find in them ample means of gratifying their respective tastes.

This innocent Advertisement, which had no other object in view but that of making some little use of the wreck of Mr. Buckingham's property; and at the same time giving the Indian Public cheap access to a collection of books not usually found in circulating libraries, was so offensive to the Indian Government, that the affrighted Editor who inserted it was compelled to take it out; and even after that, it was complained of in the official letter of the Chief Secretary, as having been repeated several times after its first appearance, though it was destroyed on the very instant of its being known to be obnoxious!

Are these the terrible and alarming events which justify the arbitrary suppression of all freedom of discussion in India?—Yes! astonished reader, these are they.—The Indian Government having trampled on the rights of person, property, and opinion: having banished from the

country a man whose chief pleasure consisted in endeavours to render the condition of that country more worthy of the British name and character, now find the very mention of his name so hateful to their ears, that they seem determined to extinguish every hope he has left behind him, and to blot out, as far as their efforts can effect it, the very memory of his sacrifices and injuries, from their records. But this is impossible; and every attempt on their part to strike the iron deeper into his soul, will only make him more honoured, and them more despised, by those whose sympathy for the oppressed is sure to be associated with indignation towards their oppressors.

The paragraph respecting Nawab Moatumud-Dowla, translated from a Persian newspaper, is as harmless as any article of intelligence could be. It was not reprehended in the Persian Paper, in which, if it were at all dangerous, it must have been more so than in an English one, since the former is read by the Native subjects of India, and the latter by the English rulers only:—but this distinction is not new. It has been for years the practice of the Indian Government to permit the newspapers in its pay and favour—particularly the Government Gazette, published by authority, and the Indian John Bull—to go all lengths, in breach even of their own regulations; at the same time that they threatened Mr. Buckingham's Paper with annihilation, even when no such breaches were made: their hostility to his Journal being such as to confound all rules and principles in their minds, and to make them persecute it, even when it contained nothing of which they could complain, because it ventured, on some occasions, to abstain from the gross flattery offered by others, and had the virtue to be silent when it could not conscientiously applaud. We will give the "Intelligence" complained of, a place, however, with the rest, that the reader may judge of this also for himself. It was as follows:

Intelligence regarding Nawab Moatumud-Dowla, the Minister for the Affairs of Oudh.—In the Jam-i Jehan Nooma Newspaper of the 2d instant, it is stated, that it appears from the Ukhbars, that the Nawab Moatumud Dowla went on the day of the Eid, to present his Nuzzur to the Resident. The sentinel at the gate informed him, that strict orders had been given not to admit any person whatever with arms, within the precincts of the Residency. The Nawab replied, that he had ever been in the habit of entering armed. The Sepoy would not permit him to proceed. At length he laid aside his arms and entered, and complained of the matter to the Resident. The Resident answered, that the Sepoy was in the Company's service, that he had received orders that, excepting his august Majesty, no other person whatever should be allowed to pass; therefore it could not be helped. The Nawab shortly took leave. Further, as Captains Hussein Ally and Mado Sing, who had been ordered to proceed to the Elaka, of Baraitch, to chastise Raja Mandhata, had not yet proceeded from the city, and great disturbances existed in that Elaka; the said Nawab told these Captains that the pay of the Battalions should soon be issued, and it was better that they marched immediately. They represented that for the *last year* past they had not received a single *daum* or *dumree*, but that as soon as all arrears were paid up they would immediately set off. Hurkarrahs brought intelligence that in Nawab Gunge, near Ayesh Baugh, an affray happened between the Chela of Mirza Muhmood Beg and some Suwar of the Presence. The Chelah wounded three of the Suwars and fled: the other troopers, though they exerted themselves to seize him, could not come up with the Chelah.

The article on the "Affairs of Oudh," was of about the same length and character as the preceding. The letter signed "Paul Puzzle Brain," contained remarks on the inconsistencies of the John Bull newspaper, in find-

ing fault with Mr. Hume for undertaking commissariat contracts in India, while he had his duties as a *Surgeon* to attend to; and yet defending the Reverend Doctor Bryce, for undertaking stationary contracts in the same country, while he had his duties as a *Clergyman* to attend to; making it a fault in a military man to unite two objects in the same branch of service, and perfectly harmless for a clerical character to attempt three or four objects, all unsuited to each other! namely, a Presbyterian Minister, a Clerk of Stationary, an Editor of a virulent and controversial Magazine, and a Secretary of a Committee for procuring a Picture and Statue to the late Governor General of India. To remark on such inconsistency was deemed an offence to the Government, because they wished it to be passed over in silence and secresy.

The article on "Colonial Policy" was even still more unobjectionable. A masterly and unanswerable work had appeared in England, in May last, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Expediency of applying the Principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India; and of effecting an essential change in its Landed Tenures, and consequently in the character of its Inhabitants."* This book, on its reaching India, was reviewed in the publication conducted by Doctor Bryce, who gave his pen free scope in inquiring into every matter which he thought calculated to bring the work into disrepute. Conjectures were ventured as to the author, who was first thought to be some envious trader, desirous of sharing in the commerce now confined to the monopoly of the Company; then considered to be a servant of the Government he abused; and, lastly, one fattening, by licence or covenant, on the very system he deprecated. The arguments of the book were treated with the Doctor's peculiar flippancy and acrimony, each by turns; and although this was a discussion on a topic expressly forbidden by the Regulations for the Indian Press, yet as the object of this Divine was to abuse the advocates of Colonization, and uphold Monopoly, as more suited to Indian happiness and English prosperity than Free Trade, the utmost licence was allowed him; and his Review was printed and published without drawing a single complaint from those guardians of the public peace, who express such horror on all other occasions, at the licentiousness of the Press. Here was licentiousness enough; but it was on what they deemed the right side; so that it was never once found fault with. After all, however, the Review was so miserably deficient in argument, and so utterly incapable, with all its virulence, to show any good reason against the advantages of Colonization pointed out by the author of the work reviewed, that the friends of this great question recommended its re-publication in the Calcutta Journal, merely to expose, as they deserved, the shallow foundations on which the best arguments that could be brought forward against the Colonization of India by Englishmen really rested. One would have thought that this, at least, might have been permitted. But no!—as if the Government of India were themselves ashamed of the folly and weakness of their best advocates, the re-publication of this attempt to refute the arguments in favour of Colonization, though passed over in the work of the original Reviewer, was obnoxious to them when transplanted to the pages of the Calcutta Journal! It was prefaced with but few observations, of which it may be quite sufficient to give a single paragraph

* Published by J. M. Richardson, 23, Cornhill.

towards the close, to show the spirit in which its re-publication was conducted. It is this—

We shall not attempt to follow this Reviewer through his absurdities and misrepresentations; we content ourselves with merely recommending the work on Colonial Policy to the perusal of every person who feels himself capable of forming his opinion on the subject on which it treats. We have heard it remarked by some gentleman, that the book is fifteen years before its proper time. It was more than twenty before Mr. Wilberforce's efforts against the Slave Trade succeeded!—We publish the article, entire, however, to show that we have no apprehension of the Reviewer's anathemas producing any other feeling than contempt for their author.

There are some rich specimens of absurdity in the article itself which we feel strongly tempted to quote; but as it will divert us from our purpose, which is to show what the Indian Government wish to *suppress*, rather than what they permit to *appear*, we must pass on to the conclusion of the articles enumerated, as obnoxious to them, in the marginal note of Mr. Secretary Bayley's letter.

The article entitled "The Tories' Gridiron," consists entirely of a contrast of the opinions put forth by Doctor Bryce as the Editor of the Calcutta Review, and Doctor Bryce as the writer of the Address to Lord Hastings; and of the sentiments avowed by the Editor of the Indian Bull, at different periods. These contrasts were introduced by the following paragraph:

The contradictions and inconsistencies that issue from the Calcutta Tory Press, are so flagrant and self-confuting, that we intend in future to make it condemn itself; which we trust its partisans will relish as well as Cobbett did the roasting of his gridiron.

The article then goes on to contrast the opposite opinions maintained at different times, in such a manner as to convince all who see them that in one or the other, the writers must have uttered what they could not have believed. Doctor Bryce, as the Reviewer, contends, that it is in vain to look for any active principle of loyalty or attachment from our Asiatic subjects (a pretty confession, truly!) He says—

No Government in India *ever sought*, or ever will seek, security of tenure from such principles. Our Government must *essentially* and *necessarily* be despotic and military.

Lord Hastings, however, only two years before, had said—

Force never could have effected the establishment of our paramountship. On what foundation then does our supremacy rest?—On that opinion of the British character which induced the several states, now leagued under us, to place implicit reliance on our good faith, our justice, and our honourable purpose of fostering their interests.

And in the year following (1820) his lordship had repeated this sentiment, in other words—

Wonderful and unexampled rule! Let it never be forgotten how our supremacy has been constructed. Benefit to the governed has been the simple but efficacious cement of our power. As long as the comforts and the gratitude of the Indian people shall testify that we persevere in that principle, so long may Heaven uphold the dominion of Britain here. No longer!

Here then was an instance in which the very Government under which the Reviewer lived, and of which he was one of the chief flatterers and sycophants, had sought, and had obtained, security from the very princi-

ples which he contended had no existence; and he himself was one of the loudest to applaud such confessions whenever they were uttered by men in power! It was the constant and unceasing attempt of the party of which this meddling priest was the principal oracle, to represent the Freedom of the Press as fraught with the utmost danger to the peace of India, though none disturbed that peace so much as themselves; and, accordingly, in the review of the work on Colonial Policy, when adverting to the late laws for putting down all freedom of expression, except on one side, in that country, the writer has the following paragraph:—

We laugh at the warmth with which the battle of "*Free Discussion*" was lately carried on amongst us. The passing follies, that distinguish us not more than a like number of our countrymen, congregated in any part of the world, but are perhaps the more noted, that the sphere in which they flourish, is more circumscribed and anomalous—these follies, we say, are again beginning to pass, like the cloud over our heads, sometimes obscuring for a moment, as they arise, the sunshine of that propriety and dignity of moral conduct, which ought to distinguish the Christian conquerors of India; but, no longer concentrated by the *unprincipled* and *interested demons of discord*, into the storm, that would overwhelm every thing estimable in the social world; these follies may darken for a moment the brightness of our virtues; but they have ceased, we hope, for ever. Such is the tranquil and pleasing state to which our society has again happily returned, under the wise and judicious measures of government, which silenced the distant howlings of the tempest, that *had begun to threaten us with destruction*. The angry echoes of the blast are, by this time, reaching the ears of our friends in England; and, if we may judge from accounts already received, creating fear and alarm among all who are interested in our safety. It is comfortable to reflect, that by the time they shall have well pondered on our folly and madness, they will hear of our return to sense and reason.

Such is the picture (says the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, who makes the contrast,) drawn in the middle of 1823, but we shall now give that subscribed to by so large a portion of the Indian community about the end of the preceding year (1822), and we request every honest man to compare them together, and declare whether it be possible for any man of principle—to subscribe to both, or write the one after subscribing to the other. But we are far from insinuating the impossibility of the Reviewer, having never seen or heard of the following, which is so at variance with his present opinions.* In this Address, where are the storms and tempests which howled—the folly and madness that reigned—the deep destruction that threatened! The fear and alarm that prevailed? On the contrary, all is peace and tranquillity.

We trust (said they who signed the Address to Lord Hastings) we are not presumptuous in adding to this tribute, our most unqualified admiration of the wise and enlightened policy of your Lordship's Government, during the period you have held the reins of administration in this country.

When you took into your hands the reins of administration, dangers of no common magnitude threatened the peace and stability of the British power in the East. Before the watchfulness and vigour of your Lordship's rule, these dangers quickly disappeared, and India presents, at this moment, a scene of happiness and tranquillity, unexampled in any period of her history (!!!)

We have likewise long admired the zealous and hearty alacrity with which your Lordship has uniformly entered into *every scheme*† for the diffusion of knowledge and civilization over the vast continent of India.

But it were vain to attempt enumerating the splendid and benevolent acts by which a Government, distinguished by every thing great and good, has been rendered so truly dear to us. We are unable to discover a single Province, in the wide-extended Empire over which your Lordship has so long ruled, that has not

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* He is known to have been the writer of both.

† The liberty granted to the press was one of these schemes, and indeed the principal, if not the only one.

tasted the happy fruits of your wisdom, energy, and benevolence—and in which the name of the Marquess of Hastings is not honoured and revered.

To recall the public attention to such professions as these, and so recently made, was, indeed, a monstrous offence! The existing Government of India had annihilated the freedom of the press, on the ground assumed by the Reviewer, that its exercise was dangerous to the safety of India, and that it had already filled every part of the country with discontent, terror, and alarm, which called for the exercise of arbitrary measures to allay it. To republish, therefore, an address to Lord Hastings, under whom whatever freedom the press enjoyed was principally exercised, asserting that at the very same moment of time, in which this storm was said to "threaten destruction," nothing but "unexampled happiness and tranquillity reigned in every province of the country," was, indeed, a stumbling block not easily to be removed. The "dangers of no common magnitude," which threatened India when Lord Hastings first took the reins of power in his hands, could not have been those of the press; for then (1813), and for five years afterwards, a rigid censorship existed, (till 1818). The "happiness and tranquillity," which reigned every where, must have grown up under the very freedom of the press to which their destruction is attempted to be attributed; for during the whole of this period (from 1818 to 1823) there was neither censorship nor licensing laws. It was not until *after* Lord Hastings left India in this plethora of happiness and overflowing of bliss, that the press was put under new fetters, because, as it was asserted a few brief weeks after this address was written, "the peace, harmony, and good order of the society had of late been disturbed, and the Government of the country brought into hatred and contempt;" and the same individuals who subscribed to the one were blind enough, or base enough, we can hardly tell which, to subscribe with the same readiness to the other!!

Up to this period, the Calcutta Journal had published nothing of an objectionable nature, unless the assertion that "the country was in a state of peace and tranquillity," could be so considered by those whose aim it was to justify their arbitrary measures, by affecting the existence of discontent and misery. There is only one more in the marginal list of the offensive articles enumerated in Mr. Secretary Bayley's letter, and lest the reader should suppose that, however innocent the rest might be, some hidden treason may lurk in this, we will give this also entire. It is like the former on the same subject, a translation from a Persian paper, and may suggest a comparison with the court circulars of other countries.

INTELLIGENCE REGARDING OUDH.

JAM-I JEHAN NOOMAH, July 16, 1823.—It is understood from the Ukbhars, that his gracious Majesty often goes in the direction of Kakrael, for the purpose of taking air. In consequence of the implicit confidence placed by his Majesty in the abilities of his officers, he has not so minutely attended to the affairs of the state; and the consequence has been that, owing to their neglect and inattention, the revenues have not been collected, nor the disbursements properly attended to: the ruin of the country, and the distress of the population and soldiery, have been made apparent. His august mind is often taken up in contemplating these disorders. The situation of treasurer has been conferred on Captain Futteh Ally, and Raja Goolzarie Mull dismissed: and among the distinguished servants, the names of Tajyood-Deen Hooseyn Khaun, Soobhan Ali-Khaun, Sheik Ahmud Urub, Umjeed Ali Khaun, Ilakie Bukhsh, Roshun Ulee, Meer Assud, and of the sons of the Nawab Moatumud Dowla, have been struck off from the list; and orders

have been issued to have a fresh list of the distinguished servants from the time of the late Nawab to the present, made out quickly, and presented to his Majesty, &c. &c.—It was reported to his Majesty that Seetulpurshaud, the Company's News-writer, had paid the debt of nature, and that Kishenchund, the son of Raja Puttrie Mull, had succeeded to his situation, &c.

Here, then, we close the list of the dangerous and alarming paragraphs, which the Indian Government thought of sufficient importance to make them the subject of grave complaint and reprehension, and which they considered enough to justify their threatening the annihilation of the Press, if such things were repeated by it in future.

The demand of the names of the British-born subjects attached to the establishment of the Calcutta Journal, could only have been for the purpose of selecting from among them the fittest victim, on whom to wreak their vengeance at the proper time and opportunity. Accordingly Mr. Arnot was chosen for punishment, and dealt with accordingly. As we have given the history of his case in a preceding Number,* it is not necessary to repeat it here. We may mention, however, that the sole object which the Government had in view, by his seizure and imprisonment, could not be to punish him individually, but also to break up and destroy, if possible, the paper of which he was known to them to be the most efficient Editor: the person of Indo-British birth, being chosen *only* for his being exempt from the summary banishment to which all other writers were liable. As soon, therefore, as his seizure, imprisonment, and order to quit the country, had detached him from the Calcutta Journal, and rendered it impossible for him to return to his employment on its pages, they appeared to be satisfied; and up to the last advices (some months after his release from prison by order of the Judge) he continued unnoticed by the Government, who had apparently attained their end, and, therefore, suffered him to remain. This fact must sufficiently explain the purpose for which he was subjected to seizure, imprisonment, and removal.

This occurred in the month of September; and from that period till the month of November, no complaint appears to have been made against the conduct of the Journal. Just before the close of October, a pamphlet reached India, entitled "Sketch of the History and Influence of the Press in British India." It was written by the Hon. Colonel Leicester Stanhope, who had himself passed many years in India; and both in that country and in this, had uniformly advocated the cause of freedom and improvement. This pamphlet, being intended chiefly for the English public, contained principally an account of the proceedings at Madras on the occasion of drawing up an Address to Lord Hastings; a copy of this Address, and his Lordship's Reply to it delivered in Calcutta; with reports of some debates on the freedom of the Indian press that had occurred in the Court of Proprietors at the India House in London. It was thought desirable to let the Indian community see what was saying and doing respecting their interests in England; and, accordingly, the Editor announced the receipt of this book, and stated his intention of reprinting it, for the information of those at remote stations, in sections, giving a portion each day, till the whole should be completed. As, instead of a daily inspection of the sheets by a censor, the Government had

* See Oriental Herald, vol. I. p. 637.

taken upon themselves the task of reprehending particular publications as they issued, it was naturally supposed that, if anything had appeared to them peculiarly dangerous in this pamphlet (which, as we have said, was, after all, little more than a compilation of what had before appeared in India, for the information of people in England), they would have warned the Editor against fulfilling his intentions. Not the slightest intimation, however, of any apprehensions on their part was ever given; the Editor was suffered to proceed, day after day, section after section, the Government looking coolly on, and waiting its final completion, to spring upon their prey. But the astonished reader will wonder still more, when he is told that it was not until a week after the last portion of this pamphlet was issued from the press (when, if dangerous, it had extended its poison through every part of the country, and if not dangerous, it could not deserve punishment), that the Governor General in Council determined on suppressing the Calcutta Journal entirely, assigning the re-publication of this pamphlet as a reason for his measure! We cannot expect the English reader to credit this without proof—we therefore insert a copy of the official letter:—

To Messrs. JOHN FRANCIS SANDYS, JOHN PALMER, GEO. BALLARD, and PETER STONE D'ROZARIO.

GENTLEMEN,—You were apprized, by my official letters of the 18th of July and 3d of September last, of the sentiments entertained by the Governor General in Council, in regard to the repeated violation, on the part of the Conductors of the Calcutta Journal, of the rules established by Government for the regulation of the periodical press.

The Editor of the Calcutta Journal, notwithstanding those communications, has since, by the republication in successive numbers of that newspaper, of numerous extracts from a pamphlet published in England, revived the discussion of topics, which had before been officially prohibited; and has maintained, and enforced opinions and principles which, as applicable to the state of this country, the Governor General in Council had repeatedly discouraged and reprobated; the extracts themselves, so published, containing numerous passages which are in direct violation of the rules prescribed by Government under date the 5th of April last.

The Right Honourable the Governor General in Council has, in consequence, this day been pleased to resolve, that the licence granted by Government on the 18th of April, 1823, authorizing and empowering John Francis Sandys and Peter Stone D'Rozario, to print and publish in Calcutta, a newspaper called "The Calcutta Journal of Politics and General Literature," and supplement thereto, issued on Sundays, entitled and called "New Weekly Register and General Advertiser for the Stations of the Interior, with Heads of the latest Intelligence, published as a Supplement to the Country Edition of the Calcutta Journal," shall be revoked and recalled; and you are hereby apprized, and respectively required, to take notice that the said licence is resumed, revoked, and recalled accordingly.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient humble Servant,

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Secretary to Government.

Council Chamber, Nov. 6, 1823.

This is, at last, the termination of all the brilliant prospects that were held out to India, from the exercise of public scrutiny on the acts of the Supreme Authority there. Lord Hastings had said, "While conscious of rectitude, that Authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment; on the contrary (he added) it acquires incalculable addition of force." Here, then, that consciousness of rectitude must have been entirely wanting; for this exposure to comment was of all others the greatest evil it apprehended. "Let the triumph of our beloved country," said Lord Hastings, "in its awful contest with tyrant-ridden

France, speak the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments." We reply, "Let the issue of the contest between despotism and the press, in tyrant-ridden India, speak the ruin that awaits those who dare even to repeat the honest sentiments of others, and who are forbidden, on pain of banishment, ever to express their own."

Amidst the very few notices which have been taken of this event in the English papers, in the conductors of whom it ought to have excited one undivided feeling of indignation at such an invasion of the rights of the Press, there is one from an independent and respectable provincial Journal, which we shall transcribe at length. It is this—

A few weeks since, we gave a concise history of the press in India from 1818 to the present time. We have now to add to that narrative a short but pregnant appendix, announcing that the Calcutta Journal had been totally suppressed by the Government. The pretence for taking away the licence of the Journal is, that it reprinted, in several of its numbers, a pamphlet on the freedom of the Indian press, published by Colonel Leicester Stanhope in England. The Government looked on while this work appeared, in successive parts, day after day, in the Journal, without even intimating disapprobation, and, when the whole was completed, they punished the proprietors by destroying the source of their income. Thus perishes *in toto* that freedom of the press, which the Marquess of Hastings established six years since with such lofty commendations, and for which he received the grateful plaudits of his countrymen both in India and at home. IT IS PUT TO DEATH for the offence OF COMMEMORATING ITS BIRTH! as this obnoxious pamphlet chiefly consisted of an account of the proceedings at a public meeting held in Madras, in 1819, to thank the Governor General for liberating the press. We need not comment on the inconsistent policy of the Indian Government; it is undeniable that either Lord Hastings was imprudent, or Lord Amherst is tyrannical; and Mr. Buckingham and his fellow-proprietors are the victims either of folly or oppression. It is worthy of remark that this is THE FIRST ENGLISH JOURNAL EVER PUT DOWN BY AUTHORITY. The press in India is now under the worst system that can be devised. A CENSORSHIP WOULD BE FAR BETTER, BECAUSE THE CENSOR WOULD NOT ALLOW OBNOXIOUS ARTICLES TO APPEAR; BUT NOW AN EDITOR CANNOT TELL WHAT MAY BE DEEMED OFFENSIVE, AND DOES NOT KNOW WHEN HE IS IN DANGER; HE IS LIKE A MAN WALKING BLINDFOLD AMIDST SNARES AND PIT-FALLS, AND, WITHOUT BEING CONSCIOUS OF HAVING ERRED, HE IS RUINED! Mr. Lambton is to present a petition from Mr. Buckingham, in the House of Commons, on the 25th of May, when, we trust, this interesting subject will be fully discussed.*

Nothing can be more accurate than this short view of the case; and we sincerely hope, that, when the particular features of it come to be more generally known, not only the Press, but the Parliament, and the Public of England, will express their sense of this tyrannical exercise of power in the terms it so richly deserves. What would be the feeling throughout all England, if the Parliament of the country were to be broken up and dispersed, because some patriotic member attempted to eulogize the value of its services? What would be said by every man who had a tongue to express his sentiments, if all the Newspapers of England were to be put down because they ventured to speak in admiration of the liberty of the press by which they lived? And yet, the offence of the Calcutta Journal was nothing more than this; since, all that Colonel Stanhope's pamphlet contained, was mere abstract reasoning on the value of a free press to India, without the slightest allusion to passing events, or existing individuals then in power in Bengal, the

* Leeds Mercury, Saturday April 17th, 1824.

book having been written and printed before either Mr. Adam or Lord Amherst came into power, and while the freedom of the press was as popular a topic in India as it must always be in England. Its strongest parts, indeed, were the extracts from the speech delivered by Lord Hastings himself in the Government House of Calcutta. So that what the Supreme Head of the State received the highest honours from all quarters for promulgating; it was made criminal, and punished with utter ruin, for a public Journal afterwards to repeat! This was, indeed, truly consigning a victim to death for the mere commemoration of its birth: and that the first Paper ever put down by British authority, should have been destroyed for such a reason as this, will scarcely be credited by posterity, unless it is marked with that general expression of abhorrence with which such an act of worse than Eastern despotism ought to be viewed by every man pretending to be in the slightest degree animated by British feelings.

But, base and detestable as this is, it is not all. After the Journal had been suppressed for about a month, when all its sources of information, channels of sale, and establishment of persons necessary to conduct it, had been so disturbed and broken up, as to be no longer available for their former purposes, the Indian Government, apparently ashamed of their past conduct or with a view to save themselves from the chance of a prosecution for damages, and to establish something like a claim to apparent repentance, privately expressed to some of the principal proprietors of the late Calcutta Journal, their willingness to renew the licence for its publication (a month after its suppression, when the most flourishing paper in existence could hardly hope to recover its former eminence!) on certain conditions, which they would lay down. This proposition, extraordinary as it seemed, was thought worth hearing; and the proprietors, who wished to make what use they could of the materials of this shipwrecked establishment, accordingly consented to treat for its renewal. The condition then proposed by the Government was, that it should put in an Editor of its own; or, at least, that though the proprietors might be parties to the choice, the new Editor should be a person in their service!!

Such a mean and pitiful transaction as this, was never, perhaps, before performed, even by an Indian Government. It would seem, indeed, as if they had revoked the licence of the Journal for the express purpose of putting into the command and management of a property, already injured by them to the utmost of their power, some individual, for whom they wished to make a provision; and, as if, without being at the expense of setting up another Paper of their own, (the John Bull, which was the property of Government functionaries in India, and written in by their Secretaries of State and Members of Council, having already cost them more than they expected, in damages for libels and other losses, which its sale would not repay), they had contrived a method for using the money and materials of a man they had irreparably ruined, for the propagation of opinions at variance with every act and thought of his life! We are not at liberty to say that this was their motive and intention; but had there been no other end in view, they could not have taken more effectual steps to secure it.

The reader will be naturally anxious to know who was the Government servant chosen to be the new Editor; and his surprise will not

perhaps be great (after what he has already seen) to learn that it was a son-in-law of one of the Members of that very Council which revoked the licence, and then offered to renew it on condition of their having an Editor from their own service to conduct the Paper! We might, perhaps, stop here, if all we desired was to give the British public an accurate idea of the *injustice* of these proceedings; but there is something in the *folly* of what remains to be told, that is necessary to complete the picture.

The Indian Proprietors, and the Government, having mutually acquiesced in the choice of the new Editor, (the former, indeed, could not have objected without risking a much greater evil than the more loss of their property); and his salary, with that of an assistant, fixed at £1,000 per annum, (the first at 600 and the second at 400 rupees per month) with a house worth £500 a year, in addition; these salaries were to be paid out of the funds of a Concern already reduced by the persecutions of the Government, and their illegal restraints on the Press, from a clear profit of £8,000 a year to something less than £800. It presenting no hope of ever doing more, under the existing system, than providing for their own servant, whom they had *permitted* to become Editor; while the Paper, as long as it continued, would be not only yielding no profit whatever to its principal Proprietor in England, who had endured, singly, all the labour, risk, and suffering, by which it was established on the high grounds on which he left it at the period of his banishment from India; but, perhaps, be entailing on him a monthly loss, and at the same time making him pay, by further drains on his already exhausted purse, for the propagation of sentiments in praise of men whom he thoroughly despised, and of measures which no honest man and lover of freedom could do otherwise than detest and abhor.

Let it not be supposed that, because we express ourselves strongly, we write under the influence of personal anger or personal disappointment. We feel no more of the former than we should do at any other act of spoliation committed by a Turk on an Infidel, or a Christian on a Jew, under colour of laws not worse than those enacted for Englishmen in India; and of the latter, we know nothing. It has been ironically said, "Blessed is he who expects nothing: for he shall never be disappointed." From the moment we quitted the shores of India, leaving all we possessed in the world behind us, we had philosophy enough to reduce ourselves to that happy annihilation of all hope; and, accordingly, though we feel pain at the dark prospect of the future, which this necessarily unveils to our view, it is unmingled with the smallest portion of disappointment.

But to return to the narrative—Two of the principal Proprietors of the Journal in India, whose fidelity and kindness we have more than once acknowledged, and repeat again with pleasure, willing to indulge the faint hope that remained of saving the property under their care from entire and irretrievable destruction, took the necessary oaths, and gave the necessary securities, for the licence of publication being renewed. The new Editor took possession of the premises; the persons employed on the establishment were re-assembled; and new expenses entered into, in order again to bring together the scattered elements necessary to such an undertaking, after they had been dispersed in every quarter. The licence not being actually issued, some scruples were expressed by the Printer, as to the probable safety of his proceeding; but a private intimation was

given from the persons in authority that the licence would be granted, as all the preliminaries had been gone through, and that therefore the Paper might be published without it for a few days, until the established forms of law had been observed and completed. Accordingly, the Paper for Monday was got ready, and sent to press, on the Saturday night preceding, (it having been the invariable custom, at the office of this Journal, to print the Monday's Paper on Saturday night, that all the individuals employed on it might enjoy the repose of Sunday); when, to the astonishment and dismay of the Printer, he received a letter from the Chief Secretary to Government, late on Sunday night, (for these peculiarly religious rulers have no scruple at breaking the Sabbath, when their own despotic purposes are to be served) warning him that the publication of the Journal on Monday would be *illegal*, as no licence had actually been granted!—Accordingly, the whole of the impression of the Paper printed off was entirely lost, and another notice required to be sent out, announcing its prohibition, or second suppression, by order of Government!

As the Chief Secretary did not pretend to know what was contained in the Monday's Paper, and as it was got up entirely under their own servant, who had been appointed Editor, some anxiety was expressed to know what had occasioned this strange determination on the part of the Government; and, on inquiry, it was ascertained that in the short notice sent out on the Saturday, announcing the intended re-appearance of the Paper on Monday, the indulgence of the public was solicited on the ground that the late regulations respecting the Press had gradually damped the spirit of inquiry, and rendered it more difficult to obtain information and materials for a public Journal than before these laws were passed. This, it appears, was the high and mighty crime of which the new Editor—the Government servant—had been guilty. His masters could not bear even an allusion to laws passed by themselves, and declared by them in the face of all the world to be salutary, and even indispensable! An explanation was sent to Lord Amherst on this subject; but so little were the Government, of which he was the head, disposed to fulfil their pledge, and so desirous did they seem to revoke even the last step they had taken, that it appeared as if they wished to find some pretence for turning out the very man they had consented to have put in!

It was now, apparently for the first time, discovered by the Government (though known to all the rest of India for years before) that the gentleman in question, (Doctor Muston, son-in-law of Mr. Harrington, Member of Council) was a Presidency Surgeon; and a correspondence now took place between the Government and the Medical Board, to ascertain from the latter how far Doctor Muston could accept the management of the Calcutta Journal, without neglecting his medical duties at the Presidency. One would have thought that they could have answered this question themselves. The Editor of a Daily Paper, to do his duty to those who pay him, ought not to have a moment to spare for any other purpose, except those of food, exercise, and rest. The original Editor of the Calcutta Journal, during a period of five years, never devoted less than twelve hours a day to the exclusive business of that Paper, nor was he ever absent from his home one whole day during that time, ruinous as such application and confinement is to the health of the strongest constitutions in the climate of Bengal. The total destruction of his hardly-earned property is his last reward.

The Indian Government must have known this; but when their own ends are to be served, they have no objection whatever to pluralities. The late Dr. Jameson occupied several posts, each entailing corresponding duties; and great blame was attached to those who complained of this as an evil. Captain Lockett, while Editor of the Indian John Bull, held also more than two other appointments, uniting Civil, Military, and Editorial duties in one; and the Government evinced no scruples at this. Dr. Atkinson, the Editor of their own official Journal, has two or three appointments besides. Dr. Grant, of the India Gazette, pursued his Medical Practice in addition to his Editorial labours. And the well-known Dr. Bryce, while chief Minister of the Scotch Kirk in India, was at the same time Secretary of several Committees, Editor of a Magazine, and a writer in the Newspapers, when the Government bestowed on him, in addition to all these, the employment of Clerk to the Stationary Committee, for supplying all the Public Offices in Bengal. In this last case, it was held so criminal to doubt the propriety of uniting all these duties in one, that the mere act of commenting on it was punished with the immediate banishment of the individual who dared so to do, from the country! Yet now, the very same individuals, with Lord Amherst at their head, pretend to raise a grave question, as to how far another Doctor, who has only one professional duty to attend to, can undertake a second without detriment to the first!

The truth is that they would not care a straw whether the Journal were ruined by his want of attention to it or not; and as to his Medical duties, they might always *enforce* his attention to these, whatever might be the fate of his other concerns. It must have been, therefore, a mere *pretence* of delicacy, to raise such difficulties at such a moment; while in the meantime the funds of the Calcutta Journal were running to waste and ruin; and the little remnant of its shipwrecked property, left as a nucleus of future hope, in a fair way of being swallowed up and engulphed for ever!

Up to the period of the last advices that have reached us on this subject (December 5, 1823,) no licence had been granted. The establishment was kept in full pay, waiting daily in expectation of the decision of Government, which, whether favourable or unfavourable, must lead to the same result. If the licence be refused, the sale of materials, which no one can be secure in using, will produce nothing; and if it be granted, on the conditions proposed, its conduct, under a Government servant, must be such as to bring it neither honour nor esteem among those who supported it on its original principles; while its capital is likely to be dwindled away in the protracted hope of a return, that we fear will never be realized: so that immediate or ultimate ruin is its inevitable fate.

It remains to be seen whether the Parliament, the Press, or the Public of England, conceive *this* to be a subject worthy of their sympathy and consideration. We have done our duty in relating the facts of the case; and if there be any public virtue left, we may hope to see that our countrymen will do theirs, in demanding inquiry into, and redress for, injuries like these; the individual effects of which are their least evil; as they are calculated to inspire the whole of our Dependencies with hatred of the English name, and to rouse a feeling of indignation and resistance, which may lead to the loss of our most valuable possessions.

REGRET FOR THE PAST.

'Twas sweet upon the early breast
Of genial earth to hush to rest
All cares and fears, or bounding gay
To hail the merry month of May.
Though Nature grow not old, she grows
Sober and staid, and fond of prose,
And seems, with all her lovely powers,
A recluse now in distant bowers;
And only meets the bard by stealth,
Who trips abroad with rosy health,
Humming his song at early dawn,
With tucked-up mantle o'er the lawn;
Or, sitting down beneath the tree,
Scares the light bird that carolled free,
His face receives the dropping dew
Shook from the bough as off she flew.

No more through old Idalian groves
The bright-eyed Queen of Beauty roves
No more surveys the urchin pranks
Of Eros on the lilied banks
Of Jardanus, who knew to tame
Her stubborn grief, and banish shame,
What time from out the Lemnian net
Her feet she first on Paphos set;
Or grieved for her Assyrian lord
Deep by the tusky savage gored.
No more the bards to Delos throng,
Hymning high their sacred song,
As, contesting for the prize,
Their raptures with their hopes arise;
And returning o'er the wave
Boasting the strain the Godhead gave.
There the Mæonian Bard his lyre
Struck with inimitable fire,
And with a prophet's eye foresaw,
Men approach his shrine with awe,
And the laurel crown bestow
To grace his old majestic brow.

These are dreams for ever fled!
Onward Time directs his head;
And if we steal a glance or so,
As hill and dale he bears us through,
At olden times, 'tis like the sight
We gain of ruins by the light
Of dubious moon, as o'er the walls
Through broken flying clouds it falls,
The beauties ere we fix upon,
Their dim magnificence is gone.

Bion.

RELATIVE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE SEPARATE BRANCHES OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, Cheltenham, 18th April, 1824.

AFTER the statement I made in my former letter, of some of the reasons assigned by the military advisers of the Court, for their plan with respect to the engineer corps, it might be considered almost unnecessary for me to pursue the subject further, until the queries I put are fully answered, and the system pursued by the Court justified; but there is still one assertion left which requires to be disposed of, because, if they make their masters believe it, it may go far to justify the line of conduct in which they have proceeded. In the advice given it was asserted then "that the emoluments of the engineer officers are much greater than those enjoyed by the rest of the military service." What emoluments are alluded to I cannot say, whether civil or military, but if either, or both of them are intended, the assertion is totally without foundation. I presume that the engineer officers have the feelings of other men, that they anxiously desire, after the storms of life, to retire into the bosoms of their families, and to enjoy the fruits of the labours of their youth; if, therefore, their civil employments, or extra military duties, were so lucrative as they are pretended to be, can it for a moment be doubted, that, on the acquisition of fortune, they would retire from the service and taste the blessings of their native land; thereby causing a continual succession, which would balance the advantages of promotion the infantry otherwise possess? But, that this is not the case, I have fully shown in my last letter, and, therefore, we might fairly infer, if there were no other reasons, that they have not any such advantages as they are stated to possess from their civil and military extra employments; and it is a notorious fact that, unlike every other service in the world, the pay of the engineers has always been *less* than the artillery, and barely equal to the infantry. By the new organization, indeed, the engineer pay is made equal to the artillery,—but in the Royal service it is greater than the artillery; and if this alteration in the engineer pay had not been made, we might have supposed that the service had been either totally forgotten, or the many and cruel disadvantages under which it labours had not been known. But this awkward attempt to hide partiality by an appearance of distributive justice, proves the contrary, and shows that there exists, in some corner of the India House, an active, powerful, and inveterate hatred against every thing appertaining to the engineer corps.

To proceed with the "superior emoluments"—when the engineers are employed in buildings, surveys, &c. they are allowed staff salaries but it is curious to remark that this circumstance, which at first sight might appear to favour the argument, forms a complete refutation to this last plea of the enemies of the engineer corps, since the staff salaries of the engineers are less than those of the cavalry, artillery, and infantry; these latter corps have also the very great advantage, both as to comfort and expense, of a mess, which the engineers, being detached over the whole country, cannot possess; and they are at the same time obliged to keep up their professional stock of knowledge, which requires expen-

sive books and instruments: add to all this their backward rank and consequent loss of pay, and you will have, Sir, a tolerable idea what the superior *advantages* of the engineer corps consist in. But the real question, after all, is not what is received, but what *can be saved* at the year's end, for on the saving alone can a competency be acquired to enable afficers to retire from the service, and in this particular the engineer officers labour under peculiar disadvantages.

Notwithstanding the unanswerable truth of these arguments, it has been asserted, that, nevertheless, engineer officers have the *means* of making money. That *honestly* they have very inferior means to the rest of the service, I have already shown, and if by this insinuation it is meant that they have the means of dishonestly appropriating a part of the public money passing through their hands to their own private use, I should think that it is not known that an engineer officer cannot have possession of a pound of nails belonging to the public, without taking a solemn oath before a magistrate that he has not *directly* or *indirectly* appropriated, or will appropriate, a single nail to his own use or benefit, in any shape or way whatever, and that no other person shall for him. If it shall still be insisted that oaths often prove nugatory, that the strong impulse to gain often overcomes the silent whispers of conscience, I shall request these malicious cavillers to inform me where are the large fortunes that have been made? Where are the wealthy individuals that have retired from the engineer service swelling with their ill-gotten wealth? If they cannot find such, then they must allow that their insinuation is grossly unjust, and that whilst the engineer officer continues to prove, by his high sense of honour, the *impossibility* of his acquiring by peculation a competency to retire from the service, that he does not possess "means" of making money equal to the other branches of the army.

I have observed, in my first letter, that retirement from the service depends on promotion and the pay of the rank, as on that alone arises the pay of the officers and the stipends to their widows; how hard it is then that the engineer officer should be kept out of these benefits common to the rest of the army, until the acquisition can only serve to brighten a little the fading lamp of life, and he can no longer struggle on in the pursuit of independence. It is only hope, "delusive hope, which points to distant good," that would have made the engineer officer bear his wrongs so patiently as he has done; it is only this that would have reconciled him to the idea of dragging on a miserable existence in the debilitating climate of India, with the certainty of being unable at the end of forty or fifty years to retire to his native country, and seeing every day his more fortunate contemporaries in other branches of the service, in the prime of life, retiring to the lap of affluence and ease; but has that distant good ever arrived? It might have done so, had justice been attended to, when the plan for the re-organizing of the Indian army was under consideration; but now, if the present system is pursued, the engineer must bid adieu to that guardian spirit which alone cheers the misery of poverty, and speaks comfort to the mind of the exile.

I do not contend that the Court of Directors have not an undisputed right to give the engineer corps inferior chances of promotion, inferior means of making money, inferior hopes of obtaining reward for indefatigable zeal and talent; but then they are bound to publish it to the

world; to tell the young engineer officers, "You have been sent to our colleges, instituted and supported, at a vast expense, on purpose for your education; you have had the first mathematical masters in England, and they have not sown the seed of knowledge in vain; you have cultivated the talents implanted in your minds by an Almighty hand, with laudable perseverance and success; you are selected, therefore, from among your fellows to fill the situation of an officer of the engineer corps of the Honourable East India Company, the most *honourable* situation in the army, but which possesses, in a most peculiar degree, every *disadvantage* to to the rest of the army in rank, pay, and emoluments."—They would understand this, and they would not be deceived; and if they then, with their eyes open, accepted the distinguished reward of their merit, and ever dared afterwards to raise a murmuring voice, they might justly be answered, in the words of the Poet,

Leniter ex merito quicquid patiare ferendum est.

But whilst the Court pursues the very opposite conduct to this, I will contend that they do not possess the right of doing wrong; they do *not* possess the right of filling the cup of expectation to the brim, and then dashing it untasted from the lips. I claim, indeed, for the engineer officers, no benefit in promotion above their brethren in arms, I only wish to obtain for them what in common justice they cannot be refused, *equal* promotion with the rest of the service, though it might easily be shown, that if any one branch has a right to expect more indulgence than another, if any one branch has a right to expect the smile of favour, it would be the engineer corps.

There are three ways of equalizing the rank of the army. One is, instead of allowing colonels of regiments to retire with the pay of their rank, and the off-reckonings of their regiments, to allow a number of the senior officers equal to that of the colonels, taken from the general list, including cavalry, artillery, engineers, and infantry, to retire with the pay and off-reckonings. The second method is to extend the operation of the line step to the whole of the army; and the third is to increase the number of field officers of the engineer corps, so that their promotions be made equal to the other branches of the service. The first is the most equitable, but it would probably not meet the approbation of those concerned; and as it would disparage systems now sanctified by age, it might not be considered expedient. The same may be said of the second method—but I apprehend no just reason can be urged against the third. The engineer corps had a greater proportion of field officers than the infantry, before the re-organization, and the royal engineers have a greater number of field officers, and of higher rank, than the royal artillery. The royal engineers have one colonel commandant, two colonels, and five lieutenant-colonels, to a battalion. The royal artillery, one colonel commandant, two colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, and one major. As then the royal engineers have a greater number of field officers, and of higher rank than the sister corps, the artillery, why should not the Company's engineers, to equalize promotion, have a greater number of field officers than the infantry, with whom they have no connexion?—The standard of equity must be annihilated before such an arrangement can be proved to be objectionable. CATO.

STANZAS TO ———.

The soft and pure and silent lustre
That dwells far back within thine eye;
Thy clear, cool brow, whose light curls cluster
Like gold clouds round a spot of sky;—

Thy voice—like far-off music, breathing
Over some sleeping water's breast,
When mists of eventide are wreathing
Their mantle round its couch of rest;—

Thy gentle form, that's floating by me,
A spirit rais'd by Fancy's spell;—
And (best of all!) thy thoughts, that fly me
In vain, for I can read them well:

All these come on my sinking soul
Like sunlight breaking thro' a cloud,
And dissipate the stern control
That wraps my being like a shroud.

Oh, let thy presence be around me!
Then heart and hope can never fail;
For love and life and joy have found thee,
And cling about thee like a veil;—

A veil of brightness, thro' which beaming
Thy beauties come with soften'd lights:
As when the stars of heav'n are gleaming
Their mild eyes on moonshiny nights.

Oh, come and smile upon me! come!
Now is the moment of my need;
Come and dispel the listless gloom
On which my heart and spirit feed.

I have so long been chain'd to earth,—
All earth—about—above—beneath,—
My soul almost forgets her birth—
Almost rejects her vital breath.

Haste, and remind her whence she came—
Wherefore her lofty thoughts were given:
Fann'd by thy breath, her sinking flame
Shall seek and find its native heaven.

TREATMENT OF THE LATE COLONEL ROBISON, OF HIS MAJESTY'S 24TH REGIMENT, IN INDIA.

In the first Number of our Publication, we gave a brief outline of the case of the late lamented Colonel Robison, of H. M. 24th Foot, and promised to furnish copies of the principal Documents bearing on that disgraceful transaction.* The death of that persecuted and calumniated officer, renders it doubly incumbent on us to redeem our pledge. Had he lived to reach his native land, we know that he would have exposed the conduct of the Indian Government in such a manner as to make the evil-doers shrink within themselves, from fear as well as shame: but the grave has closed over his remains, and his tongue and pen are alike silenced for ever.

We know that when he left India, which he did under an impression (unfortunately too well founded) that he should never live to reach England, he had in his possession several volumes of manuscripts on Indian affairs, which it was his intention to publish in this country. We know, also, from the best authority, that these papers were in his possession in Egypt, through which country he came on his way from India to England; and we believe that they were on board the packet in which he died, on his way from Malta to Falmouth. But on an examination of his effects, after the arrival of that vessel, not a trace of these voluminous materials was to be found.

Whether these papers were ever lost sight of during the voyage, or whether they were lost after the arrival of the ship in port, we cannot take upon ourselves to pronounce. All that we are certain of is, that the papers contained the labours of several years' patient inquiry and research; that they were particularly calculated to draw the public attention to the misgovernment of India; and that though during the life of Colonel Robison they were preserved by him with the most scrupulous care, yet, at his death they disappeared, and are nowhere to be found.

Under these circumstances, we should reproach ourselves if we any longer delayed giving the Documents of his case to the world. They will occupy considerable space, even in the small type in which we find it necessary to print them; but they will be read with interest by thousands, and repay the perusal of those even who have no immediate stake in the issue of this great question, "Whether Governors or Commanders in Chief, in our remote Dependencies, can, or ought to, act the Despot, without drawing down on their heads the indignation of the friends of freedom, whatever their rank and profession, throughout the globe."—In most of the unhappy and enslaved dependencies of England, Public Opinion, by which they sometimes impudently assert that our Empire in the East is especially maintained, can have no control, while such acts as we are about to record, take place, without exciting more than a stifled murmur; and without the Press having the power even to publish the proceedings in their official form, except at the risk of the heaviest penalties for daring to reveal the deeds which the Government studiously endeavour to hush up in secret. They tell us, indeed, that though they allow of no responsibility to Public Opinion in India, they are willing to submit to it in England. The following case exhibits a striking illustration of the utter worthlessness of such responsibility as this.

Colonel Robison was dismissed from his command, and ordered instantly to leave the country, for asserting—what was never denied or disproved—that a Free Press had done more for India than all the Regulations issued by its Government. He obeyed this cruel and despotic mandate, at the imminent risk of his life, the state of his health being then alarming, and the journey of several hundred miles which he had to perform, from the interior of India to the sea coast, through an unhealthy tract of country, at an unfavourable season of the year, and without any of the conveniences of travelling possessed in Europe, being such as to deter any but a high-spirited and determined man to undertake it. He arrives at Bombay; is there tried by a court martial of British officers on charges subsequent to and arising out of the cruel treatment to which he had been subjected *without* trial, and after being already severely punished for the original offence. He is found guilty of the facts alleged—of writing an intemperate letter to the Commander in Chief;—but, as the Court considered the provocation extreme, they acquitted him of "scandalous" conduct, and sentenced him only to be reprimanded. The Commander in Chief in India, himself the

party aggrieved, complains of the lenient nature of the sentence; becoming, therefore, a judge in his own cause, and calling in question the integrity and honour of fifteen British officers; including a Major General, six Colonels, four Majors, and four Captains, chiefly of the King's service, assembled on their oaths to try the question before them, without fear or favour; whose bias, if any, was likely to be against the prisoner, and not against their Commander in Chief, or the interest of the service, of which they were equally members. He publishes his displeasure to the army. Colonel Robison embarks for England; but before he reaches its shores, the weight of these accumulated evils bearing down his lofty and indignant mind, and the progress of disease, hastened by this very cause, overpowering his debilitating frame, he sinks under their joint influence, and dies, as we sincerely and conscientiously believe, a victim of oppression and injustice; whose death was not, perhaps, intended, but was unquestionably hastened, if not produced, by the unmerited severity with which his persecutors pursued him to the last.

To close this distressing scene, the Commander in Chief in England, deceived, no doubt, by the misrepresentations of others, issues an order, after the death of the unfortunate officer was known at head quarters, and when his family and friends were mourning his untimely fate, heaping fresh obloquy on his remains, and pursuing him with censures, from which he was then unable to defend himself, into the silent chambers of the grave. This last was "the unkindest cut of all." In England, had he lived, he might have hoped to excite public sympathy in his favour, and hear the public opinion declare itself on his side. In England, even should he never reach it alive, he might have hoped for at least a tacit disapprobation of what had taken place abroad, and some respect for his former meritorious services. But alas! so secure are all those who commit the grossest acts of cruelty in our distant Dependencies, from anything like the influence of Public Opinion in England, that the whole array of power in authority is sure to be drawn out to screen them from any punishment for their delinquencies; and the great mass of the community, having already too much to engage their attention nearer home, are comparatively indifferent to all that takes place at a distance. The most oppressive of our Indian and Colonial Governors are, therefore, secure in their iniquity, and may trample on the rights of their fellows with impunity, provided only that they take care to secure friends at court, and among those in power, so as to purchase indemnity for the past by a tender of their subserviency for the future.

We hasten, however, to the Narrative of the case which has drawn from us these preliminary observations, satisfied as we are that with unbiassed and impartial minds a mere perusal of the Documents will be quite sufficient to excite their astonishment and indignation; and equally persuaded that with those who habitually fall into the ranks of the oppressor, and defend every act of cruelty that emanates from men in authority, neither this nor any other case will make the slightest impression.—"They have Moses and the Prophets, whom they hear not: neither would they believe if one rose from the dead."—To them, therefore, this will appear, as all other acts of arbitrary power do in their eyes, "a just and necessary vigour" for the preservation of social order and subordination. Let the unbiassed reader, however, judge for himself.

No. I.—*Letter of Colonel Robison, published in the Calcutta Journal, May 16th*, 1822.

SIR,—Were I to enumerate the benefits in small matters and great, which within the last three years (but particularly within the last one year), I know to have been done to the public service, by the free exposures and discussions which have taken place in the columns of your journal, I should fill up more than the whole of your "Asiatic Department," for at least a couple of days, and put to shame, if they have any, every one of the courtly, well-fed, tribe, who have laboured to deprive the Indian world of that FREE PRESS, which is the greatest blessing that any rational people can enjoy.

What abuses of power have already been checked by it! with what wholesome fear has it already inspired many hundred public servants, who were before under no fear or control whatever! What civility, what attention to business, what alacrity and regularity, it has helped to introduce in many of their public offices! yea, what virtue, public spirit, and emulation to excel in their different callings, has it not given to many, who never before considered a place or appointment with any other thought but how the most was speedily to be made of it. How much more has

it done to stop foul play, and introduce improvements in Bazaars, and in the administration of *Military Justice*, fining, flogging, taxing, cheating;—how much more than all the orders you can pick and cull out of that valuable compilation, as clear as it is rich, the *Bengal Code.*

Yes, Sir, I congratulate you most heartily, on being, in a manner, the author of more improvements than all the laws and regulations that have yet been framed to improve things mendable. I congratulate the natives from the bottom of my heart, at the good you have already done them; and I hope to see the time when it will no longer be in the power of those, who are supposed to protect them from fraud and violence, to harass them even in legal courts, and under rules and regulations. That it still is so, and that the most crying evils may be, and are too often experienced under legal forms, where the sufferer has little hope of redress, I could furnish some examples to any one who doubts the facts.

Respecting the *Brevet* and *local rank* conferred, or rather said to be conferred, by Indian Chiefs, such as the Nizam, Berar Raja, &c., on British officers, I should be obliged to any of your well-informed Military Correspondents to answer me the following questions :—

1. Who is it that makes captains of lieutenants, majors, and sometimes brigadier generals of captains, in the service of these Chiefs? Is it the Chief, whom we are told, from *the best authority*, has no power over what are called his *own* troops? Or is it the Governor General, who is "bona fidê" the chief lord and master of these kingdoms?

2. If the Governor General, as I suppose it must be,—does he get the authority from act of Parliament, or by orders from the Court of Directors? Whether it be the Governor General or the Chief, why are these gentlemen not notified in public orders, in the rank which they assume upon their visiting cards and in society?

In Europe, whenever an officer is allowed by His Majesty to accept rank or honours of any kind from a foreign prince, it is duly notified in the Gazette.

These certainly are little things; so are most things that hold society together; so are all your courtly ceremonies very little things. But let me see the proud English knight, who will be thrust out of his place *at a Feast* by a knight of Malta, or the Ionian Islands. Do not, then, let us expect an old captain or subaltern in the army to yield or give way to his inferior in rank, let him style himself what he pleases, or dress himself in ever so imposing a staff uniform.

I am, Sir,

A MILITARY FRIEND.

In the Deckan, April 18th, 1822.

No. II.—*Resolutions of the Governor General in Council, respecting the preceding Letter.*

Resolved—That a letter under the signature of A MILITARY FRIEND, published in the Calcutta Journal of the 16th inst., is a gross insult to the Honourable Company's Government, falsely, and slanderously asserting, that divers abuses and oppressions were PERMITTED by that Government, UNTIL they were exposed in the above newspaper; and ENCOURAGING the thoughtless to represent grievances through that channel, WITH ALL THE DISTORTIONS WHICH INEXPERIENCE, MISAPPREHENSION, or MALIGNITY may PROMPT,* instead of resorting to the legitimate source of redress, where the grounds of the complaint would be justly measured.

Resolved—That, as the Editor of the Calcutta Journal has acknowledged Lieut. Colonel William Robison, of His Majesty's 24th regiment, to have written the letter in question, and to have sent it to him (the Editor), for publication,† the Governor General in Council, must deem it INEXPEDIENT for the INTERESTS of the Honourable Company, that the said Lieut. Colonel William Robison, unless he can disprove the charge so made against him by the Editor of the Calcutta Journal,‡ should be placed in any situation where an important trust may devolve upon him.||

* There is not the shadow of ground for such an exaggerated construction as this.

† This was done with Colonel Robison's previous permission.

‡ No *charge* was ever made by the editor against his correspondent. The Government demanded the name of the writer of the letter; and the wish of Colonel Robison having been previously communicated that his name should be given whenever the Government demanded it, their inquiry was accordingly answered.

|| If the praise of a free press disqualified an officer from holding a place of trust, Lord Hastings himself was unworthy to rule India: for no man living ever went further than his lordship in eulogizing the value of that freedom which Colonel Robison is here condemned for praising in much more measured terms.

Resolved—That the above opinion be communicated to the Commander in Chief, and that his Excellency be requested to act in consonance to it.

Ordered—That the foregoing resolutions be recorded in the military department, whence they are to be communicated to the Commander in Chief.

(Signed) C. LUSHINGTON.

No. III.—*Letter from the Adjutant General to Lieut. Colonel Robison, C.B., H. M. 24th foot, Nagpore, enclosing the preceding Resolutions.*

Head Quarters, Calcutta, 29th May, 1822.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit herewith, copy of a letter from Lieut. Col. Macra, Military Secretary, giving cover to transcript of one from Lieut. Col. Casement, Secretary to Government, with its annexed extracts from the proceedings of the most Noble the Governor General in Council, on the 23d inst.

The instructions from the Commander in Chief to this department, referred to in, and forwarded with, Lieut. Col. Macra's letter above mentioned, are as follows:—

Should you be unable to disavow distinctly to Col. Adams, your being the author of the letter alluded to by Government, the Commander in Chief wishes to make your removal from Nagpore AS LITTLE AWKWARD IN APPEARANCE as may be; with which view, I am instructed to signify that you have leave of absence from the regiment, for eighteen months, and are expected to avail yourself of it immediately.* The length of time is granted, that you may precede the regiment to England, by repairing for a passage either to Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay.

While the Commander in Chief thus contributes the MOST DELICATE MEANS for your separating yourself from the corps, his duty will not permit him to allow any hesitation or delay, in the fulfilment of what Government prescribes. I have, therefore, to inform you, that Col. Adams is furnished with provisional instructions, which will not be resorted to, or made public, unless in the event of your not satisfying him, that THE LEAVE will be acted upon without procrastination; in which case he would in general orders, require you to quit the cantonment forthwith, and to proceed to Calcutta.*

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) THOMAS MC MAHON,
Col. A. G.

No. IV.—*Reply of Col. Robison to the preceding.*

Nagpore, 9th June, 1822.

SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 29th. ult., with copy of a letter from Lieut. Col. Macra, Military Secretary, giving cover to transcript of one from Lieut. Col. Casement, Secretary to Government, with its annexed extracts from the proceedings of the most noble the Governor General, in Council, on the 23d ult.

Being unable to disavow distinctly to Col. Adams that I am the author of the letter alluded to by Government, and being able, I think, to justify myself before any fair, unprejudiced, judge or government, for having written it, I shall not use a moment's procrastination or delay, in proceeding to England, in fulfilment of the arbitrary and unlawful mandate, issued upon their highly unjust judgment of the letter in question; conscious that from the Court of Directors and the Government at home, I shall, at least, have a fair, dispassionate hearing, before I am condemned of any thing criminal or unbecoming.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) W. ROBISON,
Lieut. Col. H. M. 24th Regiment.

No. V.—*Letter from Col. Robison to the Chief Secretary to Gov., Calcutta, protesting against the Resolutions before given.*

SIR, Nagpore, 9th June 1822.

1. Having received, through a vast number of channels, a copy of the resolution of the Governor General in Council, entered into on the 23d ult. upon a letter of mine, in the Calcutta Journal of 17th ult. signed "A Military Friend," and although I do not entertain the smallest hope of justice or redress from a government capable of acting as it has acted with me on this occasion, I claim the right which belongs to every injured British subject, of protesting, in the most direct and distinct manner, against an unwarrantable, tyrannical exercise of authority, which reduces

* Thus authorizing an official falsehood and the grossest deception.

* Such a specimen of duplicity as this is not easy to be paralleled even from Indian annals.

every officer in India to a state of slavery equal to that of the gentlemen in the Russian service.

2. The Government was pleased, on the 23d of May, to resolve, that the letter above alluded to was "a gross insult to the Honourable Company's government," and, without asking a single question of the writer, to know whether it was true or false, they also pronounce, "that it *falsely* and scandalously asserts, that divers abuses and oppressions *were permitted* by that Government until they were exposed in the above newspaper." Now, I beg any one member of Government to call for the offensive letter, and say, where is there any such an assertion as this, or anything like it, to be found in the whole of the letter. It was written, as it may be easily seen my letters generally are, somewhat hastily, without study or deliberation; and contained the impulse of a moment's thought upon hearing of some very shameful abuse of authority and gross injustice done to a respectable native, which motives of delicacy and compassion alone prevented my taking up publicly. The free press had, to my knowledge, already checked a thousand little tyrannies of the kind which never could be so effectually checked by mere *orders* of government, and I thought I might, by the hint I gave through the press, do quite as much good as by harassing myself and others for months to draw the displeasure of Government upon one or two individuals, whom I rather pitied than wished to injure.

3. I had witnessed a number of instances of the salutary influence of a free press in checking abuses of power, and petty oppressions in the bazars; and I had seen instances of the great good it effected in public offices and among public servants and functionaries at various places. I had heard of many more, and having myself suffered not a little under petty oppressions, the possibility of committing which with impunity I hoped to see removed through the same influence, I naturally rejoiced to see its daily increasing influence, and took the occasion of a petty act of oppression done to a native before me, by an authority which should have protected him, to congratulate the Editor of an independent paper on the good already done by his free exposure of abuses, saying they had in a thousand ways served to improve the condition of the natives, and to check and control civil and military functionaries in the exercise of the power they possessed, more than the best intended and most voluminous orders and regulations had done, or were ever likely to do.

4. I neither said, meant, nor insinuated that the Government *permitted abuses*, or *refused* to redress grievances. To judge by their *orders* and declarations, they have in all times been an enemy to abuse and oppression. But a government on the best model cannot see and do every thing, and their own acts can only be expected to be wise and pure in proportion to the purity, intelligence and integrity of the sources from which they seek to draw their information. I have had occasion to know and to complain of it to the same Government, that the sources from which they sometimes obtain information, and on which they form resolutions to the prejudice of others, are extremely impure, false, and corrupt. I pointed out, only last December, a strong case of glaring injustice done to his Majesty's 24th regiment, by some false and scandalous reports, about them by a gentleman in authority, whose baneful influence had before been felt by myself; and on my account, I suppose, by the 24th regiment. The Government, after acting upon the reports *as true*, were obliged to admit, that I had proved them to be false; but instead of giving up, as I lawfully demanded, the actors and leader of so foul a proceeding, which raised indignation in the breast of the General and all public officers at the place where the scene lay (Cawnpoor), to be exposed and prosecuted as they deserved; they happened to have interest enough to get screened from justice, and no redress whatever was obtained for the injury done to us. Yet it forms part of my present offence that I should address a few hasty general remarks upon the freedom of the press, and the important benefit it was working, to a newspaper, instead of addressing them to the Government.

5. It is not a long time since I humbly recommended, through the Military Secretary, that the attention of his Excellency the Commander in Chief might be drawn to the time limited by act of parliament (articles of war), for assembling regimental and other courts-martial. The present act does not make it lawful to assemble them before nine o'clock in the morning, and at that time it was by the act ten o'clock. While I commanded his Majesty's 24th regiment at Ghazepore soon after I returned from England, where I had seen people in my situation encouraged to offer every suggestion that occurred to them for the

benefit of their men or regiment, I humbly submitted, that it might save the lives of a great many soldiers, if courts-martial in India were empowered to assemble at sunrise. The cantonment was a very extensive one, spreading over a mile. Courts-martial were frequent during that hot season, and the surgeon represented to me, that whenever one assembled it sent several men into hospital. Sometimes the court was not over before 2 or 3 in the afternoon, and evidences, &c. had to return a distance, some of them as far as from Fort William, to St. John's cathedral! I naturally conceived a very few words from Lord Hastings to the proper authorities at home would get this little improvement brought into the next mutiny act. However, I was quite mistaken. I received for answer "that his Lordship had no occasion for any of my crude suggestions; and that I ought to have known, such a thing was contrary to act of parliament." This took place early in 1820.

6. I have thus, I believe, shown, Sir, that I am not guilty (as the Government have precipitately adjudged me to be) "of asserting either truly or falsely, that divers abuses and oppressions were permitted by them until exposed in a newspaper;" and I think I have shown sufficient without entering into more cases, as I could easily do, to justify my seeking redress, if aggrieved, at any other hands but theirs; and to expect improvement in the laws, regulations, and government of India, rather from the labours and influence of one free unfettered press, than from the united wisdom and integrity of the best government that ever yet ruled over India.

7. On the memorable occasion when his Lordship's sentiments on the freedom of the press were promulgated, the persons to whose address he was replying were composed alike of civil and military servants, and the special individual who had the honour of presenting the address was a captain in the army. How, in the name of God, am I to reconcile the noble sentiments and principles avowed spontaneously and exultingly to all of us on that occasion with the harsh and cruel treatment I am now suffering by his orders, for writing a few hasty lines in a newspaper in praise of the liberty of the press? The obnoxious letter reflects in no way on this government, unless it be a reflection to say, that men, corruptly or indolently inclined, stand more in awe of exposure from a free press than they do of being detected and punished by the government. What is said and alluded to, of "Rules and Regulations," clearly points at those which were drawn up in old times; and every body of the least judgment, who knows what they are, admits they require to be revised and improved.

8. His Lordship has said, "if our motives of action are pure, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion." I trust that the motives of his Lordship (for it is entirely his act, I perceive) for sending a peremptory order to turn me out of this cantonment and country at 48 hours notice, from the centre of India, in the rainy season, sick or well, "will be rendered intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion." I hope the Governor General, in mercy to other credulous and unwary lovers of national freedom, will now promulgate that he no longer permits an allusion or reference to public opinion, unless, as on the occasion of the Madras Address, it be to assemble and speak laudatory language of his Lordship and his measures. I hope his Lordship will at once freely and publicly avow that he no longer considers it salutary for supreme authority to be subject to scrutiny or comment on its measures, and that it is *resolved* to turn any officer out of the country at 24 hours notice, who dares to publish a single comment or sentiment upon public affairs displeasing to them. No matter what motive actuated him, if the Government fancy it contains the least offensive matter, the writer shall be turned out of his house and quarters like a dog with the mange, at the point of the bayonet, and left, sick or well, ready or not ready, to march off and embark for Europe, if the sea coast be 700 miles distant!

9. Oh! my Lord, if you had accompanied your precious gift of a free press to the people of India as the prudent Vicar of Wakefield accompanied his gift of a guinea to each of his children, with the solemn admonition to look as much as they pleased at the gift, but never to make use of it, I certainly should not be found a transgressor in the present instance. In short, had I not felt myself invited by Lord Hastings's own noble sentiments, so publicly and triumphantly expressed, on the freedom of the press, to speak and write freely whatsoever I thought upon public events passing before me; I should naturally have reserved what I was desirous of drawing public attention to, for publication in England.

10. If his Lordship has any other cause beside the offence announced for

the truly despotic, degrading, and inhuman measure, which he takes *to himself* the peculiar merit and responsibility of inflicting on me as Commander in Chief, without ever charging me with any military offence, I beg he may deal with me openly and honestly, and inform me what they are, before I leave the country, and not seek to injure me, or prejudice my cause, by secret private reports and charges, at which the mind of every honest man must revolt.

11. In the order sent for my instantaneous expulsion from Nagpore, no proviso was left or made even for *sickness*, so likely to happen at this season, at this unhealthy station. Sick or well, I am told to consider it an act of grace and favour to be allowed a day or two to make my arrangements; and really, as if the mockery of delicacy was not carried far enough by this one or two days, I am cheeringly told by the Company's Adjutant General, that his Lordship's *kind indulgence* would even be extended to *three* days, if proved to be absolutely *necessary!!* This is something like Buonaparte's delicacy to the Duke d'Enghien, when he resolved to murder him. Even the kind and humane Col. Adams was sadly embarrassed at the idea of allowing me to stay a little more than three days, although the surgeon certified it would be dangerous for me in my extremely weak state of health, with a long standing complaint in the chest, to attempt a journey until after the rains. However, be the consequence what it may, his Lordship's mandate shall be obeyed as rigidly to the letter as feeble nature and my utmost exertions will admit, and I do yet hope to be off in three or four days from this. At his Lordship's hands I lay my death, should that little dreaded event happen under his persecution; and let him thank those merciless, corrupt, and ignorant counsellors (I do not mean the members of Council) who have led him into more inconsistencies, acts of injustice, and barefaced abuses of power and patronage, during his command of the army in India, than is to be found in the annals of military transactions for fifty years before he came out to this country. I say, let his Lordship thank, for any uneasy nights he may pass on my account, those liberal-minded gentlemen who beset and surround him in the way of suite, staff, &c. and who, I believe in my soul, have often and often persuaded him to do things contrary to his own judgment and the bias of his own naturally mild and liberal disposition. What man of common observation and intelligence unconnected with those I allude to, does not deplore it as a sad misfortune that a commander in chief so well disposed, so easy of access, and so much looked up to by the army, should not have fallen into better hands; I mean, that he should find so very few disinterested, upright and intelligent people about him, as the organs of his authority.

12. I really conceived a man might go as far as all I have said here, and lay out cases to illustrate his assertions in any public newspaper, where we were so openly informed in books and speeches that the Government now were resolved to depart from their old factory policy, and "court publicity and discussion of all their doings." "That government," says Lord Hastings again, "which has nothing to disguise, wields the most powerful instrument of sovereign rule. It carries with it the united reliance and support of the whole mass of the governed. And let tyrant-ridden France, &c. speak the VALUE OF A SPIRIT TO BE FOUND ONLY IN MEN ACCUSTOMED TO INDULGE AND EXPRESS THEIR HONEST SENTIMENTS."

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
W. ROBISON, Lt. Col. 24th N. I.

No. VI.—*Charges preferred against Col. Robison for writing the preceding letter.*

1st. For conduct incompatible with the duty of an officer, in traducing the Government under which His Majesty's orders had placed him, by describing and characterising a public resolution and measure of that Government, relative to Lieutenant Colonel Robison, as a military officer, as "an unwarrantable, tyrannical exercise of authority, which reduces every officer in India to a state of slavery equal to that of the gentlemen in the Russian service;" the above *malignant* expressions forming part of the first paragraph of a letter, dated 9th June, 1822, addressed and sent by Lieutenant Colonel Robison to, and received by, the Chief Secretary to the Supreme Government, and in which, instead of offering any explanation of his conduct, or soliciting any redress, he declares that "he does not entertain the smallest hope of justice or redress from a Government capable of acting as the Government" (as he therein alleges) "had acted towards him."

2d. For having pointed insulting and scandalous remarks at the head of the Supreme Government, who was at the same time Lieutenant Colonel Robison's

Military Commander in Chief, in the eighth paragraph of the above letter; and in particular in stating, that he hoped the head of the Government would promulgate that it "is resolved to turn any officer out of the country, at twenty-four hours notice, who dares to publish a single comment or sentiment upon public affairs, displeasing to them, no matter what motives actuated him: if the Government fancy it contains the least offensive matter, the writer shall be turned out of his house and quarters, like a dog with the mange, at the point of the bayonet, and left, sick or well, ready or not ready, to march off and embark for Europe, if the sea coast be seven hundred miles distant."

3d. For abusive and grossly insubordinate language applied to, and highly reflecting on, the Commander in Chief, in the tenth and eleventh paragraphs of the above letter, charging the Commander in Chief with "taking to himself the peculiar merit of inflicting on him (Lieutenant Colonel Robison) truly despotic, degrading, and inhuman measures," and accusing the Commander in Chief of "more inconsistencies, acts of injustice, and barefaced abuses of power and patronage, during his command of the army in India, than are to be found in the annals of military transactions for fifty years before he came out to India."

By order of the Most Noble the Commander in Chief.

(Signed) THOMAS MC MAHON,
Col. A. G.

Adjutant General's Office, Calcutta,
June 26th, 1822.

No. VII.—*Opening Address of the Judge Advocate, on the Court Martial assembled to try Colonel Robison on the foregoing charges.*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

I BEG leave to inform the Court that I have received instructions to conduct the prosecution on the charges now before them. Simple as these charges are, and resting on a single letter, any preliminary observations respecting them may appear unnecessary. But the Court may perhaps wish to be made acquainted with the motives which could induce Lieut. Col. Robison to write so imprudent and intemperate a letter; and I will, therefore, briefly state the circumstances of the case, trusting that I may at the same time be indulged in making a few remarks on the subject under investigation. For as the facts which I shall submit to you, will not, I believe, be controverted by Lieut. Col. Robison, and as they will probably constitute the principal part of the defence, it becomes of importance that their precise nature should be clearly understood by the Court.

To most of the members of this Court it is known that four years ago the Most Noble the Governor General of India removed the censorship of the press, which had previously existed in this country. In adopting this measure, his lordship acted on the enlightened views which are so well and so concisely expressed by Blackstone. "The liberty of the press (says that distinguished author) is indeed essential to the nature of a free state; but this consists in laying no *previous* restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has undoubted right to lay *what sentiments he pleases* before the public; to forbid this, is to destroy the freedom of the press; but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequences of his own temerity." * The Court will particularly remark this passage, as it applies so strongly to the state of this country, in which publications may often be improper and mischievous, and, consequently, unlawful, though not declared illegal by any precise law. But to these just and necessary limits, which no writer can transgress without subjecting himself to the penalties imposed by law, it is perfectly evident that many contributors to the Calcutta Journal have paid little or no attention. The freedom of the press, in consequence, degenerated into licentiousness, † and became the channel of publications, which were not contented with discussing subjects relating to the administration and government of this country in a *general* and *abstract* manner, but indulged in personal reflections, in unfounded allegations of particular grievances, and abuses, and in the most unjust aspersions on the public servants of Government. ‡

It might have been expected that the

* Not, however, until after a trial and conviction by a jury. Blackstone never could have imagined a case of punishment, without this protection, for even the most mischievous abuse of the Press.

† How then was its Editor never found guilty of such alleged licentiousness in a court of law?

‡ If this were true, nothing could have been more easy than to have established the fact before the legal tribunals of the country: but this is mere assertion, unsupported even by a shadow of proof.

habits of subordination to which military men are accustomed, would have prevented any officer from thus giving publicity to his sentiments. But several of these objectionable contributions were professedly written by officers. It is, indeed, sometimes said, that no person who becomes an officer, in any manner sacrifices his rights as a freeman. But this assertion must proceed from want of reflection; for, from the moment that an officer accepts a commission, he voluntarily gives up many privileges which are enjoyed by his countrymen, and even subjects himself to punishment for acts which are not considered as offences by the civil law. Tytler very justly observes, that "a sacrifice of a greater portion of the personal liberty of individuals is necessary in the profession of a soldier, than in any other of the employments of civil life; for without that sacrifice the army could not be kept together. Necessity, therefore, requires that certain restraints should be imposed on all the ranks of men who compose the military state which are foreign to the condition of other citizens." But in no regard does the very existence of the army itself, and its utility in protecting the state, so much depend as on implicit respect and subordination to all superiors, civil or military. It cannot, however, be supposed that the expression, by an officer, of sentiments disrespectful to his superiors, becomes immediately divested of all culpability in consequence of his giving them greater publicity by insertion in a common newspaper. An officer, therefore, if he thinks proper to contribute to a public journal, is not only bound to observe at his peril the limits prescribed to other citizens by the civil law, but he is also bound to preserve that respect and subordination which is required by the military law.

But if these principles be correct, it must follow that the contributors to the Calcutta Journal had abused the freedom of the press, and had by their licentiousness rendered it incumbent on the Supreme Government * to check an evil which might be productive of the most serious consequences. Under these circumstances, the attention of the Supreme Government was attracted to a letter that appeared in that newspaper on the 16th of May last: which being considered as highly objectionable, the Editor was required to name the writer of it. He accordingly stated that the author of this letter was Lieut. Colonel Robison, of H. M. 24th Regiment of Foot, then at Nagpore.

[The letter under the signature of "A Military Friend," having been already given in a preceding page (102), need not be repeated here.]

In consequence of this letter, the Supreme Government passed a resolution expressive of their disapprobation of Lieut. Col. Robison's conduct, in publishing it, and declaring it inexpedient for the interests of the Hon. Company, that he should be placed in any situation where an important trust might devolve on him. It is not the province of this Court to form any opinion on this measure; but I may be permitted to observe that the particular situation of Lieut. Col. Robison, who was at the time in command of his regiment, and also second in command in the Nagpore Subsidiary force, rendered his removal from that force indispensable, in order to prevent his exercising any military authority under Government which he had treated with so much disrespect. It must be evident, that when an officer, whose rank necessarily gives him influence, and entitles him to a command, publishes in a common newspaper, that a Free Press has done more to stop foul play, and introduce improvement in Bazars, and in the administration of military justice, than all the military orders of Government, such officer has transgressed every limit of military respect and subordination.* But when he adds, "I congratulate the natives from the bottom of my heart, at the good you have already done them; and I hope to see the time, when it will no longer be in the power of those who are supposed to protect them from fraud and violence, to harass them, even in legal Courts, and under rules and regulations," it is equally evident that such sentiments are, in this country, in the highest degree mischievous. Had, therefore, the known author of such a publication been allowed to remain in military command, the example might have proved ex-

* The law is the only proper check to such abuses, and not the will of any ruler. The Judge Advocate has not, after all, read Blackstone with much profit, or he would never have uttered so unconstitutional a sentence as this.

* This is wholly unwarranted by fact. The Free Press was pretended to be *one* of the blessings conferred on India by the existing Government. Col. R. says this *one* measure had done more good than any other. If the Government were really the source of this measure, as they pretend then all the praise is still theirs.

tremely prejudicial to military discipline; and his rank might have placed him in situations in which he might have had an opportunity of acting upon avowed principles, detrimental and ruinous to the public service.

In the letter on which these charges are founded, and which I shall presently read, Lieutenant Colonel Robison complains, "that the Supreme Government resolved, that the letter published in the Calcutta Journal was a gross insult to the Honourable Company's Government, without asking a single question of the writer, to know whether it was true or false. But I can scarcely suppose that Lieutenant Colonel Robison could be serious when he made such a complaint, or that he really thought that he could prove all the singular effects which he ascribed to the magical influence of the Calcutta Journal; at least, a reference to the East India Register will show, that it would have been morally impossible for him to have supported this assertion. "With what wholesome fear has it already inspired many hundred public servants, who were before under no fear or control whatever." Lieutenant Colonel Robison is also at great pains to evince, that he neither said, meant, nor insinuated, that Government had permitted abuses and oppressions, until they were exposed in the above newspaper. What he meant can be known only to himself; but the Supreme Government could merely judge of the printed letter according to the usual acceptation of the words that it contained, and no sophistical distinctions can alter the plain and simple meaning which these words must convey to every reader. Lieutenant Colonel Robison may, perhaps, think that the word permit has no other signification than *authorise*; but it also, and as frequently, signifies to *suffer without authorising or approving*, and in this sense alone was it evidently used in the Resolution of the Supreme Government. It must, at the same time, appear rather singular, that in the very letter in which he disavows having asserted that Government permitted abuses and oppressions, he should thus express himself:—"I think I have shown quite sufficient to justify my seeking redress, if aggrieved, at any other hands than theirs (those of Government), and to effect improvement in the laws, regulations, and Government of India, rather from the labour and influence of one free, unfettered press, than from the united wisdom of the best Government hat ever presided over India."

Lieutenant Colonel Robison also states, that the letter in question was written hastily, and without study or deliberation. But this circumstance, so far from being any excuse for its publication, adds greatly to the culpability of the act. For it is perfectly impossible to suppose, that any person could have crowded into so small a space so many disrespectful and mischievous expressions and insinuations, unless such were the real sentiments which habitually occupied his thoughts. It must, therefore, be concluded, that Lieut. Col. Robison is seriously of opinion, that abuses exist in this country unchecked, though known; that civility, attention to business, alacrity, and regularity, are notoriously deficient in the public offices; and that many public servants never consider a place or appointment with any other thought but how the most is speedily to be made of it. That foul play exists in Bazars, and that their regulation, and the adminstration of military justice, consist in fining, flogging, taxing, and cheating; and finally, that the rules and regulations of Government afford to the natives little hope of redress, and, on the contrary, enable those whose duty it is to protect them, to harass them under legal forms. All these assertions are contained in twenty-three lines of the column of a printed newspaper. It is certainly probable, that the giving publicity to such sentiments proceeded from inadvertency, and the impulse of the moment; but it is equally evident, that when it became known that an officer of Lieutenant Colonel Robison's rank entertained such an opinion of the Government, under which the orders of his Majesty had placed him, it became indispensable that he should no longer exercise any military authority under that Government.

It may be admitted, that however merited and just the resolution of the Supreme Government must appear to all other persons, it may have borne to Lieutenant Colonel Robison an appearance of severity; but it must excite the greatest surprise, that he could possibly have found even the semblance of a cause of complaint against the extremely considerate and delicate manner in which this resolution was carried into effect, by the most noble the Commander in Chief in India. The Supreme Government deemed it proper that, previous to carrying this resolution into effect, Lieutenant Colonel Robison should have an opportunity of disavowing the letter ascribed to him by the editor of the Calcutta Journal. The following instructions were therefore sent, by order of the Commande

in Chief in India, to the officer commanding the Nagpoor subsidiary force: "You will please to send for Lieutenant Colonel Robison, and you will put the question to him, whether he can, upon his honour, disavow being the author of the libellous production specified in the resolutions of Government. Should Lieutenant Colonel Robison, without reservation, declare that he did not compose, write, or send to the editor of the Calcutta Journal, for publication, the objectionable letter in question, you will suspend proceedings, and report to head-quarters such denial on the part of Lieutenant Colonel Robison." At the same time, the Adjutant General of the King's forces in India was directed to write to Lieutenant Colonel Robinson, as follows :—"Should you be unable to disavow distinctly, to Colonel Adams, your being the author of the letter alluded to by Government, the Commander in Chief wishes to make your removal from Nagpoor as little awkward in appearance as may be: with which view, I am instructed to signify that you have leave of absence from the regiment for eighteen months, and are expected to avail yourself of it immediately. The length of term is granted that you may precede the regiment to England, by repairing for a passage either to Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay."

But his Lordship, at the same time, directed it to be signified to Lieutenant Colonel Robison, that, "While the Commander in Chief thus contributes the most delicate means for your separating yourself from the corps, his duty will not permit him to allow any hesitation or delay in the fulfilment of what Government prescribes." And to Colonel Adams—"Were Lieutenant Colonel Robison's continuance with the regiment for two or three days really necessary for the preparations towards his journey, the Commander in Chief will not forbid that indulgence—beyond that period it ought not to go: and, indeed, it is probable that the Lieutenant Colonel's arrangements might be as conveniently made in the neighbourhood of the Residency, after he had at once transferred the command of the regiment to the officer next in rank belonging to it." It is only necessary to add, that as Lieutenant Colonel Robison was not able to disavow distinctly (I make use of his own words, in a letter to the Adjutant General) his being the author of the letter alluded to by Government, the orders of the Commander in Chief were of course carried into effect, after such a delay as was rendered requisite by the state of Lieutenant Colonel Robison's health.

It is, however, on the last part of the instructions communicated to Colonel Adams, that Lieut. Colonel Robison has permitted himself to indulge in a letter addressed to the Chief Secretary of the Supreme Government, in the following reflections, which no epithet that I can use would properly describe. "In the order sent for my instantaneous expulsion from Nagpore, no proviso was left or made, even for sickness, so likely to happen at the season at this unhealthy station. Sick or well, I am told to consider it an *act of grace* and *favour* to be allowed a day or two to make my arrangements; and really as if the mockery of delicacy was not carried far enough, I am again sneeringly told by the Company's Adjutant General, that *his Lordship's kind indulgence* would even be extended *to three days, if proved to be absolutely necessary!!* This is something like Buonaparte's delicacy to the Duke d'Enghien, when he resolved to murder him;" and Lieut. Col. Robison adds in another part of the same letter "at his Lordship's hands I lay my death, should that little dreaded event happen." But, without adverting to the terms in which it is expressed, this complaint will, I have no doubt appear to this Court to be perfectly groundless. For in the issuing of military orders no reservation is ever made for contingent events, and in the case of accident or sickness, it remains for the authority to whom the order is addressed to determine how far, under the circumstances of the case, any delay shall take place in the execution of the order. The state of Lieut. Colonel Robison's health could not be known at head quarters, and it therefore rested with Colonel Adams to allow him to remain at Nagpore so long as sickness rendered it dangerous for him to undertake a journey.

It must also be particularly observed, that the residency of Nagpore is distant one mile only from the cantonment of the subsidiary force, and that Lieut. Colonel Robison might there have found every requisite accommodation. His health could scarcely have prevented his proceeding so far, and the members of this Court will be well aware, that three days afforded ample time in this country for the arrangement of private and regimental affairs, at least, of all that required arrangement on the spot, and that the rest might have been equally well settled in the vicinity of the Residency. This mode of proceeding was specially pointed out in the Adjutant

General's letters to Colonel Adams, which Lieut. Colonel Robison quotes, and which, therefore, he must have perused, and by adopting it, Lieutenant Colonel Robison would have fully complied with the orders of the Commander in Chief. Those orders were merely peremptory with respect to Lieutenant Colonel Robison's immediately transferring the command of his regiment to the next senior officer, and to his quitting without delay the cantonment of the Nagpore subsidiary force. But the manner in which he was otherwise to avail himself of his leave of absence was not pointed out; nor was any precise period prescribed for his arrival at the Presidency, from which he might choose to embark for England. The resolution of the Supreme Government required the immediate removal of Lieutenant Colonel Robison from all military command, and, consequently, from the Nagpore subsidiary force; but this measure, which his own imprudence had rendered requisite, was carried into effect with the greatest attention to his personal convenience, and with the utmost delicacy to his feelings.

Lieutenant Colonel Robison has also, in the letter which will be immediately read, thus expressed himself with respect to the resolution of the Supreme Government, "I claim the right which belongs to every injured British subject, of protesting in the most direct and distinct manner against an unwarrantable, tyrannical exercise of authority, which reduces every officer in India to a state of slavery equal to that of the gentlemen in the Russian service;" and in another part of the same letter he indulges in the following remarks:—"I hope his Lordship will at once freely and openly avow, that he no longer considers it salutary for supreme authority to be subject to scrutiny or comment on its measures, and that it is resolved to turn any officer out of the country at twenty-four hours notice, who dares to publish a single comment or sentiments upon public affairs displeasing to them—no matter what motives actuated him: if the Government fancy it contains the least offensive matter, the writer shall be turned out of his house and quarters like a dog with the mange, at the point of the bayonet, and left sick or well, ready or not ready, to march off and embark for Europe, if the sea coast be seven hundred miles distant." From these words it might seem that Lieut. Colonel Robison had been turned out of the country, and obliged to embark for Europe. But this cannot be his meaning, as he was furnished with a copy of the following resolutions of the Supreme Government.

"Resolved—That as the Editor of the Calcutta Journal has acknowledged Lieutenant Colonel William Robison, of His Majesty's 24th regiment, to have written the letter in question, and to have sent it to him (the Editor) for publication, the Governor General in Council must deem it inexpedient for the interests of the Honourable Company, that the said Lieut. Colonel Robison, unless he can disprove the charge so made against him by the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, should be placed in any situation where an important trust may devolve on him.

"Resolved—That the above opinion be communicated to the Commander in Chief, and that his Excellency be requested to act in consonance to it."

It is hence evident that the act to which Lieut. Colonel Robison has permitted himself to apply the terms of unwarrantable and tyrannical, is a just and lawful exercise of authority;* and it is equally evident, that where persons of rank, on whom high military command might devolve, are allowed to publish with impunity, that the government under which they were serving, were unable or unwilling to check abuses so public as to admit of being exposed in a common newspaper, and that its servants were ignorant, corrupt, and oppressive, *no* government could possibly subsist.† That, under such circumstances, a government should still repose confidence in the officer, who has publicly avowed sentiments so subversive of all rule, and intrust their forces to his command, is a position which can never be maintained. In the present case, the resolution of the Supreme Government extends no further than declaring it inexpedient that Lieutenant Colonel Robison should hold any situation of trust, but it neither removes him from this country, nor renders such a removal the necessary result of the resolution. The Commander in Chief in India, however, with the most

* It might appear just and lawful to the Judge Advocate, who, if it were ever so much the reverse, would be bound to say all he could in its favour: but others entertain very different opinions, both as to the justness and the legality of the measure in question.

† How then does the British Government subsist, notwithstanding this opinion is held and declared by many of its officers, both within the walls of Parliament and without?

considerate regard for the feelings of an officer, thought that it would be *mortifying* to Lieutenant Colonel Robison to remain in this country unemployed, and he therefore offered him a leave of absence to proceed to Europe.* In the justness of his Lordship's opinion I am convinced that every member of the Court will acquiesce, and that every officer, similarly situated to Lieutenant Colonel Robison, would have been most grateful to his Lordship for the very delicate manner in which he carried the resolution of the Supreme Government into effect. But the acceptance of the leave of absence was a voluntary act on the part of Lieutenant Colonel Robison; and, had he declined availing himself of it, he had no reason whatever to anticipate that any further measures would have been adopted, than directing him to proceed to Calcutta, and there to remain unemployed until the pleasure of his Majesty was known. The reflections, therefore, on this resolution, which he has thought proper to address to the Chief Secretary of the Supreme Government, are not only disrespectful and insubordinate in the extreme, but, they also rest on assumptions the most unfounded.

In submitting these remarks to the Court, it is far from my wish to aggravate the offence which is imputed to Lieutenant Colonel Robison. It is possible that he did not sufficiently consider the expressions which he used, either in the printed letter or in the one addressed to the Chief Secretary. That every letter of his (as he observes) is somewhat hastily written, without study or deliberation—and that he was not himself aware, at the time, that the terms which he employed were of that very reprehensible nature which this Court will most probably consider them. But, unless I abandon my public duty, I am obliged to understand these expressions in their plain and obvious acceptation, and to observe, with regard to the printed letter, that it was in such an acceptation alone, that the numerous readers of the Calcutta Journal could possibly understand it. It is also obvious, that the very writing a letter, however hastily, implies some deliberation; and that, were it otherwise, the crudeness of libellous matter, so far from being any excuse for printing it, adds greatly to the culpability of the act, since it clearly shows that it was not written in that calm, deliberate spirit of discussion, which is permitted by the laws on even the most delicate and important topics; but that it was solely intended to give publicity to hasty and erroneous opinions, formed on the mere impulse of the moment, and without any regard to their correctness or incorrectness.*

It is, however, only on the letter addressed by Lieutenant Colonel Robison to the Secretary of Government, that the Court has now to decide. But, as Lieut. Colonel Robison will, I believe, admit the authenticity of that letter when produced, it will only remain for the Court to determine whether Lieut. Colonel Robison in writing it, has acted in a manner incompatible with the duty of an officer, and whether the terms in which he has expressed himself, when applied to the head of the Supreme Government and Lieut. Colonel Robison's Commander in Chief, are insulting scandalous, abusive, malignant, and grossly insubordinate. On these points, I presume, there can be only one opinion, and I have, therefore, confined my remarks to a statement of the circumstances which preceded the writing of this letter, in order that the Court, having the whole case before them, may be better enabled to judge whether any one of these circumstances affords the slightest extenuation for Lieutenant Colonel Robison's conduct as stated in these charges. But I may be allowed, at the same time, to express my conviction, that the sentence of this Court will be such as to impress on the minds of the army at large, that no plea of irritated feelings arising from a supposed grievance, will ever protect an officer, whatever his rank may be, from that punishment which every act of disrespect and insubordination so justly merits.

No. VIII.—*Col. Robinson's Defence.*

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of this Honourable Court.

If there be any one disagreeable situation in a military life which it is desi-

* We believe it was from no wish to spare mortification to Col. Robison (for this delicacy did not prevent far more vindictive proceedings), but from a wish to avoid public attention being drawn to Col. R.'s removal, that the Government wished him to steal away from his post under a pretended leave of absence. It was to spare *themselves* mortification that they wished him to practice this deception.

* Then why did not the Government put Col. Robison to the test, and try whether his assertions could be supported by proof or not? They dared not venture on such a step, and therefore abstained from it.

rable more than any other to avoid, certainly, I think, as most of my profession do in general, that it is such a one as I now stand in, viz. a prisoner under trial upon charges of a serious nature. However good the accused person's cause may be, there is always something disadvantageous in the fame of having been brought to a Court Martial: here, in India, especially the presumption will go greatly against an officer. He appears to eminent disadvantage, whoever it may be, that is ordered for trial by a Commander in Chief, whose name is become associated with more acts of humanity and merciful forbearance towards offences, where even justice called for severity, than any other chief or governor in the known world.

Under these impressions, and a strong conviction that there was nothing when fairly examined in my conduct that rendered me unworthy of the fullest consideration and forbearance on the part of his Excellency, I have done as much as in reason or honour could be expected of any man under such circumstances as I stood in, to atone for a rash intemperate act; to which, what I consider an act of great injustice precipitated me, and to prevent the necessity of assembling this Court Martial. The request I made, however, on this subject, was not complied with: but the reasons assigned for not complying with it are such as enable me to suppose, that had I been on the spot to explain matters, and point out some mistakes that were made, Lord Hastings would not have deemed it necessary to prolong my sufferings by this trial.

I do his Lordship the justice to believe that it was from no angry desire to draw the heaviest possible penalties on me, that he persisted in the present trial, but from some erroneous conceptions as to what I did, or intended doing, and what he consequently considered to be due to himself and the dignity of his office. Some evil designing persons about his Lordship, must certainly have taken amazing pains to implant wrong and most injurious impressions on his mind concerning the motives of my submission, and endeavours to withdraw the offensive letter I had written; as I learn from a friend in Calcutta, who had an interview with Lord Hastings about me, that his Lordship seemed quite convinced I had taken the above step in consequence of hearing that a Court Martial was ordered; whereas, a comparison of dates and places is quite sufficient to prove the thing was totally impossible. In pleading *Not Guilty* to the charges brought against me, I beg it may be understood, as applying only to the *crimes* made out of the quoted paragraphs of my letter, and not of my having written the letter from which they are taken. I also wish the Court to understand that I do by no means attempt to justify myself for having addressed the Supreme Government in such strong and intemperate language as I did on the 9th of June last. I am, on the contrary, deeply sensible of its extreme imprudence and impropriety, and can only hope to show and satisfy you that, although I confess nothing can justify an appearance of insubordination or contempt of authority in an officer of my rank, there is every thing in this case of mine to account for and extenuate the offence that I committed, and to take off from all the crimes I am charged with, the character of slander, malignity, and insult, which is affixed to them, upon no just or equitable grounds.

In the course of the prosecution it has all gone forward upon the presumption of Lieut. Col. Robinson saying a variety of insulting unwarrantable things to his Commander in Chief, the better to draw on him the full penalty of martial law. But the Court will doubtless perceive that all he has written is addressed to the Government collectively, and not to the Commander in Chief as such individually; and we all know that words which might be lawfully spoken of an act of Government, might also, if spoken by an officer to his Commander in Chief, be made a crime of great magnitude. The offence which Government was pleased to resolve I had committed, in writing a letter to the Calcutta Journal, was not, I maintain, an offence of a military nature, if an offence at all; whether it was a military man, or whether it was a civilian or a tradesman who wrote what they conceived matter of libel on the Government or its acts. According to my notions of justice, which agree with those of wiser heads, it was the act committed, and not the person who committed it, that should have been looked to; and the Supreme Court, where the law of libel is well known, was the proper tribunal to bring it before.

A great deal has been said about the freedom and licentiousness of the press, which terms are with some men synonimous. But I never yet remember a great statesman who did not hold the same sort of language as the Marquess of Hastings has so justly done to us in India, to prove that whatever evils may

be feared or really arise from the utmost possible freedom of the press, they are as a mere drop in the vast ocean, when compared with the good that ever did and ever will result from it among a free, a loyal, and a reasonable people. The law is always a sufficient check upon licentiousness; and if it be a military man who transgresses in print, you may take your choice, it seems, of civil or military law to punish him for it.

The Judge Advocate has told you that the freedom of the press has degenerated into licentiousness, and become the channel of all sorts of obnoxious publications, indulging in personal reflections, unfounded allegations of particular grievances and abuses, and in the most unjust aspersions on the public servants of Government. If the press has offended so grossly, was there not a Court of Justice at hand to try the offences, and punish them, if real ones? The truth is, this is a mere assertion, founded on a partial, illiberal, and unjust view of men's actions, and stated on the presumption that no opinions or observations upon public men or measures are legitimate in this country, unless they are generated in a public office: and that there is nothing to be seen but purity, intelligence, and every thing praiseworthy in the vast and complicated administration of this Government. I wish the Judge Advocate, while he was about it, had given us some examples, to show the mischief that has been done by a free press, from the time it has existed in India. What he calls mischief and evil, other wise men may call good; and surely what is allowed to be good for the whole must be equally good for its separate parts. Will any body attempt to say it is not good that men in power should often hear of the responsibility attached to that power; or that official men, who are the organs of authority, and on whom so much necessarily depends, should occasionally hear a lecture upon the duties of office, and of the vast importance it is to the interests of the Government and the happiness of the people that none but men of due qualifications, character, ability, and liberal sentiments should be selected for great offices? It may be called an unjust aspersion on the public servants to insinuate that there can possibly be one or more among them who is not the upright, disinterested, straight-forward man of business which he ought to be; or that he is capable of bending or twisting the public interests entrusted to him, to his own partial and sordid views. But of this I am well assured, that no public servant who is no conscious of meriting some part of the reproach, would ever be angry or uneasy at the insinuation. Guilt has ever been a ready accuser: innocence and integrity alone enjoy the prerogative of exemption from the hateful passions of suspicion and mistrust. I should not have thought it necessary to touch at all on this subject, although I have, ever since I could reason, taken a lively interest in it, but that "the head and front of my offending" seems to spring from that source,—and that the Judge Advocate has shown himself so hostile to free discussion, and endeavoured to impress you with ideas most erroneous and derogatory to the profession.

I now come to the printed letter in the Calcutta Journal, which is the origin of these proceedings. The Judge Advocate has designated that letter as "improper, mischievous, illegal, and disrespectful to my superiors." If it was all this, why was I not brought to trial for it, either before the Supreme Court, or before a Court Martial? why was I not allowed even a hearing, before the Council proceeded to pass judgment upon me, before my Commander in Chief did me the favour (as the Judge Advocate calls it) to order me off upon a 700 mile journey at 24 hours notice, to embark for Europe, in the midst of the rains, and in such a state of health, that I would not have sent a common felon so situated upon a journey?—The Judge Advocate has not told you a word to show the necessity of this summary measure; and the necessity is the only fair criterion you can have to judge of its legality. Let me look now at this mighty and important production, the printed letter, which would, perhaps, never have been read by ten persons, or have been seen or heard of by the Government, but for the busy minions of an opposite party, who are interested in the destruction of all freedom of opinion or discussion in India. The Editor of the John Bull Newspaper made a very speedy demonstration of his zeal and attachment to the Government, by misrepresenting almost every sentence in the letter, and holding it up as pretty nearly what the Government afterwards resolved it must be, an attack on them. When the Judge Advocate speaks in such light terms of Newspapers and their discussions, he seems to forget that the Editor of the John Bull Newspaper is a public servant or functionary of no small magnitude in Calcutta. How many offices he holds besides his printing-office I do not exactly know;

but I have heard two others named, which are quite enough to keep alive the warmest antipathy to a freedom of discussion, that may some day or other call in question the propriety and justice of making three such situations as he holds compatible with the public weal. If the press can only be trusted in the hands of a favourite functionary like this, which is the thing that has been aimed at by an Association of wealthy people in power, for a long time past, why, what a farce it must be to call it a free press? The public taste and judgment, however, in India, has been pretty plainly evinced in favour of freedom with all its licentiousness, rather than the *name* of freedom without its substance, which is what the Association would give us in exchange, with fine promises of order, regularity, tranquillity, and so forth. I allude to this last paper as the first vehicle of slander, and misrepresentation of the meaning of my letter; and probably the cause of the Government noticing it. It was speedily resolved, after discovering the writer by *threats*, "that Lieut. Colonel Robison had grossly insulted the Government, by falsely and slanderously asserting that divers abuses and oppressions were permitted by the Government until brought to their notice in a Newspaper, and encouraging the thoughtless to represent grievances, &c." Now, Gentlemen, I call upon you all, as men, as Christians, to look deliberately over the said letter, and say, would you, on perusing it in a Newspaper, have attached any such harsh and overstrained meaning to it? I have shown it to at least a hundred people in different places, and not one could see it in such a light. There is hardly a person I have shown it to, who has not expressed his astonishment at the sense which the resolution has strained it into, and at the violent measures adopted thereon between the Government and the Commander in Chief.

Pray where is this gross insult I have offered to be found in this letter? where is there anything like an accusation that the Government permits abuses, until exposed in a newspaper? Certainly, nowhere in my writing.—The first paragraph of the letter consists of an eulogium (such as it is) on the free press. The second points out some of the little evils which it has done much to correct in public offices; and intimates that abuses, extortions, and oppressions in Bazars, are not quite so common as they were before the free press existed; and are more likely to be checked by the free press than by any regulations or orders of Government. The third and fourth congratulate the Natives on the amelioration of their condition, thro' the agency of the press, and the latter dwells particularly on certain abuses which still exist in the adminstration of military justice to them, and by which they may suffer great cruelty and injustice with impunity, or little hope of redress.

You will please to observe, Gentlemen, that at the conclusion of these remarks and assertions, I offered to produce examples to any one who doubted the facts alluded to. The rest of the letter consists of questions about assumed titles, rank, &c.; but as they are not noticed in the prosecution, I shall not trouble the Court with any remark on them. Now I beseech you, as unprejudiced honourable men, to lay your hands on your hearts, and say, is this a letter for which I deserve to be denounced after twenty-four years irreproachable service, as unworthy of being trusted by the Government, and a fit subject to be turned out of the country, at 24 hours notice, without a hearing or a trial?

The Judge Advocate has told you it is not the province of this Court to form any opinion of this measure.—If that be the case, what occasion had he to detail the measure? For my part, I avow that I consider it, and should protest against it, as the height of injustice to deny the Court the privilege of forming an opinion upon all and every matter brought before it. The Judge Advocate enters into a long argument to show what he considers the indispensable necessity for the severe and summary measure of turning me out of the country, which he will not allow the Court to form an opinion upon; and his argument proceeds on the assumption (as false as it is unjust) that I had reflected in a discreditable manner on the Government, that I had transgressed every limit of respect and subordination to them, and had acted upon avowed principles detrimental and ruinous to the public service. Before the Judge Advocate attempted to draw his ruinous inferences from such weighty offences, he should have shown, to the satisfaction of this Court, that my letter *contained* the offences; but it no more contained the offences, nor a semblance of them, than the Judge Advocate's pocket now contains a barrel of gunpowder.

Only look at the way in which he dissects the letter, and observe what he calls transgressing military respect and subordination. To point out the

existance of an abuse, is said to be accusing the Government of permitting it! to say that people of a certain description stand more in awe of exposure from the press than of any orders or regulations, is called disrespect to the authority of Government! and to assert that the administeration of justice among, or to the natives, is still defective, and open to great abuses, is pronounced a gross insult to the Government! although a thousand examples were offered to *prove* the assertion;—upon the whole, to be zealously desirious of improving our own condition, and that of the natives, to point out the little abuses which we observe in the course of our walks or reflections, and to be of opinion that a free-press is salutary and good for the country, is, according to the measure of justice dealt out to me, quite sufficient to render a man unworthy of employment under the Honourable Company's Government!!

I leave you, Mr. President and Gentlemen, to judge how far I have been denounced as unworthy of employment upon any better grounds than these. If you take all that the Judge Advocate says for what is true and just, you doubtless, will think as he does; but I cannot for a moment suppose that possible. In describing my sentiments in the printed letter, he expresses what I have said in the present tense, where I have expressed myself in the past; as in hinting at the benefits already done by the press: I said the generality of men in office were all the better for it, and had improved: whereas, from the way he states it, you would suppose I had denounced them all, as idle worthless fellows, in whom the improvement was *yet* to be effected; he also speaks as if he considered every reflection on offices and their holders, as a reflection on the Government.

You have now seen, Gentlemen, the main ground and origin of the offences which have brought me before you for judgment. In the offensive letter which the violent proceedings of Government drew from me, you will perceive my solemn disavowal of the mischievous and hostile designs attributed to me in the resolution of council, and what it really was that prompted me to take up the pen and write that letter to the Journal, which was taken up so precipitately, and acted upon with such merciless injustice and cruelty, as would have driven many a man for ever out of his senses.

Does it not strike you, Gentlemen, as most strange and unaccountable, that no previous investigation, inquiry, or even a hearing should be allowed me, before such desperate resolutions were entered into for my ruin? Can any of you be surprised at the terms in which I protested against such treatment as I experienced? The Government, you are told, have the power of doing with any officer as they did with me. Granted: they have the power also to put me in irons, or in a dungeon; and quite as justifiable would it have been in them to fetter or dungeon me, as to do what they have done. Pretences have been made, shallow miserable pretences, to justify their violence; but no one reasonable cause has yet been assigned to justify it; nor can any just cause even now be given for it. Who but those that have wronged me so grievously, will be found to say that my letter in the Journal was received, and judgment passed on it by the Government, according to the *usual acceptation* of the words that it contained. I most fully concur with the Judge Advocate that "no sophistical distinctions can alter the plain and simple meaning" of so harmless and inoffensive a letter, as that which he labours to make appear a mischievous and offensive one. To the Judge Advocate it appears wonderfully singular, that in the very letter in which I disavow having asserted that Government permitted abuses and oppressions, I should declare that the instances I had quoted, were sufficient to justify my seeking redress, if aggrieved, at any other hands than theirs, and that I thought improvement in the Laws and Government of India were more likely to be brought about through the agency of a free press, by men who had nothing to do with the business or details of the administration, than by the most enlightened government that ever presided over India. I do not for my own part see any thing strange, inconsistent, or improper, in these declarations; the first was made in reply to a kind of reproach from the Government, that I should suggest improvements, or point at any existing abuses through the press, instead of through the channels of office to the Government. As to the Judge Advocate's fine-drawn distinctions between the words "permit" and "authorize," I am quite at a loss to perceive their application to anything I have said.

He observes too, rather severely, upon my having said that my printed letter was written hastily, without study or deliberation, as if I had said it to varnish over or palliate the mighty offences which he wants to persuade you I committed in it; whereas, I do de-

clare, I am to this moment quite unconscious of having committed any offence whatever in that letter. The Judge Advocate, however, finds no difficulty in ascribing all manner of evil designs to it, and gives you for my sentiments, what are no more my sentiments than they are his; it must therefore, he says, be *concluded* that Col. Robison is seriously of opinion, that abuses exist in this country, "unchecked though known." Yes, I do seriously believe that abuses exist in this country, unchecked as yet, though known; and among them I consider it one, that a Captain or Major in the Army, while receiving his pay, and his rank going on as such, should be allowed to turn Editor of such a Newspaper, as the John Bull, in addition to whatever other civil offices he may hold, to keep him away from all kind of military business or duty, during perhaps the whole period of his military service: yet no one can deny, that this is the case with Capt. Lockett, of the East India Company's Bengal Army.

I consider it also a great abuse, that any officer should be liable to such a terrible punishment, as being turned out of his employment and the country at 24 hours notice, with the loss of his long and hard-earned maintenance, his reputation, and perhaps his health, without allowing him any kind of trial or inquiry into the matter alleged against him. Surely, neither his Majesty nor the Legislature, could ever have contemplated such uses to be made, on such an occasion as this, of any extraordinary powers that may be vested in the Governor General singly, or the Government collectively, for the best of purposes.

The Judge Advocate describes me also as saying, that civility, attention to business, regularity, &c. are notoriously deficient in the public offices; whereas, what I have said, is the very contrary, viz. that men in office are no longer what they were in this respect, but vastly improved, and still improving, under the wholesome influence of free discussion upon public men and measures. I am also made to say that the regulation of military bazars, &c. consists in fining, flogging, taxing, cheating, and that the rules and regulations of Government afford to the natives little hope of redress; whereas, what I have remarked, is, that the practice of such little exercises of tyranny in bazars, &c. is now greatly checked, and that although the condition of the natives in general is greatly improved, they still are obnoxious to persecutions and injustice under legal forms, where indolence, avarice, or other bad passions, tempt an interested person to abuse the power he possesses; all this may be deemed very criminal and offensive; but I again remind you, Gentlemen, that my statements were accompanied with the offer of producing *proofs* to any one who doubted the facts alluded to. Had the Judge Advocate been pleading a case of crim. con. and seeking for his client weighty damages, in which he was to participate, it is impossible he could have gone more zealously and unfairly to work; to misstate, overdraw, and aggravate every line I have written, and to give to the most innocent expressions a tinge of criminality.

Let me now call your attention to the Judge Advocate's opinion of the resolution in council, and to the measures that followed. There are some men who have positively no feeling for the sufferings of their fellow creatures; and it is but too common among prosperous men, who have been treading no other than the velvet path of luxury all their lives, to be quite callous to the sorrows, and pains, and toilsome misery of those whose course has lain among wrecks, and rocks, and wildernesses, year after year; to such happy beings as these only, could the severe judgment contained in the resolution of council upon my printed letter appear just or merited. Let any hundred, or fifty, or twenty impartial and disinterested men, take the letter and the resolution, and if five per cent. of the number are of opinion, that the resolution is a just one, I will freely admit that all I have suffered from it, is well merited. Capt. Lockett, the Military Editor of the John Bull, and his adherents, and supporters, must needs think it very just and merited; and they will doubtless be among those in whom "it must excite the greatest surprise that I could possibly have found, even the semblance of a cause of complaint against the extremely considerate and delicate manner in which the resolution was carried into effect." Just and merciful God! was there ever such an abuse, such a prostitution of terms, as this repetition of mockery contains! but let me go on.—"The Government deemed it proper that previous to their resolution being carried into effect, Col. Robison should have an opportunity of *disavowing* the letter." How very kind and delicate this was, after forcing the Editor, by threats, to give me up; and then informing me that the Editor was my

accuser! * Had Government the consideration, the mercy, the justice, of which so vain a boast has been made in the present instance, they would first have referred to me for explanation, or they would have directed my Commanding Officer to make inquiry into the motives of my writing the letter, and asked for the examples by which I offered to show that it was not written on slanderous or mischievous grounds: had they done this, I should have had no cause of complaint; and I am sure, as I stand here, I would have satisfied them, that they had taken a hasty, partial, mistaken view of my intentions; for were I on my death-bed, I could safely, in the presence of HIM before whom all hearts are open, repeat that I did not write with the mischievous and offensive designs ascribed to me, nor with any intention of reflecting, as I have been said to do, on the Government of the country.

How a Government, whose acts are so generally mild, humane, and just, could be prompted to forsake every principle of humanity and justice with me, on such grounds, is altogether inexplicable. I have never yet fallen in with any one who could understand or explain it, upon any other supposition than my being a well known advocate for the same liberty of speech and writing in this country that all men enjoy in England, and it being consequently thought expedient to get rid of me, on some pretence or other. But yet, if I were supposed to be doing mischief, or injuring the Government by my pen or my opinions, would it not have been kind and delicate in them, before they marked me as a dangerous or bad subject, to give me the opportunity of shewing whether I was designedly and wantonly exposing, attacking, or insulting them? A very short time would have been enough to prove this. If, for example, any kind person about his Lordship or the Government had written me five lines, to say I should incur displeasure by writing so freely, and after that I had continued the practice, then, indeed, the severity with which I was visited might be rationally accounted for. But the public professions made by the Governor General, concerning the freedom of discussion, and "the positive and well-weighed policy" by which his Lordship declares himself "to have been guided, in breaking the invidious shackles which used to be imposed on the press," left me in no fear of offending either his Lordship or his Government, by publishing my remarks or opinions upon any matter whatever in which I took an interest. If, in doing so, I transgressed the law, or any military rule or regulation, I felt that there was a Court of Justice, and a Court Martial, always at hand, to try and to punish the offence. Little did I dream, that the same authority which gave me the license to write freely, should become at once my accuser and my judge for what I wrote.

But my accusers and my judges, after laying on me all the indignity and the punishment which they could have inflicted had I been a traitor, after declaring me unworthy of being trusted as a public officer, and packing me off at such a season under such circumstances, at twenty-four hours' notice, from a regiment in which I had been twenty-five years, which I had commanded (off and on) in this country for about six years, in which it was natural to suppose I had formed attachments, and in a manner identified my own interests with theirs; I say, after all this unnecessary cruelty and oppression, which was enough to harrow up the soul of a Hottentot, here comes a gentleman, on the part of the Government, and tells me, with a serious face, he is astonished that I could possibly find a semblance of complaint against such *extremely delicate* and *considerate* treatment. I might go in the neighbourhood of the Residency, says he, and there find every accommodation to make my arrangements! This *neighbourhood* of the Residency, as understood by Colonel Adams as well as myself, meant, not a mile or so from the cantonment, but a march or two from it. And what was the plentiful *accommodation* I was to find there? A little, miserable, single-poled tent, out of repair, in which I was to receive, in the utmost confusion, as fast as they could be bundled out of my house, trunks, packages, boxes, stores for the march, &c. &c.—while I paid off old servants, hunted out new ones, wrote letters, paid bills, received visits from friends and officers, brought up the regimental-office business, and was exposed to the calls, the complaints, or the requests, of every soldier and soldier's wife in the regiment. All this time, I say nothing of the bungalow, or house, to be left empty, for which I paid, about three months before, some 4,000 rupees—of my furniture, my horses, equipage, &c.: all was to be done,

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* Than which, a more deliberate falsehood was never uttered by any Government upon earth.

and ready to start in twenty-four, or, at the utmost, forty-eight hours; torrents of rain falling all the time—the heat intolerable—my health most wretched—the doctors entreating me on no account to go, saying I should leave my bones on the road, and offering me sick certificates, &c. On the other side, there was the General's orderly havaldar coming every half hour to ask if I was gone; before I had been able to arrange or pack up a single article.

Gentlemen, that I am *alive*, after going through such a scene as this, must be matter of surprise to all who saw me leaving Nagpore. That my days are greatly shortened by it, the increase of my disorder, and the general feeling I have about me, plainly warns me.* Although you are told that contingencies are never provided for in orders, we find all sorts of cases supposed, and contingencies provided for, save the most important one, in the letter of instructions to Colonel Adams about me. If I denied the charge, so and so was to be done; if I demurred, or hesitated to quit the cantonment, I was to go under fixed bayonets to Calcutta. No discretion whatever was given to Colonel Adams; and had he been, instead of a kind-hearted and good man, some petty unfeeling tyrant, who owed me, in the vulgar phrase, a grudge, or hoped to ingratiate himself with those who were persecuting me, he had sufficient warrant in his hands for ordering what would have been just as good as my execution, that is, my instantaneous departure, totally unprepared for a journey, at the worst season of the year.

Much stress seems to be laid on the circumstance of my standing second in command of the subsidiary force; but it only shews how hard pressed the Judge Advocate is for a decent pretence to justify the measure he is defending. Had any accident happened to Colonel Adams, my command could have been but of very short duration; for, by the order of the Court of Directors, King's Officers are ineligible (on that side of India) to hold any command beyond that of their regiment: and I venture to say, that if I had been allowed to be ever so deserving and trust-worthy an officer, some Honourable Company's Lieutenant Colonel would have superseded me in the course of fifteen days.

In the agitation occasioned by the treatment I have described, I drew up a strong protest against its tyranny and injustice, and sent it off, careless of the consequences, to the Government who had wronged me. Had I taken time to reflect or deliberate on what I was about, I certainly should not have written in such violent terms, considering the high authority I was addressing.

I acknowledge, and am sincerely sorry for, my imprudence in so doing; and must only hope that the Court and the Commander in Chief will make due and liberal allowances for the state of mind in which I wrote, and the extraordinary causes of excitement there were to work me up to a state of frenzy.

Three specific charges are made up out of my protest: I acknowledge generally the imprudence and impropriety of the letter, but I deny being guilty of the great criminality attached to it. In the first place, I do not think the Government has any right to prescribe the terms or words in which a man shall protest against an act of theirs, which good law authorities have declared to be illegal: neither is it traducing the Government, or acting incompatibly with the duty of an officer, to make such protest in a regular manner to the proper authorities. To have gone about uttering loose slanders on the Government, would be traducing them; but to address a complaint to themselves, and inform them what you think of their conduct to you, is surely not traducing, say what you will of it.

In the second place, for pointing scandalous and insulting remarks to the head of the Government, who was at the same time my Commander in Chief. The scandalous and insulting remarks consist merely in describing how I had been treated, under a most terrible visitation of authority, which almost tore me to pieces; feeling it as I did the more acutely, from a consciousness that it was unmerited, and being in a very weak state of health. I expressed a hope, also, that other officers would be warned of my fate, and told for what it was I suffered, as it came upon *me* without the smallest warning.

If these remarks went from me without the most serious and just cause of complaint, I would admit that they were scandalous and insulting.

In the third place, for grossly insubordinate language, reflecting on the Commander in Chief.—It is only to be observed, that the worst part of the penalties I had to protest against, as a most grievous and uncalled for persecution, were ordered in the name of the Commander in Chief; consequently, the merit or responsibility of a measure which I considered to be truly despotic,

* Alas! how accurate the prediction!

degrading, and inhuman, might very properly be said to belong to the Commander in Chief. I do not mean to say that this is altogether a proper style of addressing the Commander in Chief—much less that the angry words which follows are proper or justifiable; but you will perceive that I was addressing the Government, of which the Commander in Chief is but one member, when I wrote this passage, and that, in fact, I was almost driven out of my senses when I wrote it. I cannot believe, let what will be said, that these are, or have been, acts of Lord Hastings—they are at variance with all the acts of the man's life. Would Lord Hastings, if left to himself, have ever allowed me to suffer, as I have done, for writing such a letter as that I sent to the Journal? No! I cannot believe it. Calumny, and the misrepresentation of those who are unaccustomed to hear wholesome truths freely spoken to them, and a natural antipathy to all who are supposed to be observers of abuses, or advocates for reformation in any of the parts of Government, these are the advisers, I fancy, who have managed to persuade the Commander in Chief that I am a troublesome, evil-designing person, who must be got rid of one way or other. These are they who, perhaps, have persuaded him to see criminality and hostility to the Government, in actions which I number among the most innocent and praiseworthy of my life.

I shall now have done with the subject, and cheerfully leave to your breasts the considerations and decision of this important case, quite conscious of receiving an upright and a just judgment, whatever it may be. The Judge Advocate has dilated upon the necessity of making an example of me, as a warning to others. If you see my actions or conduct in the light that he does, you cannot award too heavy a penalty upon me; but if, as I confidently hope and trust, you see in me a man much more sinned against than sinning, in all this business, you will consider me worthy of lenient and merciful consideration, and throw no dark cloud over the evening of my life in the sentence you pass upon me.

It is now about twenty-five years since I joined the 24th Regiment in America, and in the course of that long service, I believe I may fairly claim the character of a quiet, peaceable, obedient Officer. I never was brought to a Court-martial, nor did I ever bring any one to trial; my regiment has always borne a good character, and I can safely appeal to the different General Officers under whom I have served in India, both for the character of the regiment while under my command, and for my own disposition and exertions as an officer. My family and friends used to name and reckon it among my good qualities, that I was always active and alive to every thing passing around me, and that I never could look with indifference upon acts of injustice or wrongs done to other people. Of late years, however, I have learnt, to my cost, that this disposition, (especially in India) brings far more pains than pleasures; and that the nearer a man can draw himself to a sort of swinish apathy, the more sure he is of leading a peaceable, happy, and prosperous life.

It may be some excuse, however, for my troubling myself with the affairs of Government, that I formed myself, once upon a time, an essential part of a Government of some importance in this country. I had the honour of belonging to the Staff of the late Governor General, Lord Minto; went with him to Java, and after the capture, was appointed by his Lordship CHIEF SECRETARY to the Government. Were I disposed to shew you, or rather, were it of any use to exhibit to you testimonials of my conduct and services by His Lordship, while employed on different missions to the Dutch and Malay Chiefs of Java, under his own immediate direction, I have some of his original letters, I believe, here in my possession; and as I have been denounced by the present Government, as unworthy of command or employ, for merely writing a letter that displeased them, it may not be improper to read you one or two of the documents alluded to, which will inform you of the nature of the services I have already rendered to the Honourable Company's Government, from which I might have expected some little degree of consideration, even had I committed the serious offences of which they have, I *think*, wrongfully condemned me.*

Before I came to India, soon after the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, and while I was a Captain in my regiment, I had the honour to be selected by Sir David Baird, on the departure of the Quarter-master General, Col. Brownrigg, to South America, to take charge of the Quarter-master General's department, and remained in it till my

* The documents which were read to the Court are highly complimentary to Col. R.'s talent and zeal; but their extreme length prevents their insertion here.

Regiment came on to India, Upon the reduction of our 2nd. Battalion, at the Peace, I was starred as Major for half-pay; but H. R. H. the Duke of York was pleased, on the first vacancy, without my asking it, to bring me in again on full pay, and soon after to promote me, by purchase, to the Lieut. Colonelcy: certainly if I had borne the character of a troublesome person, and one entertaining contempt of authority, these favours would not have been conferred on me.

Most assuredly there has been nothing in the motive or object of any thing I have said or written in the Calcutta Journal, that entitles me to such a character: I have written upon many subjects in that Paper, entirely foreign to politics or military grievances:—and certainly what I occasionally wrote on those two subjects, aimed at nothing more than the removal of little abuses, and the introduction of improvements, such as I conceived, if in any manner brought to the notice of Government, would eventually be removed or adopted. As well might Colonel Jones, of the Engineers, be accused of libel and disrespect towards the Duke of Wellington, for pointing out and giving his opinion plainly, upon the errors committed in some of his Sieges, or upon defects in different parts of the Army he commanded, in Spain, as I am accused of libel, disrespect, &c. for expressing my opinions upon abuses or defects, which attracted my notice in India.

I hope the freedom with which I have expressed myself throughout this defence will not in any manner, be construed into a want of due deference and respect to authority. I have lived long enough to know the necessity of supporting and upholding authority; but I know also that the fullest freedom of expression, especially on occasions like the present, where all that is dear to a man in life is at stake, and where he feels that some of the greatest injuries and indignities that could be done a man, have been done to him, is quite consistent with all that is due to superior authority. I entreat you, Gentlemen, to take into consideration, (as I do not doubt, his Excellency the Commander in Chief will,) how much I have undergone during the last four months, and what remains for me still to undergo and suffer, before I can know what is the result of this trial. It is of itself, a heavy punishment to be kept so long in anxiety and suspence, (even in a sound and vigorous state of health) and to reflect how many months my children, my family, and friends, at home, will also have to suffer by it, knowing perhaps nothing more of the circumstances, than my being in arrest, and ordered to be tried by a Court Martial, which is at all times very painful.

In conclusion, I must beg to assure the Judge Advocate, that freely as I have spoken of his manner of conducting the prosecution, I am quite satisfied he has not gone at all beyond his instructions; and that there exists no personal feelings againt me in his breast. The Government certainly have altogether mistaken the motives of my conduct, which I say again, was not to attack, harrass, or displease them, and had I at all supposed it likely, that they would so consider it, I never would have written what I have done: I here allude to the origin of the whole business, the printed letter.

In what possible way could I hope to do myself any benefit or credit, (situated as I was) by insulting the Government? Nothing was ever further from my thoughts than when I penned the said letter. I had every thing to fear, every thing to lose, by such an act, and nothing whatever to gain by it. I do therefore earnestly and confidently trust, that this Honourable Court will acquit me of any such designs, and that they will not find in those passages of an imprudent letter, written under such highly irritating circumstances, the great degree of guilt and criminality, which is ascribed to them in the charges.

(Signed) W. ROBINSON,
Lieut. Col. H. M. 24th. Regt.
Bombay,
5th October, 1823.

No. IX.—*Sentence; and remarks of Lord Hastings thereon.*

"The Court having maturely weighed and considered all that has been adduced in support of the prosecution, as well as what has been brought forward on the defence, are of opinion, that the prisoner, Lieutenant Colonel William Robison, of His Majesty's 24th regiment, is *Guilty* of all and every part of the charges preferred against him, with the exception of the word "*scandalous*" contained in the second charge, of which they do therefore *Acquit* him.

"The Court having found the prisoner *Guilty*, as above specified, do therefore adjudge him, the said Lieutenant Colonel William Robison, to be reprimanded in such manner as the officer approving this sentence may think proper.

"The Court are induced to award this lenient sentence, in consequence of Lieutenant Colonel William Robison's long and meritorious services, and the high character which he has produced on his defence, from the late Governor General, as a confidential servant of Government."

(Signed) R. Cook, M. General, President.

Disapproved.
(Signed) Hastings.

Remarks of his Excellency the Most Noble the Commander in Chief.

The Commander in Chief of all the forces in India, disapproves the above sentence, from considering it to be so incommensurate to the crime found by the Court, and not disavowed by the prisoner, as to be in his Excellency's opinion a serious attaint to discipline, the Court exonerating the prisoner only from the imputation of "scandalous," attached to the procedure, pronounces Lieutenant Colonel Robison guilty of two offences; one being an outrageous insult to the Government, which under the orders of his Sovereign he was bound to reverence and obey; the other being a virulent and gross crimination of the Commander in Chief, applying unequivocally to his Excellency's official conduct in that character.

Then, to such flagrant violations of military subordination, the Court awards a punishment, appropriate solely to the lowest class of deviations from military regularity.

To account for the extraordinary nature of the sentence, the Court states its advertance to Lieutenant Colonel Robison's long and meritorious services.

The consideration was not within the competence of the Court in the mode assumed.

If such were the Court's opinion of Lieut. Colonel Robison's professional deserts, it would have been fitly brought forward with a recommendation grounded on it to clemency, in the quarter where alone the circumstances could be duly appreciated.

But the oath which each member of a Court Martial takes, binds him to judge strictly on the substantiation and the degree of the crime submitted to his verdict, and to pass such a sentence upon it as the established rules or practice of the Army prescribe in a special case of that quality, without contemplating matter foreign to the immediate charge.

In this instance, the Court could not be blind to the magnitude of the transgressions, and the extenuation was null.

When the prisoner admitted the 'imprudence and impropriety' of the step he had taken, he expressed no contrition—so that his sense of error appears to have extended merely to the consequences of which he supposed himself to be in peril.

He simply accounts for the intemperance of his language by saying, that he had written under the impulse of an irritated spirit, an excuse inadmissible in itself; while he defeats even that plea, by distinctly maintaining the principles on which he acted, in a manner that aggravates the original offence.

It is with pain the Commander in Chief of all the Forces in India promulgates these remarks. He would, however, deem himself essentially wanting in the discharge of his duty, did he not seek to counteract the dangerous encouragement to insubordination which the sentence in question would afford, were not its correctness thus exposed.

Lieut. Colonel Robison is to be freed from arrest, and the General Court Martial is to be dissolved.

The foregoing Order is to be entered in the general orderly book, and read at the head of every regiment in His Majesty's service in India.

By order of the most noble the Commander in Chief,
(Signed) Thomas Mc Mahon, Col. A. G.
Lieut. Col. 24th foot.

No. X.—*Remarks of the Commander in Chief in England.*

Adverting to the nature of this case, as it appears on the face of the proceedings, and to the character of the charges of which Lieutenant Colonel Robison was found guilty, the King was pleased to direct, that the Commander in Chief should promulgate to the Army His Majesty's sentiments upon the inadequate and inconsistent sentence of the Court, with reference to offences of which they had found the prisoner guilty; and which were equally a violation of the discipline of the Army, as they were a breach of that deference and respect due to the distinguished nobleman placed in the high station of Governor General, and Commander in Chief in India.

Upon these grounds the Commander in Chief deems it essential, notwithstanding the death of Lieutenant Colonel Robison, which occurred on the passage from India, to make known these, His Majesty's sentiments, in order to maintain that discipline and subordination so essential to the interests and credit of the Army at large, and to check any at-

tempt made by inferior officers to set high authority at defiance, and to insult those who administer command in His Majesty's name.

His Majesty was pleased to observe, that no instance could occur wherein a spirit of insubordination and of contempt for superior authority, had been carried to a greater length, than upon the occasion which gave rise to this Court Martial, nor any instance in which the sentence of a Court Martial has been more calculated to encourage, rather than repress the recurrence of crimes of a nature so grave, and of a tendency so dangerous to the Army; for the rank and long services of Lieut. Colonel Robison, instead of affording a plea for the lenient, dangerous, and improper feeling shown by the Court towards him personally, ought to have been deemed by them, in the exercise of their duty, a strong aggravation of an offence against discipline—so extensive in its evil tendency—inasmuch as the effect of such conduct upon others must produce an influence pernicious in proportion to the deference and respect paid to the character of the individual who offends.

Though the death of Lieut. Colonel Robison precludes that mark of the King's displeasure which His Majesty's sense of what is due to the Army might have led His Majesty to inflict, yet His Majesty feels it indispensable to the well being of the service, to reprobate in decided terms, the dereliction of duty as a soldier and as a subject, which marked the insubordinate and factious conduct of that officer.

His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief directs, that the foregoing charges against Lieut. Colonel Robison, of the 24th regiment, together with the finding and Sentence of the Court, and His Majesty's pleasure thereon, shall be entered in the general order book, and read at the head of every regiment in His Majesty's service.

By command of His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief,

HENRY TORRENS,
Adjutant General.

LITERARY REPORT.

Essay towards the History of Arabia antecedent to the Birth of Mohammed, arranged from the Tarikh Tebry, and other authentic sources. By Major David Price. 4to. pp. 248. London, 1824.

The history of the singularly restless and turbulent race of men, who inhabited the peninsula of Arabia previous to the birth of Mohammed, is involved in such profound obscurity, that we cannot but feel pleasure at any attempt to penetrate the thick gloom which surrounds it. The author of the present work which, with becoming modesty, he has denominated merely an Essay, has endeavoured to illustrate this difficult subject, by a reference to such Oriental authorities as were within his reach, and to form, as far as possible, a connected Chronicle of this dark period of the Arab History. It being his decided opinion, that anterior to the age of Mohammed, the Arabs possessed no authentic historical records, he has consequently been compelled to have recourse to other sources of information. The principal authority which he has consulted for this purpose, and from which the most considerable part of the volume is derived, is the Tarikh Tebry, or Chronicle of the Tebrian, written in Arabic by Abu Jaffer Mohammed, the son of Jerreir, at the express desire of Abu Salah Munsour, the son of Noah, the Samaunian, who reigned at Bokhara, between the 961st and 976th years of the Christian era. The author has availed himself of a Persian translation of this work, "in the statements of which," he says, "although not unfrequently debilitated by the marvellous, incidental to the age and country in which it was written, there yet exists such a character of simplicity and strength, as irresistibly to conciliate our respect, if it does not entirely secure our confidence." He has also had recourse, wherever he found them capable of throwing a light upon his subject, to the Rouzut-us-suffa and the Kholausset-ul-Akhbaur, to the latter of which in particular he has been indebted for an Abstract of the History of the Arab Dynasties, which ruled over those branches of the nation that shot out into Syria on the one hand, and Irak Araby on the other, and also for a particular account of some of the miraculous occurrences which are described to have taken place about the time of the birth and during the early childhood of the Arab Prophet. The difficulty of tracing the truth of history through the obscurity of hyperbolical language, and the embellishments, which the inventive genius of the Oriental writers has contrived to throw around even those periods of their history, which approach nearer to our own times, and in which the connexion that subsisted between them and European nations, has enabled us bet-

ter to appreciate the truth of their statements, must obviously be greatly augmented, when our inquiries are directed to the transactions of those early ages of which none but traditionary records have been preserved. Accordingly we find ourselves at every step embarrassed among the splendid and romantic fictions with which their inexhaustible imaginations have decorated the meagre records of those times.

In order to exhibit as complete a view as possible of the traditions of the East, the author goes back to the Creation of the World, and the early part of the volume is dedicated to the Arabic Version of the History of the Fall of Man, and the subsequent events, until the time of Abraham, as derived from the Tarikh Tebry. Although, properly speaking, this has but little to do with the History of Arabia, yet, the additional circumstances with which tradition has decorated the Mosaic narrative of the events of this early period, are so peculiar, and at the same time so little known, that we cannot but feel grateful to the author for commencing his selections at so remote an epoch. Many of the embellishments, with which fiction has invested the account of these events, such as the manner of Satan's entrance into Paradise, the building of the Kaabah, the entrance of Satan into the Ark, holding by the tail of the ass, the construction of the City of Shedaud, and the manner of his death, the origin of the rite of Circumcision in the jealousy of Sarah towards Hagar, &c. are fraught with circumstances so extravagant, or so ludicrous, as to be paralleled only by the wildest and most absurd stories of the Talmud; the exposure of Hagar and her infant son, Ishmael, in the desert, and their miraculous preservation, are minutely detailed. With respect to the trial which God was pleased to make of the faith of Abraham, by commanding him to offer up his son as a sacrifice, it appears that there is a dispute between the Arab and Persian Historians, as to which of his sons was the destined victim; the Arabs boldly contending in favour of their great progenitor, Ishmael, while the Persians, who consider themselves among the descendants of Isaac, support the authenticity of the Mosaic account. The Arab Historian gives a very particular account of the circumstances of the sacrifice, and relates also the several temptations to disobedience to which Hagar, Ishmael, and Abraham were successively exposed, and which they all three withstood with unshaken constancy. After the death of Ishmael, there appears a total blank in the Arabian annals until the time of Moses, at which period the Tebrian asserts that the Princes of Yemen, who had never before, in a single instance, bowed to the authority of any human power, were compelled to acknowledge obedience to Manûtcheher, who then held the Persian sceptre. Another very considerable gap occurs between the time of Moses and that of Solomon, when Balkeis, the celebrated Queen of Sheba, who submitted to that wisest of men, ruled over Yemen. From this time we meet with frequent notices of the Arab tribes in connexion with the history of the Persian Princes, who repeatedly made them tributary for a time, but from whose dominion, their native and characteristic love of independence, always impelled them to revolt on the first opportunity which presented itself. Such was the condition of this singular race anterior to the birth of Mohammed; wild, turbulent and daring, scattered over a desert which afforded them but scanty means of subsistence, they were constantly making incursions upon the neighbouring countries, and were as constantly driven back upon their inhospitable wilds, through which, indeed, they were frequently hunted by their pursuers like beasts of prey; divided into a number of tribes, almost wholly independent of each other, yet generally acknowledging one common head, they nevertheless retained those striking peculiarities of national character which, even at the present day, distinguish the genuine Arabs from every other nation upon earth.

Much of their history is still entirely lost to us, and no inconsiderable portion of what remains is so disfigured with fiction and romance, as to be almost entirely destitute of any claim to credibility. The author of this Essay has, however, well acquitted himself of the arduous task which he had undertaken, and if he has failed in giving a complete history, it has not arisen from any want of zeal or perseverance on his part, but solely from a deficiency of the necessary materials for such a work. He has deserved well of the future Historians of Arabia, by the pains which he has bestowed, and the skill which he has displayed, in the selection and comparison of those passages which were best calculated to illustrate his subject; and we cannot close the volume without offering him our thanks for having placed these outlines within the reach of the English reader, whose leisure does not permit him to study the language, while his feelings prompt him to take an interest in the history of the inhabitants of the East.

Perhaps, it may be as well to notice in this place, as closely connected with the subject of the volume before us, the discovery of a MS. work by the celebrated Reiske, relative to the early history of the Arabs, as lately announced in the Literary Gazette of Leipzig. It had long been known, through the medium of the "Bibliotheca Kœhleriana," that this learned Orientalist had left behind him a portfolio of works on the Arabs, and in particular one entitled "De rebus gestis Arabum ante Muhammedem." It was

also known through Kœhler, who was the pupil and friend of Reiske, that the latter possessed a copy of an Arabic MS. on the Arabian Families, of which he had made a Latin translation; and Reiske himself, in his "Prodidagmata ad Hadji Caifæ Librum Memorialem," published in 1747, particularly mentions a History of the Arabs, from Christ to Mohammed, as written by himself. It was not, however, till the year 1814, that MM. Hartmann and Gunriez, in visiting together the Library at Lubeck, were fortunate enough to discover a copy of this work in the handwriting of Kœhler. It is entitled "Reiskii Primæ Lineæ Regnorum Arabicorum et rerum ab Arabibus medio inter Christum et Muhammedem tempore gestarum," and has the following note attached "scripsi hæc hyeme et vere anni 1747." To this MS., which consists of 360 pages in 4to., are annexed "Rudimenta Historiæ et Chronologiæ ante Muhammedem." Mr. Hartmann obtained permission to copy these works, but various circumstances have hitherto interfered to prevent their publication, which it is now announced will be no longer delayed. The same gentleman also promises to publish some other fragments of Reiske, which have come into his hands, and to leave none of the fruits of his labours in oblivion. It remains to be seen whether these MSS., when published, are capable of throwing any additional light upon the subject. The authority on which M. Reiske is stated to have principally relied, is that of Hamzah, of Ispahaun, an author of the tenth century, occasionally referred to in terms of praise by Major Price; he has also consulted Ibn Doraid, Ibn Kotaibah, Murvaivi, the Collection of Proverbs of Maidani, &c. &c., none of which are quoted by the latter gentleman.

Voyage à Méroé, &c.—Journey to Meroe, to the White River, beyond Fazogl, in the South of the Kingdom of Sennaar, to Syouah (Siwah), and five other Oases, in the years 1819-22. By M. F. Cailliaud, of Nantes. 1st and 2d *livraisons*. Paris.

The researches of Burckhardt, of Belzoni, and others, have already proved that the Pharoahs, under whom the most ancient Monuments of Thebes and Egypt were constructed, were also the founders of most of the Temples of Nubia. But it was reserved for M. Cailliaud to penetrate still further into these interesting regions, and to demonstrate, by the perfect resemblance which exists between the Monuments of Egypt and those of the very heart of Ethiopia, that the progress of Egyptian civilization was not circumscribed by the limits of Nubia, but had extended itself far beyond into countries now for the first time visited by a European traveller.

The splendid work of M. Gau, on the Antiquities of Nubia, terminates at Ouadi-Halfa, and from this place M. Cailliaud commences his investigations. The number of Monuments which he describes is very considerable; the two first livraisons of his work consist of ten plates, which, however, do not succeed each other numerically, and the letter-press which accompanies them refers to plates 1—14. The most important objects figured in this portion of the work, are the Temples of Naga, of Assour, and of Barkal. Those of Naga, which are given in much detail, are deserving of peculiar attention. The Topography of this place, which forms the subject of Plate XI., exhibits the Ruins of an ancient Town of considerable size, and ornamented with four Temples, situated in the Desert, in the Peninsula of Meroe, near Gebel-Ardan, at the distance of six leagues from the Nile. Plate XIV., which follows, gives a view of the Western Temple, the exterior of which is richly adorned with hieroglyphic figures in a beautiful state of preservation. The body of the edifice is preceded by a vestibule, similar to those of the Egyptian Temples, and the *façade* of the two portions of which it is composed is occupied by two large bas-reliefs. That on the right exhibits the colossal figure of a King, in the costume of the Pharaohs on the Monuments of Thebes, menacing with a battle-axe a numerous groupe of prisoners prostrate at his feet. This groupe, which is seen on most of the vestibules of Egypt, is the same which was hastily supposed to represent the many-headed giant, Enceladus, overthrown by an Egyptian divinity. The bas-relief on the left side of the vestibule presents a repetition of that on the right, excepting that the principal personage is here represented as a female decorated with the insignia of sovereignty. Nothing similar to this has hitherto been observed either in Egypt or Nubia. Plate XVII. exhibits the bas-reliefs which decorate the lateral *façades* of the temple itself. These represent a King, a Queen, and their son, whose names are inscribed in hieroglyphic characters by the side of their heads, in scrolls, similar to those which contain the names of the Kings and Queens on the Monuments of Egypt. It is to be regretted that M. Cailliaud was not aware of the great discoveries in hieroglyphic literature then making in Europe, and that he has, therefore, neglected to copy either these scrolls, or the perpendicular legends of hieroglyphics placed by the side of the ten divinities, to whom the Ethiopian royal family are represented as offering their adorations. The costume of those personages differ from those sovereigns figured on the ancient Monuments of Egypt, only in the amplitude of their garments, and in the length of the tunics of the King and Prince. The Queen and all the female divinities are represented so exceedingly broad at the

hips, as involuntarily to recall to our recollection the hoops of our grandmothers. The divinities here represented, with the exception of some trifling details, are similar to those of the Egyptian Monuments, but the style is rather more heavy, and the proportions of the figures more massive.

This hasty sketch of a few of the subjects represented in the two first numbers of this interesting work, may suffice to show the importance of the historical information, which may be derived from the study of the faithful designs collected by M. Cailliaud, at great personal risk, in countries never before trodden by an European foot, and the unsettled state of which shuts out the prospect of any other traveller, for a long time to come, being enabled to visit them with equal success.

The Plates are lithographed with much taste and talent, and the style in which the work is got out is altogether worthy of the importance of its subject.

Selections from the works of the Baron de Humboldt, relating to the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, and Mines of Mexico; with Notes, by John Taylor, Esq. Treasurer to the Geological Society, &c. pp. xxxiii. 313. With a folded Map mounted on canvas.

The direction which has recently been given to the employment of British capital, machinery, and talent, in the mining speculations of Mexico, has excited an intense interest in the public mind, and an anxiety for authentic information on the subject which it is the object of Mr. Taylor to supply in the present volume; for the contents of which he acknowledges himself indebted to the published works of the Baron von Humboldt. Intrusted at an early period of his life with the management of several extensive mines in Germany, the practical knowledge which Humboldt derived from his attention to their concerns, enabled him to obtain, during his travels in America, an immense body of information relative to those of Mexico, which he published in his "Political Essay" on that country, and in his "Geognostical Essay on the Superposition of Rocks." From these, Mr. Taylor has extracted the whole of the matter which relates to the mines, and has submitted it to the public as a faithful report; the impartiality of which cannot be doubted, whether we regard the character of the author, the confirmation of his statements which has since been received, or the time at which his Essays appeared, and when there existed no apparent prospect of the application of European capital to these undertakings.

The mining concerns of Mexico have, however, undergone considerable vicissitudes since the period at which Humboldt wrote. Interdicted at that time by the narrow-minded policy of the old Government from the application of those improved means which had been introduced into the mining operations of Europe, the mines of Mexico were regarded by the enlightened nations of that portion of the earth merely as an object of curiosity, on account of their immense annual proceeds; but from which they could expect to derive no profit, nor even to acquire any useful information from attending to the processes employed in working them. Rude, however, as these were, and totally inefficient in some instances to the profitable continuance of the undertakings, the greater portion of them were still carried on, and the annual exportation of the precious metals took place as usual, until the commencement of the civil commotions in 1810, by which a fatal blow was given to the industry of the population, and the working of the mines was generally stopped. The revenues no longer coming in from them, and the mines becoming filled with water, from their consequent neglect, the country became impoverished; and at the return of better times, the necessary capital for renewing the works did not exist. The proprietors have thus been compelled to apply in other countries for that assistance which they were unable to procure in their own. In England, the focus of capital and of commercial enterprise, these applications have been attended to, and several companies have been formed for the purpose of resuming the works on a scale of sufficient magnitude to justify the hopes of permanent success in the speculation.

The first of these Companies seems to have originated in a proposal from Don Lucas Alaman, a leading minister in the Mexican Government. It was first promulgated at Paris, under the title of the "Franco-Mexican Company;" but not succeeding there, it was transferred to London, where, after some time, and several alterations in the original plan, it is now established under the name of the "United Mexican Association," with a capital of 240,000*l.* in six thousand shares of 40*l.* each. Its principal object is said to be the purchase of ores to smelt and refine; but, according to the prospectus, it also meditates the working of mines, though it does not appear to have yet actually engaged any.

The "Anglo-Mexican Association" was the Company next established. This has already contracted for some of the most extensive and productive concerns, and has raised a proportionate capital of 1,000,000*l.* by a subscription of ten thousand shares of 100*l.* each. The mines which it has undertaken, are principally in the Real of Guanaxuato, north-west of the city of Mexico. It is in this district that the great mine of Valenciana, the richest in Mexico is situated, upon a lode or vein which has been extensively work-

ed, and upon which the Company has other mines, called Tepeyac, Rayas, Cuta, and Sarena. It possesses also one at no great distance, which seems to be on another lode, called the Luz, and is negotiating for other mines, which will complete an undertaking of great magnitude, and adequate to warrant a large and effective establishment.

The third Company is of a more private nature, and is composed of individuals who possess the largest interest in the mines of England. Managing for these gentlemen their concerns at home, Mr. Taylor has been charged by them with the care of the Mexican undertakings of this Company, the title of which is "The Adventurers of the Mines of Real del Monte," situated about sixty miles north of the city of Mexico. They have agreed with the agent of the Count Regla for his mines on the Biscaina vein and others connected with it, and have also taken the mine of Moran.

We here purposely close our notice of this important volume, aware that it would be encroaching too much upon our space were we to attempt to enter into the details of the question sufficiently to furnish a fair view, as well of the difficulties which oppose, as of the advantages which are offered by, these extensive speculations. For these the work must itself be consulted, or reference may be made to the authorities from which it is derived; but we agree with Mr. Taylor that in extracting from these voluminous works the parts essential to the present inquiry, he has rendered them accessible to many to whom they would otherwise have been entirely unknown.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

Proposals have been circulated for publishing Twelve Views of Calcutta and its Environs, from Drawings executed by James B. Fraser, from Sketches made on the spot. They are to appear in the following order:—No. 1, on the 10th of April next, containing Views of Chandpal Ghaut, Esplanade Row, and Government House. No. 2, on the 1st of June, containing Views of the Botanic Garden-House, Esplanade Row, and Writers' Buildings. No. 3, on the 1st of September, containing Views of the Opposite or Sulkeah Side, Tank Square, and Government House. No. 4, on the 1st of December, containing Views of Barrackpore House, the Town Hall, and the Scotch Church. The size of each of these plates is to be 17 inches by 11; they are to be engraved in aqua-tinta by R. Havell, and coloured to represent drawings.

Some Remarks on Dr. Henderson's Appeal to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the Subject of the Turkish New Testament, printed at Paris in 1819. By the Rev. S. Lee, M. A. Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge.

Capt. Cochrane, R. N. whose extraordinary pedestrian feats in Asia, and in the northern regions of the Russian Empire, have excited so much attention, is printing Travels. He penetrated in one direction his to the furthest limits of Russia towards America, where he was stopped by authority; and it is said that his adventures bear altogether a character of novelty and peculiar interest.

The Asiatic Society of Paris have announced the publication of a Mandchou and French Dictionary, by M. Klaproth; and also of a Georgian Grammar, by the same author. The first of these works is in the press, and will appear in the course of the current year.

M. Klaproth has also published the Prospectus of a work, entitled, " Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie, &c." It is to be published by subscription, and will be completed in Six Parts, forming a quarto volume of text, and a folio Atlas of 25 tables. In these, the learned and indefatigable author proposes to place under the eyes of his readers, a succinct view of the various changes that have occurred in the East, from the foundation of the Persian Empire by Cyrus, down to the present time.

We understand that Mr. Bowdich previous to his decease, made arrangements for the publication of an Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Establishments in Congo, Angola, and Benguela, with an Account of the Modern Discoveries of the Portuguese in the Interior of Angola and of Mozambique, and a Map of the Coast and of the Interior.

The East India Military Calendar, Part II. containing the Services of the most distinguished Officers of the three Establishments of the Indian Army, not already inserted in the First Part; and also a History of English Transactions in India, from the earliest Accounts; together with Memoirs of those celebrated Civil and Military Characters, whose judgment and wisdom led to the foundation and acquisition of the Hon. East India Company's Possessions in Asia.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES, CHINA, AND NEW HOLLAND.

Bengal.—The latest papers that we have seen from this Presidency, extend to the 3d of December: some few private letters of a later date, have, however, been received; and *these* communicate uniform accounts of the general unpopularity of Lord Amherst's government; although the public journals are compelled to be silent on his administration, or to speak loudly in its praise. His Lordship is said to possess all the weaknesses, without any of the redeeming virtues of his noble predecessor; and to be even more unpopular at the beginning, than Lord Hastings was at the end of his career. Among others of his public acts, his hostility to the most moderate enjoyment of freedom, by his fellow countrymen and fellow subjects, had occasioned him to be disliked by all classes, except that confined circle of admirers, which is sure to surround the worst of men: and even among these, there is one gentleman who left England in his Lordship's suite, and who was thought to possess some influence over him, to whom the warfare on liberal principles to which Lord Amherst has *lent* himself, (for we believe, that, like his predecessor, he is principally to be blamed for the weakness of his submission to the intrigues of others) must be particularly painful. In his personal demeanour, he is scarcely less happy: for besides his retrenchment of the scale of expense, on which the public entertainments used to be given at the Government House, and their infrequency of occurrence, he has shut up the Park at Barrackpore, rendering it inaccessible to the public, as formerly, except under restrictions, which exclude a great number to whom the enjoyment of its walks and drives was an agreeable relief. These are matters of little importance, however, compared with the evils which his public conduct have already inflicted on the country; and it is to these we would especially direct the public attention In addition to Lord Amherst's hostility to the freedom of discussion, he has shown the most decided hostility to the freedom of person and of property: we do not mean in the forcible seizure and imprisonment of Mr. Arnot, nor in the suppression of the Calcutta Journal, though these are violations of both these rights, which call for public censure; but not content with this, his Lordship is said to have issued an order, throughout the interior of India, commanding every British-born subject, resident therein, to be prepared with a licence of residence from the East India Company, within ten months from the date of the order, or to abandon his affairs and quit the country immediately.

No pretence of danger or alarm at the continuance of these peaceable and unoffending men in India is even alleged to justify so harsh and impolitic, as well as despotic a measure. It is known, that there are hundreds, and many of them merchants of the first respectability, residing in India without licences; and it is equally well known, that, considering the time required to send application home, the delay which is sure to be experienced here, and the time required for a reply, licences cannot be sent out, even to those who have interest enough to procure them, in less than twelve or fifteen months time: so that if this order be persisted in, hundreds of useful and innocent men may be turned out of their houses, and be obliged to abandon all their prospects, for the crime of doing good, without an express permission from a body who will neither do good themselves, nor, it appears, permit others to do so for them! This must follow, if the decree be intended to be acted on; and if not so intended to be observed, it is both folly and cruelty to issue it. These united causes of Lord Amherst's unpopularity, (and they are certainly strong and just grounds of objection to his administration) had produced such an effect at Calcutta, among the English residents there, that on the last occasion of his attending the theatre, some dozen hands only were clapped, on his entering the house, though it is usual for the Governor General of India to be received on such occasions with more apparent expression of enthusiastic admiration than the King of England, by the most loyal audience at Drury Lane or Covent Garden:—the reason is obvious—In India there is no gallery, no gods:—and even the pit is filled by men chiefly dependent for their bread on the subordinate branches of the public service; while the boxes are filled with the immediate depen-

dents on the Governor General's personal favour,—the civil and military servants of the Company, and their ladies, even more ambitious than their husbands to catch the smile of the chief fountain of honour and distinction, to whom they look up with anxious expectation, and from whom they receive with grateful humility the slightest glance of approbation. The silence of such an audience must be more expressive than the most overpowering eloquence; and the mortification produced by it, be proportionably severe. We are glad to find, indeed, by this symptom, that some public virtue and good feeling yet remains, and that the intoxication, in which the freaks of arbitrary dominion seemed but of late to have steeped the senses of the great mass of the British Indian Public, is beginning to give place to a more firm, a more honourable, and a more sober demeanour; or, in other words, that they are not so near the Asiatics in their awe of power, as they are to the genuine British stock from whence they sprung, in their contempt of its abuse.

Some of the latest letters from Calcutta continue to speak of the delicate health of the Governor General, who it was believed would speedily be obliged to return to England, on account of increasing debility; other letters, however, allude to his probable continuation in India. The Commander in Chief, Sir Edw. Paget, was expected to leave Cawnpore on the 25th of October, on a tour of inspection through the Upper Provinces, before he quitted the country. Sir Charles G. Metcalf, the Resident at Hyderabad, had been so seriously indisposed that he was obliged to leave that post for Calcutta, to obtain the best medical advice. The Government yacht had been sent for him from Calcutta to Masulipatam early in November.

The Bengal papers continue to speak of the damage done by the late inundations; the losses sustained by the inhabitants, both of life and property, are certainly most extensive, and they had been followed by a scarcity which produced a partial famine among the helpless sufferers. The scarcity of grain in the line of country between Nellore and Ganjam was so excessive, that many families in the vicinity of Injeram had gone without food for two and three days. Measures, however, had been adopted by Government to alleviate this calamity, and ships had been taken up to convey rice to Coringa.

By letters received from Bengal we learn that a defalcation, to the amount of between thirty or forty thousand pounds had taken place in the treasury of Moorshedabad, and that Mr. Trower had been ordered to investigate the accounts of Mr. Thomas Travers, the collector, who had been suspended.

A numerous and respectable meeting had been held in Calcutta, on the 10th of November, to discuss the feasibility of steam communication with England. A committee was formed, and having discussed the details of the project, they set on foot a subscription for the purpose of carrying it into effect.

It was resolved by the members to bestow one lack of rupees upon the first individual or company by whom two complete voyages from England to India should be made in steam vessels, the passage not exceeding seventy days, in vessels of British register, and of not less than 300 tons burden. The following are the resolutions of the Committee:—

1.—That the proposed bonus, or premium, be offered for the establishment of a communication between England and Bengal by steam packets, navigating either of the two routes of the Red Sea, or the Cape of Good Hope.

2.—That the amount received, under a subscription to be opened for this purpose, be assigned as a premium to any individuals, or company, being British subjects, who may first establish a communication by steam vessels between England, and Bengal, by either of the routes above mentioned, before the expiration of the year 1826.

3.—That the communication required for the period above stated, shall be considered to have been established on the completion of two voyages from England to Bengal, and one from Bengal to England by the vessel or vessels of any individuals or company, being British subjects, within a period not exceeding an average of seventy days for each of the four voyages; provided further, that such vessel or vessels be not of a less burden than three hundred tons.

4.—That if the full premium be not earned by any individuals or company, under the foregoing rules, by the completion of two voyages out, and two home, as required, within the limited period; but that one voyage from England to Bengal, and one from Bengal to England, shall have been performed in conformity with the preceding rules, before the expiration of the year 1826, a moiety of the stated premium shall be assigned to the individuals or company, being British subjects, by whose vessel or vessels, such two voyages, out and home, shall have been so performed.

The subscription, by the last accounts, was going on in a very flourishing manner: upwards of four thousand pounds had been subscribed: and a considerable contribution was expected, from the Government, who had been solicited to confer their patronage.

The Lord Bishop of Calcutta and his family landed at that city on the 10th of October, in good health. The advices received at this Presidency from Bushire mention a considerable mortality raging there. Mr. Macleod, the Political agent, had fallen a victim to it, on the 20th of October, and Dr. Milward on the 12th of the same month. Mr. Sturmey, of Bussorah, also died on the 15th.

Letters from Berhampore state, that after having enjoyed quiet for several years, an irruption had been made by some of the neighbouring chieftains infesting the hills, close to Berhampore, into the lowlands, by whom several villages were set fire to and destroyed. It was hoped, however, that tranquillity would be restored, without it being necessary to call out the regular troops. The hills are stated to have been very unhealthy.

By accounts from Nusseerabad of the 12th of October, we are informed, that a detachment from that place, assisted by some forces from Neemuch, under the command of Colonel Lumley, were about to attack Humeergur, a fortified town in Meywaur. The 1st battalion of the 25th Regiment, under the command of Captain Wilkie, with the whole of the artillery, in charge of the battering train, were likewise to march on the same service, on the 17th of October, on which day Colonel Lumley was to set out with his force. The place is one of considerable strength, but resistance of any consequence was not expected. Several other places in the Oudeepore State were also marked out for attack, as the Rajpoots had, for some time, been showing indications of a restless spirit. Sir David Ochterlony was in good health at this date, and about to set out for Delhi to meet the Commander in Chief.

The most recent accounts from India state, that the barbarous practice of immolating widows on the funeral piles of their husbands, still continues in full force. On the 7th of November, about eight o'clock in the morning, a Suttee took place at Koonaghur Ghaut, where *four women* from the age of thirty to fifty, sacrificed themselves on the same pile with the corpse of their dead husband, Kummall Chattiyer, a Coolin Brahmin of Koonaghur, who died on the 5th of the same month. As soon as information of his decease was sent to his different wives, who were, in general, living at their father's houses, (only two of his wives lived with him) four of these determined on eating fire, as the natives call it; two, who were living near, one at Calcutta, and the fourth at Bosborrah, above Hoogly; however, they were soon brought together, and the necessary permission having been obtained from the magistrate of the district, (at least, so the police people said, who attended the suttee,) they surrounded the funeral pile, which they enclosed all round with a paling of bamboos, so as to prevent the escape of any who might be inclined, after having once entered it; in less than one minute after the fire was lighted the whole of them must have been suffocated, and in less than ten minutes their bodies burnt to a coal, so excessively hot was the fire.

As this man had no less than thirty-two wives, twenty-two of which were living at his death, it was expected more of them would have undergone the same sacrifice; and so common is the sight of such immolations to the natives, that the number assembled to view the horrid spectacle was by no means considerable.

The Lord Bishop of Calcutta consecrated the new Church, at Dum Dum, on the 4th of November, under the name of St. Stephen.

The ships of the expedition against the Burmahs, encountered a smart gale from the Southward, which drove them into four fathoms water in the Huneen Gutta; before they could secure the vessels, the wind chopped round from the northward and blew them out again; but they were all safe off Cox's Bazar, when the Diana, steam-boat, left them on the 8th, of November, at four p. m., with the exception of the Research, which had not been heard of after the gale on the 4th. She is the H. C. new surveying vessel, commanded by Captain Crawford, and must have been sadly crowded, having besides her own crew, 200 troops and six officers on board; but being a strong new ship, it is to be hoped she is safe. From the circumstance of Captain Baker, the Political Agent, who proceeded with the expedition against the Burmahs, having returned to Calcutta, in the Diana, it was supposed the dispute would not be settled so easily as was at first imagined.

Bombay.—The public papers and private letters from Bombay are alike filled with the subject, which appears

lately to have absorbed all others in that Island,—the contest between the Barristers and the Recorder. We gave at some length, in our last Number, a report of the proceedings on this subject, in the Court at Bombay, on which, probably, most of our readers will have formed their own judgments. For ourselves, we must confess, that the more we have examined this matter, the more we are inclined to believe that the barristers were wrong. In the first place, their motives appear to have been exclusively pecuniary and selfish, and, consequently, injurious to the interests of the community.

The whole matter originated in a dispute about fees; the lawyers, as usual, not being content with the ordinary, but aiming at immoderate, gains. Three of the leading barristers were engaged in a cause, Kinnersley *v.* Prendergast, when these gentlemen made such demands of *refreshing fees*, that the solicitor felt himself compelled to appeal to the Court for redress, against what he evidently deemed to be extortion. Affidavits on both sides were produced in Court, and a long discussion occurred, when the Recorder stated that he did not consider an advocate at liberty to refuse a brief, merely because the amount of the fee marked on it did not come up to his standard of expectation (from which it may be inferred that these gentlemen had so done); and he further gave it as his opinion, that the amount of fees to counsel, beyond certain *minima* sanctioned by usage in England, must always be left to the discretion of the attorney, who is supposed to be the only person capable of judging both of the intricacy or importance of the case, and of the client's circumstances. He therefore decided against the barristers in the present instance, and directed that whenever a misunderstanding should again arise on this subject, it should be referred to the master in equity, subject to an appeal from his judgment to that of the Court.* After this, came the memorial to the Court, respecting the irregularities in the practice, and other deviations from the charter. The motives which dictated this, may be easily inferred from what preceded it; but, unfortunately for themselves, the memorialists appeared to be wrong in most of the facts, as well as liable to suspicion in their intentions, which seem to have had no higher end in view than the benefitting themselves. The Recorder, we think, assumed too much, when he said, that "neither they, nor any power under heaven, had a right to find fault with the proceedings of the Court. They were the sole judges of their own conduct—it was to be left to their discretion, and theirs alone; and the only remedy was an impeachment in the House of Commons."—If it be so, we say so much the worse, for this is no remedy whatever; and its utter impracticability to any good purpose, (of which the seven years trial of Warren Hastings is sufficient proof) offers complete impunity to all evil-doers, who can only be checked by such a remedy. But the Recorder was an advocate of cheap justice, and his motive was to lessen the burdens of the native population. The barristers were desirous of large and frequent fees, and were jealous of the attorneys encroaching on their privileges, while they appeared to care little or nothing for their native clients' burdens. This single distinction alone is sufficient to make the friends of the people in India approve of the Recorder's conduct, and condemn that of the barristers, though they may perhaps think their suspension for six months rather a severe punishment. If their motives had been generous, and their allegations founded in fact, we conceive great good would have arisen from their directing the attention of the Court to irregularities, if any really existed; a privilege which, if they have not, we think they ought to possess, as it would always remain with the Court to adopt their suggestions or not, on its own responsibility; and Public Opinion, the great arbiter of all disputed questions, would, if permitted to be freely pronounced through the Press, have sufficient influence over each party to secure the adoption of that mode which should be proved to be most correct.

The Commander in Chief of Bombay, accompanied by his suite, left on the 3d of December, for the Northern District. His Excellency proceeded over land to Bassein, whence he was to embark for Surat, and was not expected back before March or April. Mr. Adam had arrived at Bombay, on the 12th of November, and it

* It may give some idea of the demands of the barristers, to state that one of them returned a fee of six gold mohurs, or 12*l.* sterling, for drawing a very simple bill of 15 folios; for which the solicitor who employed the barrister declared, in writing, that the fee, in England, would have been only one guinea. Most persons think law is dear enough in this country; but an advance of twelve hundred per cent. must make Indian law a heavier curse still.

was expected, as his health was much improved, that he would leave Bombay early in December, and return over land to Calcutta, via Poonah, Aurungabad and Jeypoor.

An unusual degree of activity had prevailed in the Bombay Cotton Market, during the latter end of November, and the beginning of the following month, and a rise in the price of about ten repees per candy, had taken place in consequence. Fair Surat or Broach Cotton, was worth 130 to 140 repees per candy, of 7 cwt. Bowonaghur or China Market, 124 to 126, and Dakras, 116 to 118. The exchange on London, at six months sight, was 1s. 8½d. per rupee.

The Bombay Gazette, of the 10th of November, states, that a plan was about to be tried for mounting the dawk, in the line of communication with Calcutta, to be conveyed at the rate of eight English miles on the average. It was thought that even during the monsoon, when the riders had been properly trained to their duty, and the machine brought to its regular operation, that between many of the stages, if not the whole, the dawk might be conveyed at the rate of ten miles an hour; which, taking the distance to be run at 1300 miles, would make six days only for the period within which the correspondence could be carried on between the two Presidences: a facility of intercourse, involving advantages of no ordinary consideration, equally of a political and commercial nature.

The Bombay Courier, of the 1st of November, contains the following paragraph, descriptive of universal drought; while in other parts of India, the people were suffering from the effects of incessent rains and inundations.

We fear we shall have much reason to lament this year, the absence of the latter rains, called there the Elephanter. It is calculated that there is a deficiency in the usual supply of water in the Island at this period of the year, of almost fifteen inches, and it behoves us all to be very provident in this necessary article of life. Our letters from various parts of the country state the deficiency to be much greater, and that a season of drought is so much to be apprehended, that the inhabitants are already removing to parts more favoured. Seasons of drought and sickness generally go together. Whether it is from the absence of the Elephanter or not, it is too certain that fevers are unusually prevalent on the island at the present moment. Though they are not at all considered of a serious nature, they are usually accompanied with general pains in the limbs, sickness of the stomach, and an eruption very like that known in the scarlet fever. We hear that this fever has passed through the female charity school, with the only instance of one child escaping. The great ventilation of the rooms in this country must be a great check to the spreading of infection.

The same Journal contains the following account of an earthquake at sea. It states that on the voyage from London to Bombay, on the 27th of July last, the Layton being in S. latitude, 35. 19. not far to the westward of Tristan d'Acunha, at a quarter past eleven, p. m. a shock of an earthquake was felt so strongly that it awoke every person in the ship; it was a trembling motion, similar to that produced by a ship forcing its way over a wreck or a coral bed. The hands were turned up, and every part of the vessel examined, but no injury of any kind could be discovered; the trembling was accompanied with a hissing noise. On the following night at half past two, another and more violent shock was felt, which lasted a few seconds, but not so long as the first. On the 31st, in latitude 36. 51. the Layton having in the mean time run between five and six degrees eastward, the Dutch brig Phelentait, bound to Batavia, was spoken with, and her Master reported that the first shock, but not the second, had been felt on board his vessel.

The following account of a Suttee is extracted from a letter from Poonah, of Sept. 29:—

I think an account of a Suttee which took place in this city two evenings ago, will show you, in a most striking manner, with what cruelty they are sometimes accompanied, and will make you shudder with horror, at the sufferings of the wretched victim of superstition, and at the savage barbarity of, I may say, her murderers. The unfortunate Brahminee, of her own accord, had ascended the funeral pile of her husband's bones, (for he had died at a distance,) but finding the torture of the fire more than she could bear, by a violent struggle she threw herself from the flames, and, tottering to a short distance, fell down. Some gentlemen, who were present, immediately plunged her into the river, which was close by; and thereby saved her from being much burnt. She retained her senses completely, and complained of the badness of the pile, which she said consumed her so slowly that she could not bear it, but expressed her willingness to try it again if they would improve it. They would not do so, and the poor creature shrunk with dread from the flames, which were now burning most intensely, and refused to go on. When her inhuman relatives

saw this, they took her by the head and heels, threw her on the fire, and held her there, till they were driven away by the heat. They also took up large blocks of wood, with which they struck her in order to deprive her of her senses, but she again made her escape, and, without any help ran directly into the river. The people of her house followed her there, and tried to drown her by pressing her under the water, but a gentleman who was present rescued her from them, and she immediately ran into his arms and cried to him to save her. I arrived at the ground as they were bringing her this second time from the river, and I cannot describe to you the horror I felt on seeing the mangled condition she was in; almost every inch of skin on her body had been burnt off; her legs and thighs, her arms and back, were completely raw; her breasts were dreadfully torn, and the skin hanging from them in shreds; the skin and nails of her fingers had peeled wholly off, and were hanging to the back of her hands. In fact, Sir, I never saw, or even read, of so entire a picture of misery as this poor woman displayed. She seemed to dread being again taken to the fire, and called out to the "Acha Sahib," as she feelingly denominated them, to save her. Her friends seemed no longer inclined to force her, and one of her relations, at our instigation, sat down beside her, and gave her some clothes, and told her they would not. We had her sent to the Hospital, where every medical assistance was immediately given her, but without hope of her recovery. She lingered in the most excruciating pain for about twenty hours, and then died.

The gentlemen present remonstrated against her being put on the fire a second time, but they did not like to interfere further with what they considered was the custom of the country. Enough has been said about Suttees; but I cannot help expressing my hope that a liberal Government will soon, by the strong arm of its authority, even if the doing so should occasion temporary commotion, (and that it would I have great doubt) put a stop to so barbarous a custom, which must have originated in the avidity of the Brahmins for the presents dispensed on such occasions. Infanticide was equally a part of their religion with Suttees, and it was prohibited without any bad effects being felt.

Madras.—Letters from Madras announce the arrival there of intelligence of the total loss of the Rangoon Packet off the coast of Rangoon, near the John and Margant shoal. This took place on the 1st of September, and on the 17th a similar disaster occurred to the Mary at the same place. Both the vessels belonged to Calcutta, and the crews alone were saved. The exact position of these shoals, we believe has never been laid down, and indeed the whole of the coast is but imperfectly known.

The Madras Government Gazette announces the safe delivery of Lady Munro of a son, at the Government House, on the 7th September.

Batavia.—We are happy to learn that Mr. Thornton, whose capture by the Malays we noticed in our last, has been restored safe to his friends in Batavia. The latest accounts from this Settlement, which are of the 13th Dec. state that the Padries in the Island of Sumatra had been bold enough, during the absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Raaf, to recommence hostilities, and to attack some of the districts occupied by the Dutch. In this, however, they were repulsed by the Netherland troops under Major Larmlin, and this officer pursuing his advantage attacked the Padries in their fortified posts at Kapau and Biero, from which they were driven sword in hand on the 26th and 28th of September, with very considerable loss. The loss on the side of the Europeans was trifling, and the Governor-General testified his unqualified approbation of the conduct of the troops in this affair.

Sumatra.—Letters from Sumatra state that the British authorities at Fort William had sent some companies of infantry, fitted out with the necessary requisites, to the west coast of Sumatra, to strengthen and fortify the Company's Settlement at Natal. As the whole of the Island of Sumatra is now ceded to the Netherlands, Lieutenant Colonel Raaf had made a tour of the interior, which he found not destitute of population, in a state of fine cultivation, and adapted to all kinds of produce. He also found traces of an internal legal government, and even of petty local authorities; certain signs of some advance towards civilization. This officer, who has given a verbal account of these particulars, had recently returned from Batavia to Padang, with troops to complete his military force, and some young civil officers acquainted with the language and manners of the inhabitants, and with the regulations in force in Java.

Malay Islands.—Accounts from Manilla state that the Malay Pirates continue very active in their freebooting, and the neighbourhood of their haunts is very dangerous navigation. On the 14th May the Ship Nearchus, bound from South America to Calcutta, put into Manilla for a supply of provisions, and

on the 24th arrived off the Islands of Bassulan and Mundanao, where the vessel was becalmed three days. On the 27th, at daylight, a fleet of Malay prows, twenty-six in number, full of men, was observed bearing down upon the ship, and every preparation was made to receive them. The Malays, however, observing this, did not attack, but lay to a short distance astern, when three other very large prows joined them from Bassulan, while small ones were observed coming out of every creek and bay. Against this formidable force the Nearchus was totally unable to defend herself, and must have fallen into their hands, when at the very moment of the Malays sailing to the attack a smart breeze providentially sprung up, which the crew taking advantage of, were enabled to get out of their reach, and finally escape them. The Nearchus experienced a violent shock of earthquake at sea, which lasted near four minutes.

Otaheite.—The letters received from Otaheite are to the middle of May, and convey some interesting statements of the present state of that island. It appears from these that there is a great alteration in the place since Capt. Cook's time, the missionaries having totally abolished idolatry, procured the adoption of Christianity, and changed the direction of the morals and customs of the inhabitants. The women now behave with extraordinary reserve, they no longer go on board the ships, and marriages are contracted as in Europe; even the king at present can have but one wife. The practice of destroying children, and the offering human sacrifices are done away with: almost all the inhabitants can write and read; they all have religious books, written in their language and printed in the island. The missionaries yearly convoke at Paparo the whole population, which amounts to 7000 souls. At the departure of the accounts this meeting was then holden. The discussion going on was respecting a new code of laws, and the principal chiefs of the nation had attended, some of whom had ascended the tribune and spoken for hours upon the subject. At the latter end of March the Island of Otaheite is stated by these accounts to have declared itself independent of England. A red flag with a white star in the upper corner, is now regularly hoisted on the point which Bougainville named Point Venus.

Tristan d'Acunha.—By the arrival of the Berwick, Captain Jeffery, from Van Diemen's Land, we learn that it has been discovered, that the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, which lies in south lat. 37. 6. west long. 11.°44. and which was never known to have been peopled before the year 1816, has now upon it, living in great happiness, twenty-two men and three women. The Berwick, on her passage to Van Diemen's Land, sent her boat ashore on the 25th of March. The sailors were surprised at finding an Englishman, of the name of Glass, formerly a corporal in the artillery, and the rest of the above mentioned population. Glass gave so favourable an account of the island, which is only nine miles in diameter, that it may be of importance to vessels, on their passage to Van Diemen's land, to touch there: they will be sure of a most favourable reception. There are on the island great plenty of pigs, goats, potatoes, cabbages, &c., abundance of fish, and excellent water. This little colony had at the time upwards of 80 tons of potatoes to dispose of. The island is very fertile, in fact, in every thing desirable to settlers; and Glass declared that, if they had a few women more, the place would be an earthly paradise. He is a sort of governor at Tristan d'Acunha, by appointment of the rest, on account of his military character; and he trades in a small schooner to the Cape of Good Hope, with the oil of the sea-elephant, and the skins of the seal, which they catch in great abundance. There is a mountain upon the island 3,500 feet in height: the crew of the Berwick saw it at the distance of 50 miles.

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS.

Cape of Good Hope.—We regret to find by the recent arrivals from the Cape, that the condition of the settlers there was most deplorable, and many of them were reduced to the last stage of wretchedness, without food, clothing, or habitations. Not only did the murders and robberies of the savage hords continue in various parts of the frontiers, but the failure of the *fourth* crop had been general throughout the settlement, producing a most alarming dearth of provision, and threatening the remaining portion of the colonists with utter destruction. Many families were existing entirely on pumpkins, and even these were with difficulty obtained, and some of these hapless beings had not tasted meat for upwards of three months. Several of these families who had moved in a very respectable sphere in England, were absolutely dependent on casual charity, and wandering about in a state of nu-

dity, exposed to all the horrors of want, and of the inhospitable climate. Not only had the wheat crop failed, but that of rye also, and the wealthier class of settlers were compelled to live entirely on rice, which was exorbitantly dear.

The commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the colony, were expected at Ullentago, at the end of December, and to their arrival the hopes of the colonists were directed.

Major Somerset had returned to Graham's Town from his successful campaign against the Caffres. He had brought with him 2000 head of cattle taken from Macomo's Kraal, and had also threatened the other chiefs with a similar visit unless the stolen cattle retained by them were given up.

The Andromache had arrived at Simon's Bay from her cruise on the north-west coast of Madagascar, the details of which are by no means uninteresting. She arrived at Delagoa, on the 1st of November, at which place the surveying vessels of the preceding year had suffered so much from sickness: it was however at the time of the Andromache's visit, perfectly healthy, but the natives were almost in a state of starvation, which arose chiefly from their apathy of disposition, and the apprehensions they were under from the neighbouring Hottentots; the wandering tribes of which frequently made inroads upon them, carrying off or destroying every thing they found. Many of the natives were living on roots and long grass, and the whole were in a state of primitive nudity. Though perfectly docile and inoffensive, they were possessed of much low cunning and covetousness, and are represented to be as barbarous as the interior tribes. From the little intercourse they had entered into with the English, they had conceived a favourble notion of their character, and were particularly desirous to be taken under the protection of our Government, to ensure which, several of the Chiefs were willing to cede any portion of territory for forts and factories. Their eagerness for clothes is stated to be unbounded, and care was always taken to furnish the back first. An English Missionary, named Treadwell, was discovered at Delagoa, who had been attacked with fever and dysentery, from which he was slowly recovering; he had been three months employed in the task of conversion, and described the people as a tractable race, having no idea of a Supreme Being, and who, if they had any form of worship, directed it to their forefathers: he had composed a vocabulary, and had acquired some knowledge of the language, but bitterly complained of the difficulty of making these people comprehend his language, from their want of ideas, a deficiency also discovered by the people of the Andromache. The Missionary was the only European there, and to assist him in his herculean task, the Commodore supplied him with all the refreshment and nourishment he could possibly spare, and left him to his labours.

The Andromache arrived at Bembatooka, in Madagascar, on the 29th of November, and found that King Radama, a chief of the interior, had raised an army and was marching with a view of subjugating this Island to his authority, and also with an intention of putting down that nefarious and inhuman practice slave traffic, and of substituting agriculture and commerce in its stead. At the period of the Andromache's arrival, King Adan Saul, of Bembatooka, having levied a considerable force, had advanced to meet the invader, and the hostile armies were within two days march of each other. The Commodore received a communication from King Radama, soliciting his kind interference as mediator between the parties, and in order to prevent the effusion of blood, permitting him to guarantee to the inhabitants of Bembatooka, their lives and property, provided they would promise allegiance to Radama, and remain at peace in their own country, in which object the Commodore was successful, and they hoisted Radama's flag instead of their own, and sent deputies to King Radama, for the satisfaction of the conditions. The slave traffic had been, and then was, carried on to a very considerable extent; as there was every disposition in Radama to annihilate it, it was hoped the above concession would check it in a great measure; but as to an entire extirpation of the trade, nothing but its being declared felony was expected to effect it; an event however which the Slave Piracy bill, recently passed by Parliament, and transmitted to the United States of North America, for their concurrence, is very likely to bring about.

The Andromache returned to Simon's Bay, on the 29th of December. A Spanish slave ship, called the Virgin, of 14 guns, and with a crew of 130 men, had been captured by the Baracoota, sloop of war, she was fallen in with shortly after the latter left Algoa Bay, and was regularly attacked, the Captain of the Virgin refusing to submit until

several of his crew were killed; the Baracoota then took possession of her, and found between three and four hundred slaves on board, which with the prize were carried to the Cape. We close our accounts from this Colony, with the following extract of a letter, dated Bathurst, Oct. 15.

From December 1820, until near a period of thirty-four months, there never fell sufficient rain so as completely to saturate the earth, or even to keep the streams running. On Saturday the 5th of October, a fine gentle rain commenced, and continued all Monday: the two following days we had seasonable showers, and every thing assumed the most delightful verdure; the late sown corn shot up luxuriantly, and the more forward began to fill and to recover from the previous drought. Thursday night, however proved stormy, and brought heavier rain, and it appeared evident that the earth had had its fill, and could contain no more; indeed the little depth of soil which this country possesses obliges it soon to overflow, and on Friday night we had melancholy proofs of it: not only the streams were rolling in torrents, but the whole country was covered with fresh ones; my garden had suffered a little, and my new embankments had given way: my sheep were dying in numbers; and my corn land, which is situated very high, had a stream running over it sufficient to turn a mill. We were glad, however, to escape so well. On Saturday it cleared off, and we congratulated ourselves, that, taking every thing into consideration, our losses were so trivial, and we resolved to profit by the past, convinced that 'eternal sunshine' was not to be expected, even in this colony. On Monday the weather again altered to a thick fog, and then rain; and at sun-set it began to thunder and lighten, and continued, with scarcely the least intermission, throughout the night, awful in the extreme. The streams were 12 feet, and in one place 140 feet broad, carrying every thing before them; —one-third of my cattle kraal was carried off, the embankment levelled to the ground, and the gardens and fruit-trees washed away in various places; the potatoes in the field and garden were furrowed up and washed off, and to-day, as the torrent has abated, we find them hanging here and there in the bushes, five feet high: in short, a more complete picture of the effects of a deluge could not be presented. The flood was at its height a little after nine o'clock, and the quantity of rain which fell in the last hour was astonishing. It will now be manifest to all, what are the causes of the naked rocks which intersect the country, the deep kloofs, and the little depth and want of fertility of the soil; it is to these tremendous visitations, which wash the country gradually away, that such effects can be ascribed.

Sierra Leone.—The accounts from Sierra Leone continue to present pictures of the improving trade of the Colony, which are highly gratifying. The present state of Sierra Leone, while it forms a striking contrast with the ill-fated, though benevolent attempt which was made in 1792 to colonise the island of Bulama, illustrates in a striking manner the soundness of some of the views entertained by Captain Beaver, who commanded that expedition.—"As one of the means that would inevitably tend to the abolition of the Slave Trade," says he, "I would recommend the cultivation of Africa by its free natives. I know that those who choose always to see the African character in its worst light, will probably say the natives will never be induced voluntarily to labour. As far as my knowledge of the Africans will enable me to judge, I have no doubt of their readily cultivating the earth for hire, whenever Europeans will take the trouble to employ them. I never saw men work harder, more willingly, or more regularly, generally speaking, than those free natives whom I employed upon the island of Bulama. Now what effect would the cultivation of Africa have upon its inhabitants? The cultivation of the soil must necessarily induce commerce; and the intercourse resulting from this exchange, this barter, this trade, will and must soften and civilise the more barbarous of the two parties carrying it on; and will by degrees introduce letters, and in the end the Christian religion. Civilization may for some time be confined to the territory colonised; but commerce will begin immediately to extend by little and little into the interior. The convenience of a mart being once established, and the certainty of European articles being always to be found there, would induce the interior traders to come, instead of annually, whenever they had commodities to sell, which would keep up, except in the rains, a constant communication with the interior. This constant communication would tend to civilize all those people through whose territories it was carried on; and this increased civilization would produce additional security, which would tend also to augment that communication." These predictions, published nineteen years ago, are now every one of them literally accomplished at Sierra Leone; and, what is most remarkable, by the agency (excluding military) of little more than a hundred resident white persons! Among

the many subjects of gratification the Colonists possessed, was, that of an arrival at the latter end of January of a ship from Dublin at Freetown, for a cargo of trine, and several others for similar cargoes were daily expected, which was a convincing proof of the value of the article becoming more generally known. Several more caravans of gold merchants had arrived at the Colony from the interior with that precious metal, which they bartered for English goods.

Accounts had reached Freetown of the landing of Mr. Belzoni in the Bight of Benin, where he experienced a slight attack of fever; but feeling himself perfectly recovered in a few days, he started upon his enterprise with every hope of ultimate success. This enterprising traveller certainly possesses advantages which few of his predecessors enjoyed; and Mrs. Belzoni appears to partake of her husband's enthusiasm. She is said to be about to leave Paris, for the purpose of ascending the Nile to Chendi, in Nubia, there to await the arrival of the carravan from the west: though we think Cairo would be a safer and better residence for an English female.

By the accounts from Cape Coast Castle, we learn that Sir Charles M'Carthy had taken the field against the Ashantees, who were what they call in the *bush*; that is, the Ashantees will not fight their enemies, but will keep in the bush till the sickly season comes on to destroy them. Every European had left Cape Coast to join the forces, carrying supplies, &c. The several stations and factories on the coast were considered as being healthy, but the climate had recently been very destructive to the European officers and soldiers, who had arrived out but a short time. At Cape Coast had died Lieutenants M'Clean and Teddy, and 37 soldiers of the African Corps; Lieut. G. B. Torrane, Mr. R. Mends, Midshipman, (son of the late Commodore), and the Rev. Mr. Harruld. At Sierra Leone had died, W. Bruce, Esq. Assistant Commissary. The squadron was stationed as follows: the Owen Glendower at Cape Coast, the Ban and Swinger in the Bight of Bafre, and the Driver was expected from Rio Janeiro.

Isle of Ascension.—The accounts from this settlement state that the garrison was in the enjoyment of good health, but no events of importance had occurred there lately.

MEDITERRANEAN.

Constantinople.—There has been nothing of peculiar interest in the information from Turkey during the month. The armaments in the arsenal and along the channel of the Posphorous, continued: and seemed to announce that the next campaign would be an active one. It is asserted that M. Mungrachy has made but little progress in his negotiation, and it was the general opinion that it would be a long time before the desired results were obtained. Reports were current at Constantinople, when the last advices left, that the Greeks had effected a landing near Caraburnu, in Macedonia. No excesses against the Greeks or Christians had disgraced the Turkish capital since the accounts of last month.

Smyrna.—The Letters from Smyrna state that everything was tranquil there, and no renewal of the former outrages against the Greek inhabitants had happened. An occurrence had, however, taken place, which would, no doubt, be brought under the notice of the Foreign Secretary of State. It appears that for some cause or other the Pasha of Smyrna having ordered Mr. Elia Bali, a very respectable Greek merchant, residing in Smyrna, to be arrested, the latter took refuge on board an English merchant ship. Under these circumstances it is said the British Consul demanded from the captain that he should give up the Greek merchant to his enemies. This the captain refused to comply with, though thrice demanded, and declared his resolution not to surrender the unfortunate Greek so long as he could afford him the protection of the English flag. The captain went on shore to remonstrate with the Consul, but the latter caused him to be arrested at the consulate, and kept in confinement. Janissaries were then directed to proceed on board the vessel, and Mr. Bali was forcibly taken from under the protection of the English flag; but fortunately one of his Majesty's frigates got information of the transaction, and despatched a galley well armed after the boat which was conducting the Greek prisoner to the shore. Happily the galley overhauled the boat before she reached her destination, and carried Mr. Bali on board his Majesty's frigate. The Hon. Captain Spencer, the commander, afterwards sent a message to the Consul demanding the release of the captain from confinement, which order, according to the accounts received, the Consul declined to comply with. Captain Spencer himself, with his officers and a party of marines, then proceeded to the con-

solace, and forcibly brought away the master of the merchant ship.

Odessa.—The advices from Odessa state that no fears were entertained there of any hostilities taking place between Russia and Turkey, and add that a considerable part of the Russian army, assembled between the banks of the Neister and the confines of Moldavia had either been withdrawn or dismissed. No unusual preparations were making, and no magazines of provisions were forming. Trade remained dull, and the exchange had not undergone any material alteration.

Egypt.—Rumours were current during the early part of the month, that the Pasha of Egypt, Mahomed Ali, had declared himself independent of the Porte. Subsequent accounts, however, make no mention of this event, and therefore it is but fair to consider it as at least premature. From all the accounts of late received there can, however, be but little doubt that the Pacha has been, for some time, meditating this step. About eighteen months since he imported upwards of 100,000 stand of arms, chiefly of English manufacture, with large supplies of ordnance stores, &c.; he had also the chief of the Druses under his protection at Cairo, and was, through his influence, enlisting the Arabs of the country, and forming them into corps. They are the bravest people of Egypt, and the late Emperor of France could never prevail upon them to join his standard. The Pasha has some battalions formed of the husbandmen (*fellahs*) of Egypt. He has also an excellent printing establishment, conducted by Greeks, from which he has issued several books in Turkish and Italian. He has a fine cannon foundry, and makes excellent powder, and is extremely partial to the English. His instructions to the Governors of Egypt are, to be particular in their attention and assistance to all travellers of that nation. His chief agents are Messrs. Briggs and Co., who have great influence over him, and his adviser is an Armenian, (Mr. Boghos) who acts as his Secretary and Translator. Mr. Salt, the English Consul, is on the most friendly footing with the Pasha; and as a proof of it he has never been obliged to give up any person who has taken refuge under his flag for protection, although they have been demanded, particularly some Christians who had rendered themselves obnoxious, and embraced the Mahometan religion. The successor to the present Pasha will be his son, Ibrahim Pasha, who is said to be a bigot, and averse to Christians. The Porte has made him of equal rank with his father, in order to create jealousy. Should the latter be taken off, the country will fall into great anarchy: but if Mahomed Ali lives, Egypt promises to attain its former greatness. The Pasha has lately turned much of his attention to the cultivation of cotton, and the great exportation of that article is a proof of his correct views. He has also cultivated indigo, sugar, and opium, for which purpose he has had natives from India; he has also large plantations of mulberry trees, which promise to succeed in aiding the production of silk. The Egyptian cotton is proved to be of a superior quality, and in England it has fetched a price much higher than any imported from the east or west, having only been equalled by that from the United States, known under the name of Sea Island, Georgia. Indeed so important has the importation of this cotton been considered by the British Government, that two gentlemen have visited Liverpool to survey the proper place where lazarettos may be erected, in consequence of a petition from that town, stating their fear of contagion from its importation.

Letters from Cairo, dated February 10, state that Mohammed Ali Pasha had been nominated by the Sublime Porte, commander in chief of an expedition against the Morea. He was expected to be there in May with 20,000 troops. 30,000 men are said to be trained to arms in that country, in a manner equal to European troops.

Greece.—Several numbers of a Romaic Journal, published at Missolonghi, under the title of the Greek Chronicle, have come to hand. The last of the series extends only to the 9th of February, and therefore supplies us with little information on the state of Greece which had not previously reached us through other channels. The very appearance, however, of a newspaper in such a quarter, at such a time, and in such a language, is not without its interest; recording, as it does, the noble exploits of a people recovering their independence after ages of oppression,—addressed to the descendants of those whose journalists were Thucydides and Xenophon,—and composed in a dialect which, with some variations of grammar and construction, was spoken by Homer and Plato. The contents of the two last numbers, likewise, are somewhat curious. That of the 6th of February gives us an eloquent address of the Government of the three islands, Hydra,

Spezzia, and Ispara, to all the Greeks. "We know well," say these brave men, "that when a Christian is called to fight for his faith,—when a patriot struggles for his country, every thing else is regarded as insignificant." They then call to mind, that in the last three years they have sacrificed their property—exposed their lives—and shed their blood for the general freedom, without meeting with adequate support from the rest of the nation. This address is so curious, that we regret our limits will not allow us to give it entire. With some discussions by the Editor on a criminal code, and an account of the sudden illness and rapid recovery of Lord Byron, this number concludes. The number of the 9th of February contains an extract from the speech of the American President, received by *Galignani's Messenger*, where the part which refers to the Greek contest and cause is particularly pointed out to the sympathy and gratitude of the Greek Patriots. This paper concludes with an account of the proceedings of a meeting at Cambridge, to receive subscriptions in favour of the Greeks.

Letters have been received from Missolonghi of the 4th (16th) February, which state that the utmost harmony and union continued to prevail amongst the Chiefs assembled there, and that the soldiers and officers observed the strictest discipline. The military force consisted of 3000 soldiers, amongst whom were 600 Suliots, and their pay was 30 piastres monthly. Lord Byron, who had assumed the Grecian uniform, with 1000 men, raised from his own means, in addition to the above 3000 men, and the 600 Suliots, under the command of Constantine Botzaris, was at this date about to attack Lepanto, which it was generally supposed could not long resist this large reinforcement to the troops previously in front of the two castles. After their reduction, the castle of Patras would attract their attention, and from the known weakness of the garrison, it was not supposed that it could resist a regular siege many days. There was a manufactory of cannon, balls, and gun-powder, at Missolonghi, which rendered all these necessaries of war plentiful. On the 15th of February an express arrived from the Morea, announcing that the fortress of Cavoni had surrendered to the Greeks. The Archimandrite, P. Flesser, having previously threatened to storm it, unless it surrendered at discretion. Orders had also been given that the Greek vessels should sail to cruise off the Dardanelles, and to prevent the Turkish fleet from coming into the Archipelago.

Greek Islands.—According to the most recent commercial news from the Ionian Islands, the Egyptian squadron, under the command of Ismael Gibraltar, has re-appeared in the Archipelago, and has attacked some Greek vessels, one of which only has been taken. This event, which is given as certain, proves how unfounded is the report that the Pasha of Egypt has declared against the Porte. What also refutes the report is, that the Pasha has sent new reinforcements to the isle of Candia.

Considerable bodies of troops have begun to march in Macedonia, who are to move on Thessaly by Betoglia, under the Pasha of Widden. The numbers (probably exaggerated) are said to be 30,000. We received, from another quarter, the interesting news that the troops assembled near Adrianople are under new orders to march, not to Thessaly, but on the Danube, which again proves the jealousy of the Porte towards Russia. It is asserted that the negotiations of the Greeks and the Albanians are again broken off.

Malta.—Letters from Malta state that the report of the appointment of the Marquess of Hastings to the Governorship of that Island, had arrived by the way of Marseilles on the 13th of March, and that it had been received with the greatest satisfaction, particularly as the command had been made distinct from that over the Ionian Islands. From the acknowledged abilities of his Lordship, when applied exclusively to the interests of that important Island, much good was looked for, and the merchants, in particular, expected, that by the abandonment of many absurd regulations now practised, their trade would be much benefited; for the Corn Trade and the Quarantine Laws in Malta require a thorough reformation, without which, commerce can neither be extensive nor prosperous. On the 22d March, the Cambrian frigate arrived at Malta from off Algiers. Nothing of importance had occurred, if we except the movements of the different ships of war to and from Algiers. The Sardinian vessel, Mary, from Leghorn to Algiers, had been taken by a British ship of war, and sent into Malta; she had a diamond crown on board for the Dey.

Ionian Islands.—A private letter from Nuremburg, dated April 20, states that the Porte had received an intimation through a foreign personage (pro-

bably the French Charge d'Affaires), of the instructions given by the British Government to the new Governor of the Ionian Islands, and that the Turkish Minister had signified to Lord Strangford that the Sultan felt great dissatisfaction at finding them so favourable to the Greeks.

ZANTE.—A letter from Zante, dated March 13, announces the capture of Coron, the last bulwark of the Turks in the south of the Morea. This town was carried by storm by the Greeks under the command of an ecclesiastic, the archimandrite, Zerbino, who had arrived in December, from the Russian town of Taganroch with a large sum of money, which enabled him to equip a body of volunteers. He then secretly collected ladders, and profiting by the security of a very dark night, scaled the ramparts and surprised the garrison. The occupation of the town and castle of Arta, by Constantine Bozzaris, is also confirmed. Lord Byron and Colonel Stanhope were still at Missolonghi superintending the preparations for the siege of Lepanto. The declaration of war made by England against Algiers operated as a powerful diversion in favour of the Greeks, as the Grand Seignor had scarcely any other sailors left than those belonging to the states of Barbary.

CORFU.—A letter from Corfu, reports the surrender of Coron to the Greeks, on the 18th of March, and a confirmation of the taking of the outwork of Lepanto, on which occasion the English Officers of Engineers, who are gone to the assistance of the Greeks, particularly distinguished themselves. Lord Byron had returned from Tripolizza to Missolonghi, and had been every where received with great honour.

An embargo had been laid on all British and Ionian vessels, on account of an Algerine squadron having appeared in those seas.

SANTA MAURA.—Letters received from the Island of Santa Maura state that, on the 21st of February, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt there about eight o'clock in the evening. It produced the greatest consternation. Several buildings were much injured, and a bridge broken down; two females were wounded, but no lives were lost.

LORD BYRON.—On the 15th of February, Lord Byron, who is still in Greece, was attacked by a nervous convulsive fit, the consequence of great excitement; which was dangerous while it lasted, but which left no other effect than excessive weakness. But letters have since been received dated Missolonghi, March 16; and at that period his Lordship had perfectly recovered from his severe indisposition, and was taking an active part in the affairs of Greece. We are happy to state that his Lordship writes in the most glowing terms of the fair prospects of the Greek cause, and cautions his friends against attaching any credit to the disagreeable accounts which have been published in the English Papers. At the date of these papers no intelligence had been received of the fall of Lepanto or Patras; but, from the extent of the preparations made for the storming of those fortresses, little doubt was entertained of the result.

ALGIERS.—Nothing of any material interest has been received from Algiers, Admiral H. B. Neale had been off that port in the Revenge, with five frigates, but the Dey had refused to treat, and was making preparations to sustain a bombardment, for which purpose he had dismantled the vessels of war which were in the Bay, and had drawn them under the mole. He had also commanded an immense number of troops from the interior to man the fortresses. The British force in those parts consisted of seven frigates, five of which blockaded Algiers, and two Bona. An Algerine vessel had been captured and sent into Bona. The Dutch squadron was cruizing in the neighbourhood of Mahon.

Letters have been received from Leghorn and Genoa in twelve days. They state that our shipping proceed to their destinations without meeting any of the Algerine cruisers, as the coast was strictly blockaded by the English squadron. There is no political information from the above places.

Letters from Paris, state that Sir H. B. Neale had arrived in the Revenge man-of-war at Marseilles. All negotiations with the Dey of Algiers had failed; the port was strictly blockaded.

ORAN.—Some arrivals at Gibraltar from Oran had taken place, among which was a vessel which had been under sequestration by the Algerines. It seems that the British Consul, having been arrested, sent an express to Algiers to the American Consul, for whom he was also acting as deputy, who immediately demanded his release, which was acceded to by the Dey, and permission sent him to quit the place if he liked, and remove his property, under which latter condition the vessel was given up.

There had been a rising of the natives in Oran, against the Turks, in the beginning of March, but it was quelled, and the ringleaders put to death.

BONA.—By accounts from Bona, we learn that the Naiad frigate had been cruizing off that port, and had captured a Sardinian vessel bound from Bona to Algiers with grain, on account of the Algerine Government. The British Vice Consul at Bona, with all his family, were prisoners at Bona, and had been placed in irons.

TANGIERS.—A letter from Tangiers, dated March 21, states that Ben Y'Show, the chief of the province of Garb, has had an engagement with one of the marauding tribes of his district, in which he lost thirty men. Muley Seid has given up the siege of Mequinez, and gone to Tafilet, having, it is said, secured in the Atlas Mountains a safe place of retreat; while the Governor of the Black Honclaya, at Mequinez, has sent to the Emperor a considerable remittance from the treasury at that place. One of the Berribber tribes has also submitted to the Emperor, sending their women as hostages to Fez.

GIBRALTAR.—Letters from Gibraltar state that the King of Spain had granted an exclusive privilege to the Guadalquiver Company to import British manufactured goods, upon payment of a duty of 25 per cent.

General Alava, the Constitutional refugee, was at Gibraltar when the last accounts came away.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—Advices have been received from Jamaica to the 9th March, but their contents are of no importance; the only article of novelty being an account of the trial of some of the slaves concerned in the late conspiracy. Nothing of any interest has been received from any of the West India Islands during the last few weeks compared with the accounts received during the two or three preceding months.

DEMERARA.—The late accounts from Demerara are by no means of a favourable description, the situation of that colony being represented as truly deplorable. A number of publications, inciting the slaves to revolt, are said to have been recently received there from England, introduced into the colony, and recently circulated among the slaves: an assertion, however, unsupported by any proof. The removal of the Governor, and the withdrawing of Colonel Leahy and his troops, was thought by the well-wishers of the colony as likely to occasion a renewal of the disturbances, as the Negroes would be led to believe the conduct of those officers during the revolt had displeased the government at home.

Extract from the Demerara Gaz. Feb. 27: "Dominica is in confusion and uproar. The Earl of Huntingdon, who dissolved the House of Assembly a short time ago, has refused to issue any new writs for the re-election of Members, until his Majesty's pleasure be known regarding the issue between them."

TRINIDAD.—Accounts received from Trinidad, by the Jamaica mail, state that an intended insurrection had been discovered among the Negroes by the evidence of one of the conspirators. Measures had been taken to defeat their purposed rising; and when the accounts left, the Island was comparatively tranquil.

HOME INTELLIGENCE.

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.—Nothing further has transpired respecting the probable appointment of a new Governor General for India. The latest advices from Bengal give reason to believe that Lord Amherst will not quit his post, unless his health should be much more impaired then at present: and the Supreme Power in India does not now seem to be an object of sufficient ambition, to cause any intrigues for an expected vacancy, except among needy noblemen, to whom it must of course be always a desirable object.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF IN INDIA.—The return of Sir Edward Paget is now considered certain; and it is already said, that he will be appointed Governor of the Royal Military College, in England. The Earl of Dalhousie, has been named as the new Commander in Chief; but nothing official has yet transpired on this subject.

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.—We understand there have been warm contentions between the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Ministers, on the subject of the appointment to this post. Sir Thomas

Munro comes home from Madras, and Mr. Elphinstone, goes from Bombay to fill his place. Sir John Malcolm, who has long looked to a Governorship in India, is said to have been nominated by the Directors, while Ministers insisted on the preference being given to Mr. Lushington, of the Treasury, who was formerly a Civil Servant on the Madras Establishment; Sir John's claims are certainly powerful, although we are not aware of any strong reason why Mr. Lushington should not make an equally able and efficient Governor; the former is however better known in India, and would certainly be more popular both among the English and the Native Inhabitants; but as the power of rejection is unlimited in the Ministers, they must at last prevail; and whoever can command the strongest interest at Court, will be certain of being confirmed.

East India House Affairs.—On the 1st of April a ballot took place at the East India House, for the purpose of determining the following question; "That application be made to Parliament, in the present Session, for the repeal of the 46th Clause of the Act of the 53d of Geo. III. c. 155, by which the Court of Directors is prohibited from sending to India, in the capacity of a writer, any person who shall not have resided during four terms at Haileybury College." The question was negatived by a majority of 128; ayes 272, noes 400.

On the 14th, a ballot was taken at the East India House, for the election of six Directors, in the room of Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. Edward Parry, Esq. William Wigram, Esq. William Taylor Money, Esq. John Baillie, Esq. and John Petty Muspratt, Esq. who go out by rotation.

At six o'clock the glasses were closed and delivered to the Scrutineers, who reported that the Election had fallen on—

Josias Du Pre Alexander, Esq.
Robert Campbell, Esq.
Neill Benjamin Edmonstone, Esq.
Hon. Hugh Lindsey,
John Morris, Esq. and
J. Goldsborough Ravenshaw, Esq.

On the same day a Court of Directors was held at the East India House, when the thanks of the Court were voted unanimously to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, for their zeal and attention to the Company's interest during the last year.

It had been confidently expected that the House List would have been opposed by some new candidates; but this intention, which at one time we believe really existed, was given up, from what particular cause we know not, but most probably from an apprehension that the combined interests of the Directors to preserve to their own body this privilege of certain succession, were such as few individuals could hope to oppose with success.

Oriental Club.—In addition to the Asiatic Society of Great Britain, which is intended principally to bring men of science and research together, there has been just instituted an Oriental Club, for the purpose of forming a point of union to persons connected with the East, without reference to Literature or Research. The Duke of Wellington is named as President; and many persons of rank have already joined the Club. The following is the Prospectus of the Institution:—

Prospectus.

The Oriental club will be established at a house in a convenient situation.

The utmost economy will be observed in the whole establishment, and the subscription for its foundation and support shall not exceed fifteen pounds entrance, and six pounds per annum.

There will be a commodious reading room, with newspapers and periodical publications, and it will be a particular object to have those from every quarter of the East up to the latest dates. A library will be gradually formed, chiefly of works on Oriental subjects.

The coffee-room of the club will be established on the most economical principles, similar to those of the United Service and Union.

There will be occasional house dinners.

The qualifications for members of this club are, having been resident or employed in the public service of His Majesty, or the East-India Company, in any part of the East—belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society—being officially connected with the administration of our Eastern Governments abroad or at home.

The objects of the establishment are—*First:* to give to persons who have been long resident abroad, the means of entering, on their return, into a society where they will not only associate daily with those they have before known, but have an opportunity of forming acquaintance and connexions in their own country. *Secondly:* to give to those who have resided or served abroad, the easy means of meeting old friends, and of keeping up their knowledge of the actual state of our Eastern empire, by personal intercourse and friendship with those recently returned from scenes in which they have once acted. *Thirdly:* giving to all persons who are solicitous of information, regarding the past and present condition of the East, to those

who are officially connected with our Governments abroad, and to all persons who are desirous of improving their knowledge and strengthening their personal ties with that quarter, additional means of accomplishing these ends.

The British empire in the East is now so extensive, and the persons connected with it so numerous, that the establishment of an institution where they may meet on a footing of social intercourse, seems particularly desirable. It is the chief object of the Oriental club to promote that intercourse, and to maintain and improve the principle so happily established by the formation of the Royal Asiatic Society, of associating as much as possible those who have resided or served in the East, with persons who, from any cause, take an interest in that quarter of the globe.

That the members of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bengal, Madras, Bombay, India, and China clubs, be invited to join the Oriental club as original members.

That all persons who have served the King, or Company, in the East, who have resided or travelled, or whose official situations connect them with that quarter of the globe, be considered eligible to become members.

That the committee have the power of electing any candidate as an original member, who may be eligible as above, until the number of four hundred shall be completed, such candidate being recommended by three of the present committee, one on personal knowledge.

That as soon as the names of four hundred members shall have been enrolled, a general meeting be called to arrange the permanent establishment of the club.

It is at present intended that the number of members shall not exceed six hundred.

Exchanges of Possessions in India.

In the House of Commons on the 29th of March, Mr. Hume put a question to the President of the Board of Control, respecting a treaty between England and the Netherlands, relative to the mutual exchange of certain possessions of the Continent of India and the Indian Archipelago.

Mr. Wynn admitted the treaty, but as it could not be ratified until the meeting of the States General, it could not be laid on the table. By that treaty the Island of Sincapore and some other parts of Malacca, were ceded to this country.

Mr. Hume said, that in asking the question, he was induced by a rumour that the settlement of Bencoolen was about to be given up, without any relation to those interests which grew up under British protection.

Mr. Wynn said, that without going into a question which the House would see was premature, he would only assure the Honourable Member, that every attention and regard had been paid on the treaty alluded to, to the interests mentioned by him.

New South Wales Company.—Among the new projects recently started, is one for the improvement of New South Wales and the adjoining colony of Van Diemen's Land. It differs from those already in circulation in one respect, inasmuch as the projectors do not invite participation by the public at large; but the originators, though very few in number, think the future prospect so inviting, that they advance the whole of the capital requisite, and take the whole of the risk upon themselves. The principal objects in view are the obtaining from Government a grant of a million of acres of land in New South Wales, to be applied principally to the improvement in the growth of wool. It is found that the climate of New South Wales is peculiarly favourable to this purpose, and the stock of sheep with which the new grant is to be peopled, will be procured from the more approved among the Spanish, English, Merino, and German breeds. In the new adventure is also included the establishment of banks, the erection of public buildings, and other objects deemed essential to the prosperity of the colony. It is admitted that a powerful impulse may be given by means of this Company to the progress in civilization, general improvement, and happiness of New South Wales, and not the shadow of an imputation can be cast on the individuals who employ their knowledge and industry, and advance their capital to the attainment of this end; but the public at large, and particularly those merchants who already carry on trade with the colonies in question, have a right to inquire, through what influence or representations the preference has been given, and unusual privileges obtained. This information can only be procured by questions to ministers in Parliament. They may be answered satisfactorily, and the Government may prove to have acted only to the best of their means for effecting a great and decided improvement in a valuable colony; but it ought to be clearly made out to the satisfaction of all concerned, that the conductors have not been selected for the sake of their parliamentary influence, or for any corrupt motive whatever; and that the transaction does not in any degree deserve to be characterized by the odious name of a job.

Cape of Good Hope.—The subscription for the distressed settlers at the Cape of Good Hope still continues in England: but the scene is too distant to excite that sympathy which one tenth the same amount of distress would be sure to experience nearer home. It was a fatal error in those who chose this spot as a place for colonizing: but ministers might yet retrace their steps, and not only help the wretched sufferers in their present exigency, but remove them to Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand, and other countries in the Eastern world. We hope soon, however, to see India open to colonization; and that the redundant capital and population of England might find an inexhaustible field for their exertions. We have received some numbers of a new Journal, published at the Cape of Good Hope, under the title of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*. Though it would justly acquire here the character of too great subserviency to the "powers that be," it is stated to be a deference in this colony necessary to the existence of an infant journal: its tone, however, is in the main independent; and from the breaking up of a monopoly of twenty year's standing, since the first publication of the *Cape Town Gazette*, some benefit to the colony may at least be anticipated. The new paper is said to meet with fair support in private subscriptions; but we perceive by a notification in one of the Numbers, that the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, has manifested some hostility to the undertaking, by the imposition of a heavy postage to be paid previous to transmission into the interior, and a tax of one rix dollar on each advertisement inserted. The paper is printed in the English language only, but the leading articles are to appear in Dutch also, as soon as 250 subscribers of that nation can be obtained. We find in these journals no local news worth extracting. The latest date of those in our possession is the 4th of February.

Earthquake in Syria.—Not many months since a subscription was raised, to the amount of 3200*l.* for the sufferers by the earthquake in Syria. Upon application being made by the British Consul, at Aleppo, to the local authorities, for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner the money should be applied, the subject was referred to the Grand Seignior, who refused to permit the distribution of the funds.

Sir T. Maitland's Will.—The late Sir T. Maitland's will has been proved in the Prerogative Court, Doctors' Commons, by the Earl of Lauderdale, the brother, one of the executors; Lord Viscount Maitland, and the Honourable Anthony Maitland, the nephews, the other executors, not having at present undertaken the trust. The personals within the province of Canterbury are sworn under 30,000*l.* Five thousand pounds are bequeathed to the testator's sister, Lady Jane Houston, and 5000*l.* to the children of Colonel Edwards: with the exception of these two sums, every thing is left to the Earl of Lauderdale, the residuary legatee.

Knights of Malta.—It appears by the following recent letter from Paris, that the Holy Alliance entertains the idea of restoring the Knights of Malta to something like the rank which they formerly held in Europe. Opinion is much divided as to the propriety of such restoration, but, with proper concessions on the part of the Knights to the spirit of the age, they may probably be rendered useful to the cause of Christian freedom.

Paris, April 24.—Some sensation has been caused here by the receipt of letters from Trieste, in which it is stated that the Allied Sovereigns intend to cede to the Knights of Malta one of the Islands of the Archipelago. It is even said that the negotiations on this subject are terminated, and that the result has been transmitted to Catania, in Sicily, where the heads of the Order reside. It is added, that as soon as the Knights are installed in their new residence, they will enter into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Greeks against the Turks. I give you this news as it is circulated here; all that I know positively is, that M. de Villele and M. de Chateaubriand have both unequivocally expressed themselves in favour of such restoration.

West India Affairs.—A new project is on foot for the establishment of a Joint Stock West India Company, the object of which is to effect by its capital and influence what the present West India establishments cannot now command. It has some of the first West India merchants at its head; and to those who engage in it, it may probably be productive of some benefit; but nothing can be more fallacious than the idea that the West India interests generally will be improved by such a Company. The West Indians require only cheaper labour to raise their produce for existing markets, or the discovery of new markets, in which they will have more of the cheaper produce of free labour to meet in competition Neither of these

can be furnished by the new Company. It may raise money for them on loans; but this will be only adding to their embarrassments. The West India estates are already too heavily encumbered with debt; and we firmly believe that nothing will save them from ultimate destruction but the very measures to which they are most averse, namely, the abolition of slavery, the elevation of the condition of all classes throughout their settlements, and a full scope given to the mental and physical faculties of man to raise the greatest quantity of produce at the cheapest possible rate.

The following are announced as the leading motives and ends of this new Institution, a mere perusal of which must satisfy every thinking person, that however advantageous it may prove to the parties holding shares, it is quite impossible that it should produce any thing but protracted debt, protracted slavery, and ultimate ruin to the very interests they pretend to promote:—

At a time when the advantageous employment of money is so difficult that it is forced into foreign countries for the temporary and uncertain benefit of a higher interest than is afforded in the English Funds, a more appropriate and secure investment has presented itself in the formation of a West India Company, which, at the same time that it will give an impulse to long established sources of British production and wealth, will secure a liberal return of profit.

This Company is instituted for the purpose of receiving consignments of West India produce, in return for advances to be made on mortgage and other good security, upon such a scale as will afford an adequate profit on the capital employed; and also of making temporary advances upon the assignment of mortgages bearing Colonial interest, with collateral security.

One material circumstance in favour of such an investment is, that the profits of the Company, instead of being diminished, will be considerably increased, in the event of war.

The establishment of this Company will be as advantageous to all persons interested in the Colonies, as to the Subscribers. It is anticipated that immediate activity will be given to the circulation of Colonial property by the advances which the Company will make to parties who can offer adequate security with consignments of produce; this will have the effect of maintaining the fair value of West India estates, and thus operate favourably on the condition of the negro population, which is intimately connected with, and in a great measure dependent on, the prosperity of the master.

It is proposed that there shall be Eight Presidents, and Four Auditors, and the affairs of the Company will be conducted by Twenty-four Directors, of whom Twelve only shall be West India Merchants.

The Capital of the Company will be Four Millions, consisting of 40,000 Shares of 100*l.* each, on which a deposit of 10*l.* is to be paid, 5*l.* thereof at the time of subscribing, and 5*l.* on or before the 31st of May. Further instalments, upon due notice from the Directors, will be called for as the business of the Company may require.

The Institution having received the approbation of Government, a Bill is preparing for the purpose of forming a joint Stock, to be vested in the Company by Act of Parliament, limiting the liability of the Proprietors to the amount of their respective shares.

Interest at five per cent. on the instalments will be paid for the first year, after which such part of the profits, not exceeding three-fourths, as the Directors may think fit, shall be divided, and at the end of every seven years, or earlier at their discretion, a proportion of the reserved profits shall be distributed, by way of bonus, amongst the Proprietors.

The following Letter to Mr. Fowell Buxton, M. P. is worthy of republication in every Journal of the kingdom, for the accuracy of its views and the benevolence of its principles: we therefore give it a place in our pages with great pleasure.

Sir,—No apology is necessary, I am sure, to justify me in addressing you as the friend of the West India Slaves. You have deservedly obtained a reputation amongst your fellow-men, as the friend of the miserable and oppressed, which for your own sake and that of your country, nothing will ever, I trust, deprive you of. I, therefore, will briefly state the object of my thus publicly addressing you. You are, I make no doubt, fully apprised of the projected Company for advancing money on the West India produce and estates, and that one of the daily papers, *The Times*, is endeavouring to write this scheme into public estimation. Those who, like myself, have duties to perform which deprive them of the opportunity of making minute inquiries into public matters of any sort, look to yourself and the friends who are known to act with you, as to watchmen, whose voice we anticipate to hear, if any open or secret invader of our hopes and expectations is about our castle.

Since the first notification of the proposed West India Company by the public prints, I have felt great suspicions as to the integrity of the motives which have given birth to it, and have been anxiously looking for some development of its pro-

bable effect on the great question of Slavery; and I really believe I do not express a solitary wish, when I say, that it would be very satisfactory if some Anti-Slavery man would briefly detail the objects and probable effects of the proposed combination of West India planters and money-lenders.

The great questions which occur to me are these :—

Will the proposed scheme accelerate the emancipation of those who have been seduced, cheated, or stolen into bondage?

Or will the operations of this Company retard the deliverance of these victims of the unbridled lust of gain?

Or may the Company pursue its course without exciting the fears of honest men?

I own my suspicions are these—That the scheme originates with those who feel that they cannot long maintain the battle with public opinion; and who, therefore, by passing their property into other and (by the combination) more powerful hands, may not only escape the odium of being personally concerned in maintaining slavery, but, by shifting the actors may continue the system of false concession and dishonor, a little longer. It is only a week back, that reflecting on the many schemes of monied men, I noted down (very generally, indeed) a plan for a Company, whose object should be—to purchase, by degrees, the property of the West India possessors, on such terms as a Jury of twelve men should determine; and that application should be made to Parliament for powers, compelling the Planters to sell under such terms; and that the property so purchased should be managed by a Board of Directors, to be chosen by the share-holders; that the money advanced by the share-holders should be advanced without interest, or at so low a rate of interest as to choak the *mere money lender;* and that such plans of instruction and culture, with a view to the earliest possible emancipation of the slaves, should be adopted as to such Board might seem best. There are many other parts of such a plan to be discussed and determined, but I can see no more reason to object to any such scheme than to any scheme for the formation of a new line of road, or any other similar public work, where parties, who have a *legitimate* title to their estates, are yet compelled to sell, in order to effect some great national benefit; and I really believe, that though the title of the possessors of slaves is "*rotten at the core,*" yet so great is the disposition of this moral people to redeem, by paying the price of redemption, that thousands would sooner thus lock up a portion of their fortunes, than interfere with the binding principles of law (however wickedly or ignorantly enacted), or be indebted to the niggard and slow-paced justice of men habituated to the justification of slavery. I cannot conclude without expressing the cheering thought, that but for the Christianity which slave-makers and slave-possessors of all descriptions are fond of misrepresenting, there is no principle on earth which could require submission to such a condition; and that the masters of those who are in bondage in every part of the world owe something to the weakness of those they govern, but more (in lands where Christianity is known) to that spirit of forbearance and pity which it so manifestly inculcates. It does not indeed, as crafty politicians and hypocritical priests would intimate, justify us in upholding laws which are made in *contradiction to the authority of Revelation*, but it limits and guides us in the use of means by which to change and overcome them, "Overcome evil with good."

In the last West India Papers are contained certain confidential communications which passed between Lord Liverpool and Mr. Hibbert; and between Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Gladstone. These could hardly have been sent out for publication in the Colonies; but their appearance there has necessarily led to their republication in the English papers, and must be sufficiently embarrassing to all parties. Lord Liverpool is, it seems, so displeased with Mr. Hibbert, for detailing in his letters the results of private conferences with him, that he has stated his wish to confine all their future intercourse to written documents. What Mr. Huskisson will say to Mr. Gladstone, we know not; but these letters must open the eyes of the public at least, by letting them see that men in office have generally two sets of opinions: one for the gallery of the House of Commons, and the country at large, and one for their private friends and all others who are equally in the secret of what is going on behind the curtain.

Late Mr. Smith. — A Petition from the London Missionary Society relative to the case of Mr. Smith, of Demerara, has been presented to the House of Commons by Sir J. Mackintosh. The Petitioners proceed on two grounds; they desire, that as Mr. Smith died in confinement at Demerara, without having had means to appeal from the sentence passed on him by the Court Martial, they may be permitted to vindicate his character, by proof of his entire moral and legal innocence; and then demand inquiry into the transactions at Demerara, to insure protection to other

Christian Missionaries there and elsewhere.

The papers on this subject, that have been produced before the House of Commons, have been published; and they show in the clearest light, the utter groundlessness of all the charges against Mr. Smith. His only crime appears, indeed, to have been that of endeavouring to enlighten and improve the minds of the negroes, and to make them Christians; but even in attempting this, he carried his delicacy so far as to omit many passages in the Scriptures, as he read to them from various parts of the Bible, lest they should become too suddenly enamoured of civil and religious freedom, and attempt their emancipation. It has been well remarked, that if the Christians of England would preach the Gospel to the Negroes, and still retain them in Slavery, they should, in imitation of the *Family Shakspeare,* set about the purification of the Scriptures, and publish a *Colony Bible.*

Discovery Ships.—The Hecla and Fury Discovery Ships are rapidly preparing at Deptford for the Polar Expedition. Every precaution seems to have been taken, to render their success complete. The internal fittings are compact and elegant, and the means of conducting warm air throughout the vessels, and the contrivances for drawing off the moisture from the steam, breaths, &c. are worthy of observation. They are furnished with the propelling paddles, worked as the chain-pump, to assist in passing through the light ice, and their bows are about nine feet thick, lined, as are their sides, with cork, and plated externally with iron. A farewell entertainment will be given by Captain Parry, on board the Hecla, on the 7th of May, when both ships will be completely ready for sea, and will be at the Nore on the 10th.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[*From the London Gazette.*]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS, &c.

BENGAL.

38*th Foot.* Lieut. J. Matthews to be Captain without purchase, vice Wiltshire, promoted in the 46th Foot, dated Apr. 15.

44*th Foot.* Lieut. D. Young, from the 17th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Browne, who exchanges, dated April 1.—Lieut. J. Paton, from the 67th Foot, to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Nixon, deceased, dated April 15.—H. L. Layard, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Gilbert, deceased, dated April 15.

59*th Foot.* Ensign M. C. Pitman to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Campbell, deceased, dated March 25.—Lieut. A. Douglas, from half-pay 93d Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Wolfe, appointed to the 98th Foot, dated April 8.—J. Peacocke, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Varlo, removed to the 46th Foot, dated Oct. 12.

MADRAS.

41*st Foot.* Lieut. G. L. Boultbee, from the 69th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Sargent, who exchanges, dated Sept. 13.

46*th Foot.* Major A. Ogilvie, to be Lieutenant Colonel without purchase, vice Molle, deceased, dated Sept. 10.—Brevet Lieut. Col. T. Wiltshire, from 38th Foot, to be Major, vice Ogilvie, dated Sept. 10.—Ensign G. Varlo, from the 59th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Drew, promoted in the 67th Foot, dated Oct. 12.

54*th Foot.* Ensign B. Kelly, to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Holt, deceased, dated Aug. 10.

69*th Foot.* Capt. D. J. Courry, from the 16th Foot, to be Captain, vice Williams, who exchanges, dated March 25.—Lieut. J. J. Sargent, from the 41st Foot, to be Lieut., vice Boultbee, who exchanges, dated Sept. 13.

89*th Foot.* Lieut. A. Schiel, from the 13th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Thomas, who exchanges, dated Aug. 15.—Lieut. Edw. Kenny, to be Adjutant, vice C. S. Naylor, who resigns the Adjutancy duty, dated June 26.

BOMBAY.

20*th Foot.* Lieut. H. Clinton, from half-pay, 12th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Wigley, appointed to the 73d Foot, dated April 8.

67*th Foot.* Ensign J. C. Drew, from the 46th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Paton, removed to the 44th Foot, dated Oct. 12.

1*st West India Regt.* Capt. J. Hall, from half-pay, 21st Foot, to be Captain, vice Abbott, appointed to the 1st Royal Veteran Battalion, dated April 1.

2*d West India Regt.* To be Ensigns:—Ensign W. M'Pherson, from half-pay of the Regt. vice Hanna, appointed to the 1st Royal Veteran Battalion, dated Apr. 8.—Ensign J. E. Dickinson, from half-pay, 3d Garrison Battalion, without purchase, dated April 15.

APPOINTMENTS.

April 6. William Turner, Esq. to be Secretary to His Majesty's Embassy at the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

April 20. John Home Purves, Esq. to be His Majesty's Consul for the States of East and West Florida, to reside at Pensacola.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[*From the Indian Gazette.*]

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Political Department, Fort William.—Oct. 24, Capt. W. B. Salmon of 18th Regt. N.I. to the temporary command of the Escort of the Resident of Lucknow.—Nov. 14, Mr. David Scott to be Agent to the Governor General on the North Eastern Frontier of Bengal, and Civil Commissioner at Rungpore.

Judicial Department, Fort William.—Oct. 30, Mr. W. O. Salmon to be Senior Judge of the Court of Appeal and Circuit, for the division of Calcutta.

Commercial Department, Fort William, Oct. 9.—Mr. George Chester to be Commercial Resident at Jungpore.

Territorial Department.—Sept. 18, Mr. T. Wyatt to be Head Assist. in the office of the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Lower Provinces.—Sept. 25, Mr. J. Hunter, Deputy Collector of Sea Customs at Calcutta.—Mr. C. R. Cartwright, Assistant to the Salt Agent, and Collector of Hedgelee.—Oct. 9, Mr. G. F. Brown, Assistant in the office of the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Lower Provinces. Oct. 16, Mr. H. Batson, 3d Member of the Board of Revenue in the Western Provinces.

Fort William, Oct. 31.—The right hon. the Governor General in Council was pleased, in this Department under the 23d instant, to resolve that a new office shall be constituted, under the designation of Revenue Surveyor General, for the control and direction of the various Village Surveys now in progress, or which may hereafter be instituted for Revenue or Judicial purposes, and to appoint Capt. J. A. Hodgson, 31st Regt. N. I. to that situation.

Mr. H. I. Middleton is appointed Collector of Etawah; Mr. H. Swetenham, do. of Sarwar; Mr. R. H. Boddam, do. of Sardabad; Mr. R. Lawthe, do. of Bolundshahur; Mr. J. French, do. of Backergunge.—Mr. W. H. Valpy, Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Western Provinces.—Mr. T. P. B. Bisca, Sub-collector and Joint Magistrate of Pillebhekt; Mr. H. G. Owen, do. of Etawah; Mr. W. Dundas, do. of Mozaffer Nugeor — Mr. H. H. Thomas, Head assistant in the Northern Division of the Dehlee Territory; Mr. S. Oldfield, do. do. of New Division; Mr. H. Graham, do. do. of Western Division.—Mr. R. Cathcart, Sub-collector of Delah; Mr. T. J. Turner, do. of Senpore; and Mr. N. Petrie, Collector of Purneah.

Fort William, Sept. 26.—Major V. Blacker, C. B. of the Madras Cavalry, who stands nominated by the Honorable the Court of Directors to the office of Surveyor General of India, having reported his arrival at Fort William, will receive charge of the Department from Capt. Hodgson.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Nov. 27.—The Governor in Council is pleased to notify the appointment of the Reverend W. Hovenden to be Secretary of the Military Orphan Institution.

Medical Department.—Oct. 3, Surgeon Peter Breton to be Superintendent of the School for Native Doctors, vice Jameson, deceased; Mr. J. Gray to be Assistant Surgeon, conformable to his appointment by the H. C. of Directors; Arthur Wyatt, to assist the Garrison Surgeon at Chunar. —Oct. 10, Deputy Surgeon Brown to be Surgeon, and Surgeon James Johnson, Deputy Superintending Surgeon, from 25th July, vice Keys, deceased.—Oct. 17, Assistant Surgeons W. S. Shaw, to be Surgeon, vice Johnson, promoted; H. H. Wilson, Rice Davies, knight, J. Rankin, M. D., A. Napier, E. M'Donald, B. Hardtman, J. Lamb, P. Halkitt, G. Govan, M. D., and E. Muston, to be Surgeons, from 27 Sept. 1823; H. Harris, to perform the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Backergunge; W. Graham, M. D. those of the Civil Station of Chittagong, vice M'Rae, deceased; and W. Taylor to the Civil Station of Furruckabad.—Nov. 14, A. S. J. Smith, to perform the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Sarun, vice Muston, promoted; Assistant Surgeon J. M. Tod, to perform the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Purneah, vice Napier, promoted.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Cawnpore, Sept. 30.—Lieut. Charles Alexander Wrottesley, of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, is appointed as extra Aide-de-Camp to his Excellency the Commander in Chief in India.

Fort William, Oct. 17.—Lieut. Crole, of His Majesty's 11th Dragoons, and Cornet Archibald, of the 8th Regt. Light Cavalry, to be Aides-de-Camp on the establishment of the Governor General's Staff.

Head Quarters, Cawnpore, Oct. 1823.—Lieut. Wetherell, of His Majesty's 11th Dragoons, is appointed Aide-de-Camp to Major General Sir G. Pritzler, K. C. B.

Fort William, Sept. 18.—Capt. R. Armstrong, 14th N. I. to be 2d Assist. Military Auditor General in succession to Wiggins, promoted.

Head Quarters, Camp Khodat Gung, Nov. 13.—Lieut. J. W. G. Ouseley, of 14th Regt. N. I. is appointed to be Examiner in the College, vice Price.

Commissariat Department, Fort William, Nov. 21.—Capt. R. B. Fulton, of the Regt. of Artillery, is appointed Assistant to the Agent for gun carriages at Cossipore.

Fort William, Nov. 27.—The Governor General appoints Lieutenant Colonel A. M'Cleod, C.B. to be Commander of Artillery, from the date of the despatch of the ship on which Major Gen. Hardwick may embark for Europe.—The Gov. General is pleased to make the following promotions in the Commissariat Department, in succession to Capt. Lumsdane, advanced to the office of Deputy Commissary General—Brevet Capt. D. Bruce, from the 2d to the 1st class of Assistants Commissary General. — Capt. C. W. Brooke, Sub-Assistant, to be an Assistant Commissary General in the 2d class—Brevet Captain J. D. Parsons, supernumerary, is brought on the effective strength of the Department as a Sub-Assistant Commissary General;—The Governor General in Council is also pleased to create the intermediate rank of Deputy Assistant Commissary General, and to promote to that rank the eight senior Sub-Assistants. — To be Deputy Assistants Commissary General;—1st Class. Capt. J. Taylor, 3d Regt. of Native Infantry; Brevet Capt. A. Harvey, 33d Regt. of Native Infantry; Lieut. W. W. Rees, 25th Regt. of Native Infantry; Lieut. I. G. Burns, 6th Regt. of Native Infantry.—2d Class. Brevet Capt. E. C. Sneyd, 3d Regiment of Native Infantry; Captain J. H. Little, 10th Regt. of Native Infantry; Capt. W. A. Yates, 34th Regt. of Native Infantry; Brevet Capt. S. P. C. Humphreys, 18th Regt. of Native Infantry. —Major T. E. Higgins, 22d N. I. to be Agent for army clothing, 2d Div., vice Stuart, promoted; Capt. J. Oliver to officiate as Sub-Assistant to the H. C. Stud., vice Hunter, removed.

Fort William, Oct. 17.—Lieut. Gen. Sir R. Blair is transferred to the Senior List, vice Hussey, deceased; Ensign J. Thompson is appointed Field Engineer to the Malway Force, vice Lieut. Walter.

Head Quarters, Cawnpore, Oct. 1.—The following have been appointed Interpreters and Quarter Masters: Lieutenant General G. L. Vauyetti to the 1st Bat. 2d Regiment N. I., vice Baldwin, promoted; Lieut. J. W. Ingram to 2d Bat. 3d Regt. N. I., vice Newton, removed to 33d Regt.; Lieut. C. Field to 1st Bat. 8th Regt. N. I., vice Bignell, removed to 32d Regt.; Lieut. E. E. Manning to 1st Bat. 10th Regt., N. I., vice Scott, removed to 18th Regt.; Lieut. R. Thorpe to 2d Bat. 10th Regt., vice Bacon, removed to 33d Regt.; Lieut. C. R. Bellew to 1st Bat. 18th Regt. N. I., vice F. I. Bellew, removed to 31st Regt.; Lieut. Peter Craigie to 2d Bat. 19th Regt. N. I., vice Lawrence, removed to 34th Regt.; Brevet Capt. Steele to 2d Bat. 21st Regt. N.I., vice Williamson, promoted; Lieut. J. G. Gouldhawke to 2d Bat. 30th Regt. N. I., vice Fitzgerald, promoted; Brevet Capt. R. Stewart to 1st Bat. 31st Regt. N. I.; Lieut. F. J. Bellew to 2d Bat. 31st Regt. N. I.; Brevet Capt. J. Davies to 2d Bat. 32d Regt N. I.; Lieut. W. Bignell to 1st Bat. 32d Regt. N. I.; Brevet Capt. G. S. B. Johnson to 2d Bat. 33d Regt. N. I.; Brevet Capt. Grant to 2d Bat. do.; Brevet Capt. A. M'Mahon to 1st Bat. 34th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. L. Vansandau to 2d Bat. do. —Oct. 13.—Lieut. G. C. Smith, Interpreter and Quarter Master to the 3d Light Cavalry, vice Bennet, deceased.—Oct. 27. Lieut. J. Cumberlege to be do. do. 24th Regt. N. I., vice M'Mahon, removed.—Nov. 7.—Lieut. H. Garstin to be Interpreter and Quarter Master of 6th Light Regt. Cavalry.

Head Quarters, Cawnpore, Nov. 3.—Lieut. T. Roberts is appointed Adjutant to 2d Bat. 26th Regt. N. I., vice Philips, removed.

Oct. 24.—Lieut. J. Jervis to be Adjutant to 2d Bat. 2d Regt. N. I., vice Lawrence, resigned.—Lieut. G. Chapman, do. do. 18th Regt. N. I., vice Fleming.

Nov. 13.—Lieut. J. D. Douglas, 27th Regt, N. I. do. do. 3d Regt. l. c.

Fort William, Sept. 18.—Brevet Capt. N. Wallace, doing duty with the Rungpore Bat. is appointed Adjutant to that Corps, vice Wake, resigned.

GENERAL ORDERS.

BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

Fort William, 26th Sept. 1823.

No. 122, of 1823.—The Governor General in Council is pleased to direct the Publication in General Orders, of the following Statements of Names and Shares of Officers of the Presidency of Fort Saint George, entitled to participate in the Consolidated Off-reckoning Fund for the year 1817, to complete the general detail of the distribution of Surplus Off-Reckonings for that year, published in General Orders of the 14th February last.

No. 1.—Statement of the Names of the Officers of the Presidency of Fort Saint George, entitled to share in the Consolidated Off-Reckoning Fund for the year 1817, showing the amount accruing to each individual.

Lieut. Gen. G. Roberts, full share	10028
Lieut. Gen. Archibald Brown, do.	10028
Lieut. Gen. F. Torrens, 19th Oct. to 31st Dec.—Do. Do. 1st Jan. to 18th Oct.	10028
Lieut. Gen. R. Croker, the late, 1st Jan. to 12th April	2829
Maj. Gen. Sir Tho. Munro, K.C.B. 14th April to 31st December ..	7198
Lieut. Gen. C. C. Lalande, full	10028
Lieut. Gen. D. Campbell, do. ..	10028
Lieut. Gen. Jn. Richardson, do. ..	10028
Lieut. Gen. Daniel Mc Neil, do. ..	10028
Lieut. Gen. Wm. Kinsey, do. ..	10028
Lieut. Gen. Thos. Bowser ..	10028
Lieut. Gen. John Orr, do. ..	10028
Major Gen. Robert Bell, do. ..	10028
Maj. Gen. Robert Mc Kay .	10028
Maj. Gen. Sir H. Mc Leane, K.C.B.	10028
Maj. Gen. Gab. Doveton, do. ..	10028
Maj. Gen. Sir Thos. Dallas, K.C.B.	10028

Maj. Gen. Alex. Cuppage, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. A. Taylor, the late, 1st Jan. to 6th Dec. 9341
Maj. Gen. Wm. McLeod, 7th Dec. to 31st Dec. 686
Maj. Gen. K. Mc Calister, full .. 10028
Maj. Gen. J. Chalmers, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Alex. Dyce, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Charles Corner, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Tredway Clarke, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. J. Durand, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. John Cuppage, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Ross Lang, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. J. Innes, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Colin Macauley, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Hon. A. St. Leger, do. 10028
Maj. Gen. John Dighton, do. .. 10028

No. 2.—Statement of Shares of Off-Reckonings for the year 1817, payable to the Sharers of the Presidency of Fort Saint George, who are in Europe, or who have died in Europe.

Lieut. Gen. George Roberts, full 10028
Lieut. Gen. A. Brown, do. .. 10028
Lieut. Gen. David Campbell, do.. 10028
Lieut. Gen. John Richardson, do. 10028
Lieut. Gen. Daniel McNeile, do.. 10028
Lieut. Gen. Wm. Kinsey, do. .. 10028
Lieut. Gen. Thomas Bowser, do.. 10028
Lieut. Gen. John Orr, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Robert Bell, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Robert McKay, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Sir H. McLean, K.C.B. 10028
Maj. Gen. Gabriel Doveton, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Sir Tho. Dallas, K.C.B. 10028
Maj. Gen. Alex. Cuppage, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. M. A. Taylor, 1st Jan. to 5th Dec. 10028
Maj. Gen. K. McCalister, full share 10028
Maj. Gen. J. Chalmers, C. B. do.. 10028
Maj. Gen. Alex. Dyce, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Charles Corner, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Tredway Clarke, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. John Cuppage, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Colin Macauley, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Hon. St. A. Leger, do.. 10028
Maj. Gen. Wm. McLeod, 7th to 31st Dec. 686
Total to Shares who are in Europe, or to the Heirs, &c. of those who have died in Europe, Sa. Rupees 220691

No. 3.—Statement of Balances of Sharers of Off-Reckonings for the year 1817, payable to Sharers of the Presidency of Fort Saint George who are in India, or to the Heirs, Administrators, or Assigns, of those who have died in India.

Lieut. Gen. F. Torrens, on the Senior List, from the 19th Oct. to ditto 10028
ditto 10028
31st Dec. and on full share, 1st Jan. to 18th Oct. 10028
Lieut. Gen. Robert Croker, 1st Jan. to 13th April 2829
Lieut. Gen. C. Lalande, full share 10028
Maj. Gen. Robert Bell, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. J. Durand, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Ross Lang, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. J. Innes, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. J. Dighton, do. .. 10028
Maj. Gen. Thos. Munro, from 14th April to 31st Dec. 7198
Total to Sharers who are in India, or the Heirs, &c. of those who have died in India S. Rupees 31716

Fort William, 27th Sept. 1823.

No. 128 of 1823.—The Governor General in Council directs, that the following lists of Rank and Cadets of Cavalry and Infantry, and of Assistant Surgeons, appointed for the presidency of Bengal, be published in General Orders.

No. 1, 1822.—Rank of Cadets appointed for the Bengal Cavalry and Infantry, and proceeding by the following ships, viz.

For the Cavalry.—Edw. Watt, abroad. John Christie, *General Kyd*, sailed 4th Jan. 1823.

For the Infantry.—Thos. Dixon, *Royal George*, 6th Dec. 1822.

John Villiers Forbes, William Anderson, *General Kyd*, 4th Jan. 1823.

Edward Darwall, William Little, Thomas Box, Charles Edward Reinagle, Samuel Athill Lyons, *Lady Campbell*, 4th Feb.

Frederick Sysonby, Charles Boulton, William Ridden, Andrew Barclay, Hamilton Vetch, *Hythe*, 18th Feb.

George Halhed, George Salter, George Urquhart, Charles Basely, Alexander Barclay, William Lisle Hall, Alexander Tweedale, John Symes Gifford, Charles Graham, Ewen Cameron Macpherson, Charles Jordon, George Bruce Mitchell, John Grove Sharpe, Richard Woodward, John Maisterson Farnworth, *Windsor*, 19th Feb.

Charles George Ross, *Atlas*, 27th Feb.
William Sawin, *Mellish*, 12th March.
Joseph Hampton Hampton, *Madras*, 14th March.

John Howard Wakefield, James William Virtue Stephen, William Baring Gould, James Coutts Crawford Gray, *William Miles*, 29th March.

George Edward Westmacott, William Drummond Kennedy, *Sophia*, 6th April.

No. 1, 1822.—Rank of Assistant Surgeons appointed for Bengal, and proceeding by the following Ships, viz:

Arthur Wyatt, *Royal George*, 6th Dec. 1822.
George Paxton, *Kent*, 5th Jan. 1823.
John Colvin, abroad.
John Halkerston, *Swallow*, 21st Jan. 1823.
John Poat Reynolds, *Hythe*, 18th Feb.
William Stevenson, abroad.
David Thomson, William Bell, *Windsor*, 19th Feb.
James Adair Lawrie, *Mellish*, 12th March.
Henry Harris, *Madras*, 14th March.
Clarke Abel, M.D. H.M.S. *Jupiter*, 15th March, from Plymouth.

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Camp Mahomedabed, Nov. 15th.—His Majesty has been pleased to make the following promotions:—

4th Dragoons. Lieut. R. Burrowes, to be Captain without purchase, vice Jarmy, deceased, 27th September, 1822.

13th Dragoons. Cornet R. Ellis, to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Brown, deceased.—Cornet W. Hislop, by purchase, vice Cockburn, promoted.—A. T. Cockburn, to be Cornet without purchase, vice Ellis, promoted.

14th Foot. Brevet Colonel W. T. Edwards, from 17th Foot, to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Macline, who exchanges. 4th Nov., 1822.—Lieutenant Joseph D. Ainsworth, to be Captain by purchase, vice Raynsford, who retires. Dec. 25th, 1822.—Ensign J. Watson, to be Lieutenant by purchase, vice Ainsworth.—H. S. La Roche, without purchase, vice O'Niel, deceased.—Lieutenants G. T. Finncare, and Edward L'Estrange, to bear the rank of Brevet Captains, in India only.

30th Foot. Lieutenant J. H. Light to bear the rank of Brevet Captain, in India only. 27 Oct., 1823.—Lieutenant Sullivan, to be Captain without purchase, vice Machill, deceased. 18th November, 1822. —Ensign Charles Dean, to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Sullivan. 18th Nov. 1822.—C. W. Barrow, to be Ensign without purchase, vice Deane. 18th Nov. 1822.

38th Foot. Lieutenant J. Matthews, to be Captain of a Company without purchase, vice Read, deceased. Oct. 23, 1823. —Ensign Grimes, to be Lieutenant, vice Matthews.

41st Foot. Captain James Lewis Hill, to be Major without purchase, vice Mc Cay, deceased.—Lieutenant N. B. Bluett, to be Captain of a Company without purchase, vice Hill, promoted.—Ensign J. G. Bedingfield, to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Bluett.

44th Foot. Ensign W. Sargeant, with purchase, vice Twineberrow, deceased. Nov. 17th, 1822.

59th Foot. Captain David Graham, to be Major without purchase, vice Halford, deceased. May 22d, 1823.—Lieutenant R. Manners, to be Captain, vice Graham. May 22d, 1823.—Ensign A. Macdonald, to be Lieutenant, vice Manners. May 22d, 1823.

67th Foot. Lieutenant K. Cassedy, to be Captain without purchase, and Lieut. T. J. Adair, to be Captain with purchase. —Ensign P. Brannan, to be Lieutenant, vice Cassedy, without purchase; and W. Child, to be Ensign without purchase, vice Braunan. Nov. 13th, 1822.—Sergeant Major J. Johnson, to be Quarter Master, vice Gromly, deceased; and Lieutenant W. Blair, on half pay of the regiment, to be Paymaster, vice Pilford, deceased. 15th May, 1823.

89th Foot. Ensign J. R. Majindee, from 22d Foot, to be Lieutenant by purchase, vice McCrohan, who retires. May 15th, 1823.

NATIVE TROOPS.

Fort William, Oct. 1. The Governor General in Council, has been pleased to make following appointments and promotions:—

2d Regt. N. I. Major Henry Hodgson, to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Yule, on furlough.—Brevet Captain R. Chalmers, to be Adjutant to 1st Batt., vice Reynolds, promoted.

5th Regt. N. I. Brevet Captain W. C. Deuleg, to be Adjutant of 1st Batt., vice Chambers, promoted.—Lieut. J. Croudace, to be Adjutant of 2d Batt., vice Smith, removed to the 34th Regiment.

6th Regt. Brevet Captain R. Pringle, to be Adjutant of 1st Batt., vice Chambers, promoted.—Ensign James Hannay, to be Lieutenant, from September 11th, vice Conway, deceased.

8th Regt. N. I. Ensign Henry Charlton, to be Lieutenant, vice Oliphant, deceased, from Nov. 2, 1823.

12th Regt. N. I. Captain C. Ryan, to be Major.—Lieutenant and Brevet Fore Campbell, to be Captain of a Company.—Ensign W. James, to be Lieutenant, vice Hodgson, promoted.

15th Regt. N. I. Ensign W. H. Leacock, to be Lieut., vice White, struck off, with rank, from 11th Sept. 1820.

18th Regt. N. I. Lieut. J. R. Troup, to be Adjutant of 1st Batt., vice Godly, promoted.

21st Regt. N. I. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. Gilbert Watson, to be Capt. of a Company; and Ensign Wm. Tritton, to be Lieut., from 1st Nov. 1823, vice Cassment, deceased.

25th Regt. N. I. Lieut. H. J. White, to be Adjut. of 2d Batt., vice Woodburne, removed.

30th Regt. Ensign Frederick Vaughan McGrath, to be Lieut., vice Curgenven, deceased.

31st Regt. Lieut. J. R. Stock, to be Adjut. of 1st Batt.; and Lieut. J. H. Smith to 2d Batt.

32d Regt. Brevet Capt. F. Mackenzie, to be Adjut. to the 1st Batt., and Lieut. J. H. Mackinay to 2d Batt.

33d Regt. Lieut. R. W. Wilson, to be Adjut. of 1st Batt. and Lieut. R. Delemair to 2d Batt.

34th Regt. Brevet Capt. J. Smith, to be Adjut. of 1st Batt., and Brevet Captain R. S. Phillips to 2d Batt.

2d Nusseree Batt. Lieut. H. Lawrence, 34th Regt., to be Adjut., vice Speek, promoted.

Burdwan Prov. Batt. Lieut J. S. Mosteyn, of 2d Regt., to be Adjut., vice Manson, appointed to the Surveying Department.

Fort William, Oct. 17, 1823.—The undermentioned Cornets, Ensigns, and Assistant Surgeons, are to rank from the date expressed opposite to the names.

CAVALRY.

Cornet John Christy	..	4th June, 1823

INFANTRY.

Ensigns.

Thomas Dickson	..	13th April, 1823
John Villiers Forbes	..	18th do.
William Anderson	..	21st do.
Edward Darvall	..	1st May,
William Little	..	10th do.
Thomas Box	..	do. do.
Charles Edw. Reinagle		16th do.
Samuel Athill Lyons	..	17th do.
Fred. Sysonby (deceased)		19th do.
Charles Boulton	..	23d do.
William Riddle	..	28th do.
Andrew Barclay	..	6th June,
Hamilton Vetch	..	15th do.
George Halped	..	20th do.
George Salter	..	20th do.
George Urquhart	..	29th do.
Charles Baseley	..	10th July,
William Leslie Hall	..	11th do.
Alexander Tweedale	..	do. do.
John Smyes Gifford	..	do. do.
Charles Graham	..	do. do.
Owen C. Macpherson	..	do. do.
Charles Jordan	..	do. do.
George Bruce Michell	..	do. do.
John Grone Sharpe	..	do. do.
Richard Woodward	..	do. do.
John M. Farnworth	..	do. do.
Charles George Ross	..	do. do.
William Saurir	..	do. do.
J. Hampton Hampton	..	do. do.
J. Howard Wakefield	..	do. do.
J. Wm. Virtue Stephen		do. do.
William Baring Gould		do. do.
James C. Crawford Gray		do. do.
Geo. Edw. Westmacott		do. do.
Wm. Drum. Kennedy	..	do. do.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Assistant Surgeons.

Arthur Wyatt	..	6th Dec. 1822
George Paxton	..	5th Jan. 1823
John Colvin	..	17th do.
John Halkerston	..	21st do.
J. P. Reynolds	..	18th Feb.
W. Stevenson	..	18th do.
William Bell	..	19th do.
J. Adair Lawrie	..	12th March
Henry Harris	..	15th do.
Charles Abel, M.D.	..	15th do.

REMOVALS.

Cawnpore, Oct. 14.—44th Foot, Lieut. James Paton from 57th Regt. to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Nixon, deceased. —46th Foot, Ensign George Varlo, from 59th Regt., vice Drew, promoted.

Head Quarters, Sept. 23d.—Lieutenant William Thomas, of 89th Foot, to be Lieutenant of 13th Foot, vice Shiel, who exchanges.—Lieut. Arthur Shiel, from 13th to 89th Foot, vice Thomas, who exchanges. —Lieutenant G. L. Bauthee, from 69th Regiment to 41st Foot, vice Sargeant, who exchanges to the former Regiment.

Calcutta, Sept. 17.—Lieutenant Col. Boyde, from the European Regiment, to 1st Batt. 33d Regt.—Lieutenant Colonel Mac Innes, from 1st Batt. 30th, to 1st Batt. 31st N. I.—Lieutenant Colonel Broughton, from 2d Batt. 11th, to 1st Batt. 7th Regt. N. I.—Lieutenant Col. Commandant J. Dewer, to 23d N. I.—Lieut. Col. A Richards, to 2d Batt. 33d N. I.—Lieutenant S. Nation, to 2d Batt. N. I.—Major E. H. Simpson, Captain J. L. Earle, and Lieutenant A. T. J. Wilson, 8th N. I. to 1st Batt.—Major J. Ferguson, and Lieut. J. Jones, to 2d Batt. 23d Regt.—Lieut. W. M. N. Sturt to 1st Batt. 7th Regiment.—Lieutenant Colonel Commandant J. V. Smith, from 5th to the 10th Reg. N. I.—Lieutenant Colonel C. S. Fagan, to the European Regt.—Lieut. Colonel J. Durant, to the 2d Batt. 1st Regiment.—Lieutenant Col. J. Vaughan, to the 1st Batt. 4th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Colonel L. Wiggens, to the 1st Batt. 13th Regt. N. I.—Lieutenant Colonel W. B. Walker, to the 1st Batt. 22d Regt. N. I. —Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Taylor, to the 2d Batt. 31st Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Col. G. Sargeant, to the 1st Batt. 32d Regt. N. I.—Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Harriot, to the 2d Batt. 32d Regiment N. I.—Lieut. Colonel J. L. Stuart, 2d Batt. 34th Regt. N. I.—Captain J. Garner is removed from 1st to 2d Batt. 15th Regt. N. I.; and Captain A. Shouldham, from the latter to the former Batt.—Lieutenant W. R. L. Faithful, from 2d to 1st Batt. 22d Regt. N. I.; and Lieutenant A. Webster is posted to the former Batt.

Head Quarters, Cawnpore, 14th Oct.—Lieutenant James Paton, from 57th Regt. to 44th Foot.—Ensign Varlo, from 59th Regiment to the 46th Foot.—Captain R. Swinton, from 17th Foot to 20th Regt. Nov. 12th.—Brigade Major Watson, is posted to the Presidency division of the army.—Brevet Captain and Adjutant John Campbell is removed to 1st Batt., and Brevet Captain and Adjutant B. Wooley, to 2d Batt. 30th Regiment.—Brevet Capt. and Adjutant F. McKenzie is removed to 2d Batt., and Lieutenant and Adjutant Mackinlay, to 1st Batt. 32d Regt.

Medical Department.—Oct. 3d. Surgeon W. L. Grant, to 31st Regt. 2d Batt.—Surgeon Lemond, from 2d to 1st Batt. 15th Regt.—Surgeon Moscrop, to 1st Batt. 33d Regiment.—Assistant Surgeons Drever, from 1st to 2d. Batt. 15th Regt.; W. S. Charters, from 1st Batt. 25th Regt. to 1st Batt. 1st. Regt.; C. K. Lindsey, 1st Batt. 25th Regt.; David Pullar, 2d Batt. 5th Regt.; J. Turnet, to 1st Batt. 31st Regt.; W. B. Mac Leod, from 2d Batt. 20th Regt. to 3d Batt. of Artillery. —13th Oct. Surgeon W. L. Grant, to 2d Batt. Artillery.—Surgeon E. McDonald, to 24th Regt. N. I.—J. Eckford, to 12th Regt. N. I.—J. Mackenzie, from 29th to 3d Regt. N. I.—W. Mansell, to 29th Regt. N. I.

FURLOUGHS.

Head Quarters, Cawnpore, Oct.—16th Lancers, Cornet Collins, two years to Europe, on private affairs.

20th Foot. Lieutenant the Honourable George Keppel, for two years to Europe, on private affairs.

44th Regt. Lieutenant Eastward, for two years to Europe, for the recovery of his health; and Lieutenant Woolard, for the same period.

46th Regt. Lieutenant Davidson, for one year to Europe, for the purpose of retiring on half-pay.

Fort William, Oct. 17.—Capt. John, of the 11th Regt. N. I. to proceed to England. —Nov. 7. The following Officers are permitted to proceed to Europe on private affairs: Brevet Capt. Charles Adolphus Monrow, of 7th Regt. N. I.; Brevet Capt. James Smith, of 34th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. and Brevet Capt. F. Mackenzie, 32d Regt. N. I.

Head Quarters, Lucknow, Nov. 3.—Ensign Jones, of 2d Regt. to Europe, for two years, and Capt. Steeky, do.; both for recovery of health.—Ensign Hutchinson, 46th Foot, to Europe, for same period, on private affairs.

Fort William, Nov. 21.—The undermentioned Officers are permitted to proceed to Europe, on account of their health: Lieut. Col. M. Fitzgerald, 3d Regt. Light Cav.; Lieut. J. W. E. Biscoe, do. do.; Lieut. W. D. Stewart, 3d Regt. N. I.; Lieut. D. L. Richardson, 28th do.; Capt. A. Oliver, 4th Regt. N. I. on private affairs; Capt. J. Hay. of 16th Regt. N. I. do. do.; Lieutenant and Brevet Captain F. M'Kenzie, of 32d Regt. N. I. via Bombay.

BOMBAY.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Political Department, Bombay Castle, Nov. 10.—Major Edward Belassis, to be Private Secretary to the Honourable the Governor, vice Stannus. — Lieut.-Col. E. G. Stannus, to be Resident in the Persian Gulf, vice Lieut. Macleod, deceased.

Territorial Department, Bombay Castle, Sept. 19.—Mr. F. J. H. Reeves, 2d Assistant to the Collector of Kaira.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

General Orders, Bombay Castle, Nov. 14. —Capt. R. E. Burrows, of His Majesty's 20th Regt., to be Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to the Governor; and Lieut. R. R. Gillespie, of His Majesty's 4th Dragoons, to be Aide de-Camp to ditto.

Bombay Castle, Nov. 18.—The Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint E. M. Ennis, of 2d Batt. 11th Regt., to superintend the erection of public buildings at Broach.—Oct. 25th. Lieut. G. P. Le Mesurier, Assistant Surveyor in the Deckan, of the 1st Class, vice Gordon, resigned—Ensign Forster, of the Engineers, to the vacancy of Senior of the Junior Class, vice Le Mesurier.

Nov. 18. Lieut. C. Jas. Westley is appointed Interpreter and Quarter Master to the 1st Batt. 10th N. I.—Sept. 13. Lieut. A. Morse Assistant Quarter Master to the ——of the Guicowar Subsidiary Force, to perform the duties of Commissary of Stores in the Northern.—Capt. E. Jervis, 31st Regt., L. C., to succeed Capt. Sollieux, in the duty of purchasing the horses in the Persian Gulf.—Nov. 18. Lieut. Molesworth, Assistant Commissary Gen. will conduct the Commissariat duties at the Presidency during the Commissary General's absence.

Barrack Department.—Sept. 13, Capt. Graham, Barrack Master at Kaira, to take charge of the Pay Department in the Northern Concan.

Adjutant General's Department.—Oct. 10. Capt. J. H. Aitcheson, 3d Regt., N. I. Prov. Brigade Major, to be Assistant Adjutant General to the Guicowar Subsidiary Force, vice Whitehill promoted; date of appointment, Sept. 28, 1823.—Captain W. Ogilvie, 12th Regt. N. I., to perform the duties of Assistant Adjutant General to the Guicowar Subsidiary Force, until the return of Captain Aitcheson from Calcutta.

Sept. 19.—Lieut. W. H. Wakefield, 7th Regt. N. I. Fort Adjutant at Gonnah.—Dec. 3. Lieut. George Duvernal, is appointed Adjutant to Ist Batt. 5th N. I.

General Orders, Bombay, Sept. 18.—Captain Stokoe, Invalid Batt. is appointed to command the garrison of Gonnah, vice Buthe, deceased.—Sept. 25. Major Campbell, 2d Batt. 9th Regt. having resigned the office of President of the Committee of Survey, Capt. Morrison, Senior Member of the Committee, is appointed to succeed him.—Capt. F. Roome, Superintendent of the Cadet Establishment, is appointed a Member of the Committee. —Oct. 25. Lieut. Jas. Scott, of 12th Regt. N. I. to act as Fort Adjutant at Surat, until further orders, vice Rankin.—Lieut. J. W. Gordon, Adjutant to the 1st Extra Batt. vice Bellassis, promoted till further orders. — Oct. 10. Lieut. Rankin, 12th Regt. N. I. Fort Adjutant at Surat, to be Brigade Major to the forces, vice Aitcheson.

Medical Department, Sept. 13.—Mr. George Robson is admitted as Assistant Surgeon. — Nov. 10. Assistant Surgeon Riach, to be Surgeon to the Residency of Bushire, in succession to Milward, deceased.—Oct. 16. Assistant Surgeon, R. T. Barra, to the charge of the Lunatic Asylum, vice Hathway.—Assistant Surgeon D. Shaw, Vaccinator at the Presidency, vice Barra.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Oct. 28.—*Engineers Corps*. Senior Ensign, F. Outram, to be

Lieutenant, vice Macleod, deceased; date of rank, Sept 21.

Cavalry.—1*st. Regt. L. C.* Sept. 20.—Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Wilkins, to be Captain of Troop, and Cornet C. J. Conyngham, to be Lieut. in succession to Sollieux, deceased; to bear date from August 3.

2*d Regt. L. C.* Lieut. G. C. Rybot, to have Brevet rank.

Infantry.—3*d. Regt. N. I.* Major James Southerland, to be Lieut. Colonel, vice Smith, deceased, with rank from Sept. 28.

4*th Regt. N. I.* Lieut. J. B. Seely, to have rank of Captain from September, 1823.—Ensign A. H. Bond, to be Lieut. vice Graham, deceased; date of Rank, Nov. 27, 1823.

5*th Regt. N. I.* Senior Capt. Chas. Whitehill, to be Major.—Lieut. J. H. Bellassis, to be Captain and Ensign—R. T. Lancaster, to be Lieut. vice Southerland promoted.

6*th Regt.* Nov. 14.—Lieut. W. H. Jackson, to be Adjutant, vice Johnson proceeding on Furlough.

9*th Regt.* Sept. 25.—Lieut. G. Moore, to have Brevet Rank, Nov. 10.—Ensign G. B. Forster, to be Lieut. vice Kinsey, deceased; date of Rank, Nov. 6, 1823.—Ensign R. H. H. Fawcett, to be Lieut. vice Harvey, deceased.

FURLOUGHS.

Bombay Castle, Oct. 10. — Surgeon Hewett, of 5th Regt. N. I. to proceed to Europe for three years, on his private affairs.

Oct. 23.—Capt. Marcus Blackall, of 6th Regt. N. I. to proceed to England for three years, for recovery of his health.

Nov. 7.—Major Litchfield, of 2d Regt. of Cavalry, to proceed to England on Furlough, for recovery of his health.

Nov. 14.—Major James Moore, 1st Batt. 7th Regt.—Lieut. C. H. Johnson, 1st Batt. 6th Regt.—Lieut. and Quarter Master H. Hancock, 2d Batt. 10th Regt. are allowed to proceed to Europe on urgent private affairs.

Nov. 18. — Lieut. C. Hogart, of the European Regt. to Europe, on sick certificate, for three years.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Territorial Department, Oct. 6.—Mr. Walter Elliot, Madras Civil Service, to be principal Collector in Southern Mahratta Country.—Mr. F. A. Robson, Treasurer and Secretary to the Government Bank.—Mr. A. J. Drummond, Deputy Collector of Madras, and Superintendent of the Custody and Issue of Stationary.

PROMOTIONS.

Sept. 16.—European Regt.: Ensign P. Chambers, to be Lieutenant, vice Ellarby, deceased.—The following Officers are promoted to Brevet rank, from this date: Lieut. J. T. Webbe, 7th N. I.; Lieut. J. E. Bruce, 18th N. I.; Lieut. J. G. Mitford, 5th N. I.; Lieut. A. M'Leod, 22d N. I.; Lieut. F. W. Morgan, 1st N. I.; Lieut. G. Willock, 5th Cavalry; Lieut. D. A. Flemming, 5th Cavalry.

REMOVALS.

Sept. 15.—5th Regt. N. I.; Major G. Mansell, posted to 2d Battalion; Capt. J. Anderson, to 1st Battalion; Lieut. J. G. Midford, removed from 2d to the 1st Battalion.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Sept. 25th. At Midnapore, Mrs. Miranda, of a daughter; at Digah, Mrs. A. Willson, of a daughter; at Barrackpore, the lady of John Dick, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a still-born son; the wife Mr. T. W. Flashman, of a son.—27th. At Calcutta, Mrs. C. D. Pento, of a son.—28th. At Delhi, Mrs. E. P. Staines, of a daughter.—30th. At Calcutta, the wife of Mr. T. B. Bennett, of H. C. Marine, of a daughter.—Oct. 1st. At Burdwan, the lady of Capt. J. Aubert, of a daughter; at Kidderpore, Mrs. Shearman, of a son.—5th. At Allipore, the lady of Henry Oakeley, Esq. of a still-born child; at Barrackpore, the lady of Capt. James Read, of a son.—6th. At the Botanical Garden, the lady of N. Wallich, Esq. of a son.—8th. The lady of Colonel Edwards, of His Majesty's 14th foot, of a daughter.—17th. At Barrackpore, the lady of Capt. J. H. White, 1st Cavalry, of a son.—18th. At Calcutta, the lady of Capt. W. Kennedy, 1st. Assistant Auditor General, of a daughter; on board the Hon. Company's ship Minerva, at sea, the lady of Major John Craigie, of a son.—20th. At Calcutta, the lady of Lieut. J. Hale, of Artil. of a daughter; at Gazepore, the lady of Quarter Master Paul H. M. 87th Regt.—21st. At Dinapore, the lady of Lieut. Col. F. Richards, of a daughter; at Tirhoot, the lady of J. Brown, Esq. of a daughter.—22d. At Bareilly, the lady of Robert Limond, Esq. 15th Regiment, of a son.—23d. At Bessalpore, the lady of Major T. G. Alder, of a son; at Calcutta, the lady of F. Paschaud, Esq. of a daughter.—24th. At Calcutta, the lady of Capt. T. Macan, 16th Lancers, of a daughter.—25th. At Calcutta, the lady of C. K. Robison, of a son.—27th. At Hazzaree Baug, the lady of Capt. H. L. Playfair, of a daughter.—28th. At Calcutta, the lady of

John Bagshaw, Esq. of a son.—29th. At Fort William, the lady of J. Sullivan, Esq. of a son; at Chittagong, the lady of Capt. William Hodgson, 13th Regt. N. I. of a son; at Cawnpore, the lady of Capt. W. W. Davis, 6th Regt. N. I. of a son.—30th. At Monghyr, the lady of Capt. W. B. Salmon, of a son.—Nov. 5th. At Calcutta, the lady of J. Lewis, Esq. of a still-born daughter.—6th. At Calcutta, the lady of Lieut. Ouseley, of a daughter.—7th. At Dum Dum, the lady of John Bell, Esq. of a daughter.—11th. The lady of the late Capt. James Green, of the ship Liverpool, of a daughter.—15th. At Calcutta, the lady of Geo. Money, Esq. of a son.—16th. At Agra, the wife of the Rev. — Irving, of a daughter.—26th. At the Presidency, the lady of the Rev. Dr. Bryce, of a daughter; at Balasore, the lady of John Becher, Esq. of a son.—19th. At Kishenagur, the lady of J. Row, Esq. Assistant Surgeon, of a son; at Moradabad, the lady of N. J. Halhed, Esq. of a son; at the Presidency, the lady of C. Cary, Esq. Civil Service, of a son.—29th. At Chowringhee, the lady of G. Swinton, Esq. of a son.—30th. The lady of W. Ainslie, Esq. of a daughter.

Marriages.—Sept. 17th. At Secrole, Lieut. F. S. Hawkins Adjutant 1st Bat. 19th Regt. N. I., to Mary, eldest daughter of Major General Loveday, Commanding the Benares division of the army.—18th. At St. Nazareth's church, Lazar Agabeg, Esq. to Miss Reginald Gentloom Aviet.—26th. At Serampore, at the house of His Excellency the Governor Krefting, Capt. Walter Snow, of H. M. Service, to Sophia, Frederica, eldest daughter of the late N. Robeholm, Esq. of the Danish Service.—27th. At Calcutta, Mr. Charles Serraon, to Mrs. Charlotte Harrison, widow of the late Capt. Edward Harrison.—31st. At Delhi, Mr. Edward Claxton, to Miss Mary Magness; Mr. Anthony Norris, to Mary Sophia Dodswell; Mr. James Horan, to Miss Maria Catherine Hunter; and Mr. George David Grey, to Miss Ann Guthrie. —Oct. 4th. Mr. Jos. Edward Roch, to Miss Anna Maria D'Cruz.—11th. At Asseerghur, Lieut. T. H. Turton, of 1st Batt. 11th Regt. N. I. to Miss Ann Crump.—Nov. 1st. At Comillah, Lieut. T. Fisher, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, to Emily Maria, daughter of William Terrenean, of Sylet; At Berhampore, Lieut. and Adjutant Snodgrass, H. M. 38th Regiment, to Maria McDonald, eldest daughter of Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B.—5th. At Calcutta, Mr. H. Critchly, to Mrs. Marian M'Carthy; Henry Cavell, Esq. to Miss Jane Pool; and Captain G. Tomkins, to Miss Jesse Nash.—7th. At Calcutta, Henry Cranmer Gordon, Esq. to Miss C. Lucas.—8th. At Barrackpore, Lieutenant Vincent Shortland, to Mademoiselle M. C. E. Defouchy.—13th. At Calcutta, Mr. John Matthews, to Miss Mary Ann Roberts; Mr. Thomas Bartlett, to Miss Eliza Edmonds; and Mr. C. P. Sealey, to Miss Maria Ann Bartlett.—16th. At the Cathedral, Captain Walker, of H. C. Bombay Artillery, to Eliza, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, of Banff.—20th. E. Macintosh, Esq. to Miss Henrietta Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Charles Child, Esq.—27th. Rev. W. H. Mill, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Maria, eldest daughter of the Hon. J. R. Elphinstone, Senior Member of the Board of Revenue for the Central Provinces.

Deaths.—Oct. 4th. Captain B. S. Woodhead, formerly Commander of the ship Eliza.—6th. At Serampore, Henry Allen Williams, Esq. of the Civil Service, aged 35 years.—9th. At Kernaul, Lieutenant P. Middleton, 22d N. I.—13th. At Berhampore, Elizabeth, the wife of Lieutenant Aldwill Taylor, H. M. 38th Regt. foot.—23d. At the same place, Captain W. Read, H. M. 38th foot; at Chandernagore, Cazel Imbert, Esq. late Resident of the Netherland possessions at Calcapore.—29th. At Cawnpore, George Neyland, Esq. Paymaster of 16th Lancers.—Nov. 12th. The Rev. Francis Benedict Murphy, of the order of St. Francis; Mr. Charles Horsford, son of the late Major General Horsford, K. C. B.—14th. At Calcutta, the lady of Henry Oakley, Esq. of the Civil Service.—20th W Richardson, Esq. ship-Builder, aged 50 years; at Chowringhee, the infant son of the late Tredway Clarke, Esq. of the Civil Service.—26th. Mr. J. S. Cook, Wine Merchant, aged 57 years.

MADRAS.

Births.—Sept. 3d. At Myrtle Grove, the lady of Edward Gordon, Esq. of a daughter; at the Presidency, Mrs. Morphett, of a daughter.—9th. At Mysore, Mrs. Van Ingan, of a son; at Courtallam, the lady of W. F. Newlyn, Esq. of a son.—19th. At Courtallam, the lady of W. O. Shakespeare, of the H. C. Civil Service, of a daughter.—16th. Mrs. Julia Taylor, of a still-born girl.—18th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of H. Prichard, Esq. of a son.—19th. At St. Thomas's Mount, the lady of Capt. Abday, Commissary of Stores at that Station, of a son; In camp, at Jaulnah, the lady of Lieutenant R. Gibbings, of a son.—22d. At the Hyderabad Residency, Mrs. Rousseau, of a son.—26th. At Masulipatam, the lady of Lieutenant Colonel Kenny, 1st Batt. 17th N. I. of a daughter. —Oct. 1st. At Pondicherry, the lady of G. D. Drury, Esq. Civil Service, of a son.—4th. At the Mount, the lady of J. Stephenson, Esq. of a daughter.—5th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Captain C. A. Elderton, Military Paymaster, Southern Division, of a daughter.—10th. At Pursewaukam, the lady of Henry J. Vardon, Esq. of a son.—14th. At Belgaum, the lady of Major F. W. Wilson, of a daughter. —16th. At Quilon, the lady of Lieutenant Stewart, 2d Batt. 1st Regt. N. I. of a daughter; at Trichinopoly, the lady of

Captain Deane, Royal Regiment, of a son and heir.—24th. At Madras, the lady of J. M. Heath, Esq. of a daughter.—Nov. 1st. At Kaludgee, the lady of Captain Cuxton, of a son.—4th. The wife of Mr. John Rowland, of a son.—5th. Mrs. Talbot, of a son; at Madras, the lady of W. Par, Esq. of a son.

Marriage.—Nov. 12th. At Masulipatam, Capt. Kyd, Madras European Regt. to Mary Ann daughter of the late George Rose, Esq. of Crookham near Newbury.

Deaths.—Sept. 30th. At Pursuwakum, Major Adam Brown, aged 53 years.—Oct. 2d. Ann, only daughter of Mr. Henry Claudius.—6th. At Bangalore, the wife of the Rev. A. Forbes; at the Presidency, E. R. Sullivan, Esq. of H. C. Civil Service.—24th. At Mangalore, Elizabeth, wife of W. Sheffield, Esq., Judge of that Station.—25th. At Vizanagrum, Charlotte, wife of Major J. H. Smith, commanding at that Station.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Sept. 26th. At Colabah the lady of the Rev. J. Laurie of a son.—Oct. 5th. At Bycullah, the lady of Capt. Manson of the Regt. of Artillery of a son.—7th. The lady of Dr. Keys of a son.—At Poonah, the lady of Lieut. Col. Mayne, of a daughter.—25th. Mrs. Leggett, of a son.—27th. The lady of Lieut. Col. Cowper, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Sept. 7th. Capt. T. M'Carthy, of the ship Carron, to Mrs. Capon, widow of the late Capt. Capon.—25th. At St. Thomas' Church, Mr. W. Evans, Conductor of Ordn., to Mrs. A. J. Johnstone, widow of the late Conductor, R. Johnstone.—30th. Lieut. Alexander Adam, of Madras Establishment, to Ann, eldest daughter of H. Willis, Esq.—Oct. 11th. At Asseergurh, Henry Turton, Esq. B. N. I., to Ann, daughter of R. Crump, Esq., of Charlton, Gloucestershire.—13th. Lieut. W. Reynolds, to Miss Amelia Gillis, eldest daughter of the late W. Gillis of the Civil Service.—14th. At Surat, G. W. Anderson, Esq., of Hon. Company's Civil Service, to Eliza, daughter of William Ironside, of Houghton-le-Spring.—21st. C. South, Esq., Lieut. H. M. 20th Regt., to Miss Sophia Ann Alvagez.

Deaths.—Oct. 4th. Ensign R. J. M'Nab, Bombay European Regt., aged 19.—Oct. 7th. The infant son of Lieut. W. L. Adjt. Rajkote.—8th. At Maundorah, Lieut. M. Goldsmith, of His Highness the Nizam's Artillery.—Nov. 7th. At Burnass, Ensign Phillip Packhouse, of 2d Batt., 2d Regt.—15th. At Poonah, the lady of Capt. W. J. Galloway of 5th Regt. N. I.—18th. At Poonah, R. Ouseley, Esq., Assistant Surgeon.—26th. At Malligaum, Lieut. F. Graham, 1st Batt. 4th N. I.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Birth.—April 14th. At Greenwich, the lady of Geo. Aug. Bond, Esq. of the Hon. E. I. Company's Service, of a daughter.

Marriages.—March 30th. At Hackney, by the Rev. Professor Lewton, of the E. I. College, the Rev. R. Davis, M.A. of Kelburn, to Jane, eldest daughter of the late James Weston, Esq., of Fenchurch-street.—April 8th. Jesse Cole, Esq. to Letitia Charlotte, youngest daughter of the late De Courcy Ireland, Esq., and niece to the Hon. Sir Edmund Stanley, Chief Justice at Madras; Mr. William Thompson, to Jane Maynard, only daughter of Henry Seally, Esq., of the East India House.—14th. At Weymouth, the Rev. David Laing, of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, youngest son of the late David Laing, Esq. of Jamaica, to Mary Elizabeth, second daughter of John West, Esq. of the same Island.

Deaths.—April 5th. The Hon. Mrs. Turnour, wife of the Hon. and Rev. E. J. Turnour, M.A. and daughter of the late Wm. Richardson, Esq., Accountant Gen. of the Hon. E. I. Company.—9th. In Hampshire, John Blagrove, Esq. of Jamaica, and of Aukerroyke House, Bucks, aged 70.—10th. At Dulwich, in the 7th year of his age, William, fourth son of James Hallet, Esq. of Bombay.—15th. Sutherland Meek, Esq. M.D. late Member of the Medical Board at Bombay.—17th. Shortly after his return from sea, in the naval service of the Hon. E. I. Company, John Stayner, fourth son of Charles Bosanquet, Esq., of Hampstead Heath, in the 22d year of his age.—23d. At Twickenham, Richard Twining, Esq., aged 74.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
April 3	Beaumaris ..	Dorothy	Garnock ..	Batavia ..	Dec. 13
April 4	Off Dover ..	Lord Castlereagh	Durant ..	Bombay	Nov. 30
April 4	Off Plymouth	Charles Grant ..	Hay	China ..	Dec. 15
April 4	Off Penzance	Farquharson ..	Cruikshank	China ..	Dec. 9
April 4	Off the Start ..	Franklin	Swan ..	Batavia ..	Dec. 26
April 6	Off Falmouth	Inglis	Serle ..	China ..	Dec. 13
April 6	Off Falmouth	Intrepid Patriot		Mauritius	Dec. 26
April 7	Off Plymouth	Cadmus	Talbot ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 25
April 8	Off Plymouth	Concordia	Bass	Batavia ..	Dec. 8
April 9	Off Portsmouth	K. S. Forbes ..	Chapman	Bombay	Dec. 13
April 10	Downs	Batavia	Blair ..	Batavia	Dec. 12
April 11	Downs	Lord Suffield ..	Brown ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 24
April 11	Downs	Stentor	Harris ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 8
April 11	Off the Lizard	Helena Christina		Java ..	Dec. 1
April 11	Downs	Juliana	Webster ..	Mauritius	Dec. 25
April 12	Off Portsmouth	Sophia	Sutton ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 13
April 13	Cowes	Portsea	Worthington	Bengal ..	Oct. 11
April 14	Portsmouth ..	Jemima	Watt ..	Batavia	Nov. 13
April 14	Off Penzance	Levant	Cabot ..	Batavia	Dec. 29
April 14	Off Scilly ..	Telemaque		Batavia	Dec. 30
April 14	Dublin	Salisbury	King ..	Cape ..	Jan. 23
April 20	Scilly	Scotia	Lennox ..	Cape ..	Jan. 23
April 22	Off Lymington	Herefordshire ..	Hope ..	China ..	Dec. 16
April 22	Ditto	Kellie Castle ..	Adams ..	Ditto ..	Dec. 26
April 22	Off Worthing	Thomas Grenville	Manning ..	Madras ..	Jan. 2
April 25	Cowes	Alfred	Dolge ..	Singapore	Nov. 17
April 22	Off Portsmouth	P. Charl. of Wales	Gribble ..	Madras ..	Jan. 2

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.
Oct. 25	Bengal ..	John Taylor ..	Atkinson ..	Liverpool
Oct. 25	Bengal ..	Albion	Swanson ..	Liverpool
Oct. 29	Bengal ..	Ganges	Cumberledge ..	London
Oct. 29	Sydney ..	Allies	Keaston ..	London
Nov. 6	Madras ..	Boyne	Lawson ..	London
Nov. 11	Bombay ..	Columbia ..	Chapman ..	Liverpool
Nov. 22	Singapore	Doris	Roberts ..	Liverpool
Dec. 29	Madras ..	Windsor Castle	Lee	London
Feb. 5	Mauritius ..	Lucy Davidson	Williams ..	London
Feb. 6	Mauritius ..	Providence ..	Remmington ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Departure.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
April 5	Portsmouth ..	Chapmam ..	Milbank ..	New South Wales
April 6	Portsmouth ..	Phenix	White	New South Wales
April 6	Portsmouth ..	Tyne	Warrington ..	Madras
April 6	Cork	Amorah ..	Boyd	New South Wales
April 11	Deal	Denmark Hill	Freeman ..	Van Diemen's Land
April 15	Deal	Mellish	Cole	Bengal
April 16	Portsmouth ..	Golconda ..	Edwards	Madras and Bengal
April 16	Portsmouth ..	Superb	George ..	China
April 24	Deal	Princess Amelia	Williams ..	China
April 24	Deal	Alacrity ..	Findlay	Madeira and Cape
April 25	Portsmouth ..	Upton Castle ..	Thacker ..	Bombay
April 25	Gravesend ..	Orwell	Favier	China
April 25	Gravesend	Marq. of Huntley	Fraser	China
April 26	Portsmouth ..	Deveron	Wilson	Van Diemen's Land
April 27	Gravesend ..	Thames	Haviside ..	China
April 27	Gravesend ..	Mary	Watson	Cape and St. Helena

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Port of Departure.	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Downs	Resource	Fenn	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	Lord Amherst	Lucas	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	Exmouth	Owen	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	David Scott	Thornhill	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	Lady Raffles	Coxwell	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	Cornwall	Bunyon	Madras and Bengal
Downs	Fairlie	Aldham	Madras and Bengal
Downs	Pyramus	Brodie	Madras and Bengal
Portsmouth	Triumph	Green	Bombay
Downs	Simpson	Simpson	Bombay
Downs	Mediterranean	Stewart	Ceylon
Downs	George	Cuzens	Ceylon and Madras
Downs	Timandra	Wray	Mauritius and Ceylon
Downs	Resolution		St. Helena
Downs	Active	Charlton	New S. Wales & Otaheite
Downs	Princess Charlotte	Blyth	Van D. L. & New S. Wales
Downs	Cumberland	Carns	Van D. L. & New S. Wales
Liverpool	Bencoolen	Kirkwood	Bengal
Liverpool	Clydesdale	Moviro	Bengal
Liverpool	Dorothy	Garnock	Bombay
Cork	Bridget	Leslie	Van Diemen's Land

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	*P. of Depart.*	*Lat. and Long.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Dec. 15	London	Near Saugor Point	Mary	Ardlie	Bengal
Jan. 22	Ditto	Off St. Jago	Echo	Dunlop	Cape
Dec. 8	Ditto	1 N. 85 E.	Royal Charlotte	Graham	Mauritius
Dec. 21	Ditto	35 S. 41 E.	George the Fourth	Prissick	Ditto
Mar. 4	Mauritius	2.40 N. 22.24 W.	Ellen	Camper	Cowes
Feb. 14	Bengal	12.15 10 W.	Stentor	Harris	London
Mar. 1	London	1.30 N. 22.30 W.	Duchess of Athol		Beng. & Ch.
Feb. 24	Liverpool	16 S. 30 W.	Princess Charlotte	M'Kean	Bengal
Feb. 14	London	36.11 S. 21.51	Bombay Merchant	Kemp	Bombay
Feb. 17	Ditto	3.16 N. 20.21 W.	Castle Huntley	Drummond	Bom. & Ch.
Mar. 21	Ditto	On the Line	Sir David Scott	Tween	Beng. & Ch.

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the Charles Grant.—Colonel A. Nesbitt, his Majesty's service; Ensign E. G. Stokes, 49th Regt., Mrs. Stokes and child, Mrs. Thomas and child, Mr. Edw. Montague, Miss Sophia Winbolt, C. M. J. Blair, E. Blair, children, Capt. Tilmone, R. N., 82 invalids from his Majesty's 6th, 38th, and 49th Regts., 2 women and 8 children.

By the Farquharson.—Mr. Cruikshank, Wm. Ferriar, Esq., Capt. V. Cortland, 8th Hussars; Mr. Payne, late 6th, of H. C. S. Regent; Mr. J. G. Murray, Midshipman of the Waterloo, left at the Cape.

By the Inglis.—None.

By the Lord Castlereagh.—From Bombay: Mrs. Morse, Major Luhfield, Major Morse, Rev. Mr. Spring, Lieuts. Johnson, Hancock, and Elliot, Dr. Hewett, Miss and Master Morse, Mr. Nailor landed at the Cape, Capt. Miller do. and Dr. Jamieson ditto.

By the Cadmus.—Lieut. Fleming, Rev. J. D. Pearson from Chinsurah, and a gentleman and his wife (names not heard).

By the Sophia.—From Bengal: Mr. James and Mrs. Colvin, Miss M. Colvin, Master C. Jackson, Capt. John Hay, B. N. I., Capt. S. Land, ditto, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Abbott and four children, Mrs. Ahmuty and three children, Mr. H. Watson, Mr. W. Maxwell and two children, two Masters Tandy, Miss C. Hunter, Miss M. Harriott, and nine servants.

By the Katherine Stewart Forbes.—From Bombay: Mrs. Marriott and two children, Capt. Moore, H. C. S., Lieut. Pitts, do., Lieut. Harrison, do., Captain Scott, 17th Lancers, Lieut. Daly, 47th Regt., and one child.

By the Dorothy.—From Bombay: Capt. and Mrs. Dumbarlin

By the Lord Suffield.—From Bengal: None.

By the Jemima.—From Batavia and St. Helena: his Highness Nawab Shah Meer and three servants, Capt. King, late of the Salisbury, and Masters C. and H. Blake.

By the Bridget.—From Bengal: Major W. Moxon, 16th N. I., Mrs. Moxon, and four children.

By the Cgle Castle.—From Bengal: Hans Sotheby, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, and Mrs. Sotheby; Mrs. Ross and four children, Capt. John Darell, Bengal Artillery; Capt. Amiell and two children, his Majesty's 17th Lancers; Capt. A. T. Chatfield, late of the Daphne; Capt. Andrew Ross, late of the Swallow.

By the Kellie Castle.—From China: None.

By the Thomas Grenville.—From Bengal and Madras: Mrs. Oldham, Mrs. Parson, Mrs. Cooke, Miss Oldham, Major Gen. Hardwick, Bengal Artillery; J. O. Oldham, Esq. Bengal Civil Service; Rev. J. Parson, Chaplain, Bengal; Capt. J. Cowper, his Majesty's 59th Regt. in charge of invalids; Lieut. D. F. Grant, R. N.; Lieut. Stirling, 11th Regt. Madras N. I.; Mr. R. G. Marcus, late an officer on the Madras establishment; Mr. Armstrong, ditto; Mr. Besly, ditto; Mr. Jardine, ditto; Miss Eliza Oldham, Miss Ann Arden, Miss Margaret Cooke (died at sea 25th March, 1824), Miss Harriet Cooke, Master Cooke, two Master Parsons, Master G. Arden, Master A. Arden, two Master Parishes, two European servants, three native ditto.

By the Princess Charlotte of Wales.—From Calcutta; Mrs. Larkins, Master W. F. Larkins, Master R. Larkins, Master C. C. Robertson, Miss A. Larkins, Mrs. Compton, Master D. T. Compton, Master A. Compton, Miss E. C. Compton, Mrs. T. Plowden, Master W. Plowden, Mrs. Colonel Higgins, Miss M. C. Higgins, Master E. T. Higgins, Miss M. Faithful, Capt. Higgins, Captain Frith, Mrs. Frith, three Misses Frith, H. M. Parker, Esq. Mrs. Beck, two Masters Beck, Mrs. Dacre, two Masters Dacre, Master T. Hayes, Master R. H. Boddam, Lieut. H. Hartford. From Madras; Major W. Jones, Master C. W. Jones, Lieut. Albert. Late officers on the Madras Establishment, Mr. Weller, Mr. J. Flemming, three European servants, and eight native servants.

By the Herefordshire.—From China; Mr. Erskine, Mrs. Erskine, and three children, from Bombay.

DEPARTURES TO INDIA.

By the Catherine.—For Madras and Bengal; W. P. Shedden, Esq., Mrs. Shedden, Rev. G. J. Laurie, Miss Laurie, Major P. Cameron, Captain Hind, Mrs. Hind, — Muller, Esq., Lieut. Shakespeare, Messrs. Sheriffe, Goldingham, Trevor, Russell, Dardell, Duncan, Graham, and Croggon, Lieut. Boyce, Messrs. Courtney, Fish, Hope, Holloway, Sims, Oakley, Johnson, and Burne, Dr. M'Lachlan.

By the Mellish.—For Bengal; Col. Duncan, his Majesty's 44th regt., Mrs. Duncan, Miss A. Halloran, Messrs. Price, Audrey, Prior, Cole, Tierney, Wilson, Murray, and Wyllie, cadets.

By the Deveron.—For Van Dieman's Land; Mr. and Mrs. Godwin, Miss Hamilton and servant, Miss Smith, Messrs. Lord, Smith, Dumstead, Jansides, Pickland, Chapman, Coward, Black, Brett, Murdoch, Galbraith, Urquhart, Sampson, Robert, Morley, Balsey, Scott, Elliot, and Waindon.

By the Golconda.—For Bengal; Mrs. Bracken, Nelson, and Neish; Misses Chinnery, Mackenzie, Low, Langley, two Brightmans, Holland, Cropleys, Roxburgh, Reid, and Abbott, Thomas Bracken, Esq. Robert Nelson, Esq., Dr. Moore, Lieut. Pinson, Messrs. Low, Sage, Turner, Torrens, Taylor, Reid, Kennaway, Learmouth, Mee, Guissel, Fathingham, Guyon, Harrington, Frederick, and Toussaint.

By the Upton Castle.—For Bombay; Captain Falconer, Mrs. Falconer, Major Hicks, Mrs. Hicks, Miss Bellain, Miss Forbes, Major Byne, Captains Moreton and Pruen, Mrs. and Miss Pruen, Captain Hardkins, Mrs. Hardkins, Captain Canning, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Penny, Mr. Shepherd, Mr. Elliott, Mrs. Elliott, Mr. Doherty, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Thatcher, Dr. Gall, and Dr. Troop.

By the Tyne.—For Madras and Bengal; Mr. Arrow, Mr. M'Cullock, and Lieut. Randle.

By the Mary Watson.—For the Cape; Mr. Snowdall, Missionary, — Sutherland, ditto.

By the Marquess of Huntley.—For China; Messrs. Drury, Fulcher, and Brown, for Anjeer; Mrs. Magniac, Messrs. Magniac, and T. C. Smith, for China.

By the Princess Amelia.—For China; none.

By the Orwell.—For China; none.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 6.—JUNE 1824.—Vol. 2.

EARLY LIFE AND HABITS OF MEN OF GENIUS.

It is a principle in human nature to be pleased with the beginning of things. We delight to approach the fount of causation, to see the first bud of mighty designs bursting into being. Directed by this leaning of the mind, the philosophers of antiquity pondered on the birth of the universe, constructed systems, and bowed down their spirits before them. From the same cause we seek the origin of fashions, of customs, of religions, of the founders of empires, builders of castles, inventors of arts and sciences—delighting to look for ourselves into the early lives of men of genius and renown. We hope by this means to discover the disposing causes of their superiority, and, generally, to step into that sunshine which forwarded and ripened their minds. Besides, there is in such persons a rich vein of enthusiasm that flourishes most in youth, before the world has driven back the sap of life to stagnate round the heart. Neither do they ever cool and harden into rigidity like other people; but in early life their imaginations are in perfect fusion, floating hither and thither, like the sea, and ready to run into any matrix which may be placed by chance before the violence of their current. From some imperfect and vague notices of this peculiarity, it happens that common individuals attribute an extreme waywardness to men of genius, especially during youth, and consider them as meteoric fires which are driven by some uncertain force through eccentric and unknown paths. Upon this principle, too, their weaknesses are sometimes excused; as if their superiority in the higher provinces of mind, inferred necessarily a frail and indeterminate purpose in the meaner affairs of life. But this reasoning is no less silly than it is false. It is the malicious labour, in fact, of mediocrity, seeking by every means to bring down all to its own level. The real man of genius has but one purpose in life; and that is, to push his mind to the utmost verge of its capability. For this he is not to neglect the charities, the affections, the duties of life; he is not, and cannot be, cut off from the necessities of his species: but he knows better than any man what things are truly estimable, and values them accordingly. Upon his affections he builds his know-

ledge of affection; upon his wants, his pity and compassion; upon his discharge of his own duties, the exact estimate of what is to be required at the hands of humanity. Thus the unity of his purpose comprehends whatever excellencies nature has placed within our reach; and by how many of these he fails to attain, by so many is his scheme short of perfection.

At its first setting forth, genius lies undistinguished among the crowd; for it is commonly the lot of men of few worldly pretensions. This is the best thing that could happen to it; for, while thus unnoticed, it forms its strange habits with impunity. It steps on cautiously and at leisure over the field of knowledge; it pauses when, and where, and how it pleases. It has no vulgar appetite of starting up among its fellows as a prodigy, or of drawing upon its movements the intemperate gaze of superior learning. Such hot-house fires as give premature ripeness to the mind, it shuns and abominates, endeavouring only to keep pace with nature and her seasons. The mere mob are better companions for a youth of this stamp than your half-literary people. Less conceited and more natural in their follies, the former completely overlook him. He is a star entirely out of their sphere. But the latter, without being better able to judge of the force of his mind, and with less disposition to tolerate the effervescence of his unruly passions, throw themselves around him, as countryfolks crowd about a mountebank, and make to themselves an enigma of him. This proceeding makes him either vain or shy. He *shows off*, as it is called, or shrinks from them. In either case he is a loser.

For this reason it is that that deep enthusiasm, which shakes the fancy and imagination like a perpetual earthquake, is pleased with the solitude of woods and ruins, the dim silence of night, the roaring and tossing of the sea; and when it is satisfied with these, or driven by necessity to quit them, it naturally goes among the most unrestrained company, where the song and the laugh are frequent. The hollow civilities of society have but few charms for such as see through them completely; and men of genius have sharp eyes in such matters. Besides, among the vulgar they are not expected to contract unequal friendships; they are permitted to come and go without exciting wonder or inquiry; they are never nailed down by politeness to listen to ignorant and insipid criticisms upon the hallowed productions of the muse, or to hear some upstart's pretensions preferred before the claims of lasting merit.

The sort of conversation which obtained in ancient society, especially when youth was present, seems to have been peculiarly adapted to the nourishment of genius. The achievements of their heroes, the systems of their philosophers, the wonders and peculiarities of foreign lands; these were the subjects which amused the leisure hours of Euripides and Plato. Their educa-

tion was longer than ours, though completed in fewer years. But every moment was employed. A visit to a friend, a jaunt into the country, a day at the theatre, were so many lessons of taste or wisdom. Plato's Dialogues were composed from the actual conversations of his master, though it was said he added many things. The famous work on the Republic, then, originated in a walk to the Piræus. What a luxury did the Greeks make of friendship and thought! but by their method nothing was hastened before its time. A high and inspired mind is seldom rapidly matured; it follows the process by which the most valuable productions of nature are formed; it grows insensibly. Necessity has sometimes, it is true, reversed this proceeding, and crowded and hastened its efforts, till an untimely ripeness has been produced, which has caused the death of the plant: but there have been few Chattertons and Kirke Whites. Nor is it desirable that there should be many: nurtured upon nature's moderate regimen, those youths (the former at least) might have lived long, and given birth to works of very high character. The true secret of their precocity was their applying that time to meditation, which should have been employed in storing the mind with more knowledge. The richness of Chatterton's fancy was expended on a very narrow range; it was undividedly directed one way. His metaphors and allusions are beautiful; but they do not indicate extensive so much as intense thought. What he wished to know he studied with irrepressible ardour; but he restrained his warmth with a severe economy: he perceived it was not for him to know too many things. The same courage, united to the same degree of industry and enthusiasm, would at any time produce the same results: their union, in fact, is genius. Kirke White had a much weaker, and, to speak the truth, a far inferior mind; his poetry has not the high and impassioned tone which distinguishes that of the other: it is lengthy, diffuse, and feeble, though very sweet occasionally and pleasing.

But in all instances the early life of genius is a life of labour and intellectual privation; for, however extensive its powers, the mind, sooner or later, discovers that it cannot taste of every kind of knowledge, and leave itself time for meditation; and the earlier it makes this discovery, with the more vigour does it draw together its forces, and press forward in its chosen track. Men of common intellect suffer a change from the inroad of foreign notions; acquired ideas expand over their minds like water over a flat surface, leaving none of those bold prominences, thrusting their heads above the waves, which display the inward habits of the soul. From a conviction of this kind, persons of strong minds, nay, perhaps, of genius, have gradually weaned themselves from books, and taken entirely to thinking. But reading, like a skilful gardener, turns up the soil of the mind, and deposits the seeds of

thought, leaving to reflection and study, as to the airs and dews of heaven, the office of fructifying and maturing the future plants.

To despise learning is often the portion of wrong-headed genius; but learning is, in respect to thought, what a large estate or capital is to industry. The man of five acres will never be able to cope with him, who, possessing equal industry, has a hundred. Those only are contemptible who attach importance to the *possession*, and not to the *use*, of learning. It is, however, a mistake to think that acquirements trench upon originality; for as the *material* of every thing we possess is acquired from sources external to ourselves, it is but little matter whether we draw from nature or from books; for genius, like a politic general, will take care not to trust the event of the battle to mercenaries or allies. They may assist in making its phalanxes square and of complete aspect, but are lost in the number of native troops, and sway not the fortune of the field. But in this, as in all things, genius is at variance with common conclusions; and the reason why great men differ thus from ordinary persons, is, that their loftiness giving the effect of nearness, causes them to see more of objects than the curvity of the common ground he stands on permits to the eye of the low spectator; as men upon a mountain perceive a ship at sea long before it becomes visible to those on the level shore. It is not prudent, therefore, for a man of great conceptions always to give the whole scope of his ideas, because persons of ordinary capacities will be apt to lose all perception of their proportions; in like manner as it is thought a fly is incapable of taking in the whole of any large object at once, believing itself while perched on the back of an ox to be upon a large plain. We have seen people puzzled by a great idea in this manner; it had for them neither head nor tail.

It is accordingly observable that great minds plunge not at once into the depths of speculation, but, taking their readers by the hand, lead them out gradually over a shelving bottom, feeling their way as they go. We may be said to follow this method when we take a great man from the cradle, and pursue with attention the course and unfolding of his mind. We go on like an Abyssinian watching the wanderings of the Nile, from his humble and hidden source, until he mixes his broad waters with the ocean. And it is no less delightful than instructive thus to linger round the skirts and outsetting of genius: thus to mark the accession of tributary streams, which widen and deepen the intellectual current; thus to pursue the triumphant disemboguing of its treasures: it is the best part of mental geography.

It is certain that the whole current of after-life takes frequently its rise from some trivial cause. Some simple book or chance-thought gives it its direction; and the knowledge of that book or idea might afford us one means of judging how greatness is at-

tained. No man is great without being conscious of his greatness, without knowing of what importance a knowledge of the march and conformation of his mind might be to his fellow-creatures. It may, therefore, seem almost unaccountable why men of genius have been averse to laying themselves open to the world. In their greatest familiarity there is a reserve; like skilful anglers they proportion the length of their line to the depth of the stream they may be fishing in, and never totally unwind the clue. In youth they act thus from a modest policy, to disarm envy, and preserve their minds fresh and free from the taint of vulgarity. In manhood they are too deeply involved in the disposing, ripening, and perfecting of their schemes, to turn aside for the purpose of gathering up the shreds of memory relating to their opening prospects. Their youth is one strongly connected and uninterrupted dream; their manhood the counterpart, or realization of that dream in actual performance. We prefer looking perhaps upon the former part, when the mind, creating and drawing together its forces, seems to be invigorated with supernatural energy, and capable of things which are shorn and curtailed, in the performance, of half their magnitude. But for this very reason genius may shun reflections upon its early days, when its grand purposes were sketched out in bold and shadowy outline, when its wealth seemed inexhaustible, no account being made of the tare and tret, and custom-house dues, and fees, and accidental losses, which were to reduce its proud riches to poor and insignificant measure. It is seldom that truly great minds are the favourites of fortune; her frowns keep their projects freezing in embryo until the time for action perhaps is over; or else she comes with her minions when the golden harvest is almost ready for the sickle, and tramples it to the dust. After this, who can expect the owner to speak of sowing-time with pleasure! Regret imposes silence on his tongue.

Persons, however, who give early indications of great intellect, and afterwards produce nothing, are not to be reckoned amongst those whose plans have been dissipated by fortune. They were equal to the rapid acquisition of common endowments, but incapable of reaching at any time those heights of knowledge or fancy, on which the mind matures its superiority. For those who attain the first resting-places of Parnassus, and halt there to be seen of those below, lose by degrees that warm impulse which might have carried them higher; but they were, from the first, too weak even to think of the summit.

The greater part of the early habits and determinations of genius are formed from choice. No man can have intellectual greatness "thrust upon him." He sees the goal, and knowing that the interspace must be passed, he betakes himself to labour, to the removal of obstacles, to the opening himself a way. He makes his own compass, and steers his own course. The love of solitude,

which men of genius profess, is often thought by the world to be no better than affectation; but whoever would do any thing great must be much alone: his enthusiasm is cooled in crowds. He learns to attach less importance to his views; at least he does not think them the sole things on earth worthy of consideration. But in solitude every thing seems passive to his mind, nature herself appears to crouch at his feet, his power increases with his consciousness of possessing it, and he forms vast designs through the hope of fulfilling them.

Nevertheless, those whose only aim is transient popularity, have nothing to do with solitude. Their province is to watch the shifting gale that governs the tide of fashion, that they may launch their bark at the most favourable moment: if they lose that, they are undone. But what is the present temper of the winds to him who calculates on the chances of eternity? He puts to sea on the elements in a bark as everlasting as themselves, and caring not for the weather, can afford to wait a tide or two. "I must confess," said Lord Bacon, "my desire to be, that my writings should not court the present time, or some few places, in such sort as might make them either less general to persons, or less permanent to future ages." And in spite of his great employments he loved solitude. "Magìs videor cum antiquis versari qùam cum his quibuscum vivo." This is ever the confession of deep and lasting minds—these are their society, and such their wishes! When Sophocles lay all night among the reeds of the Ilissus, listening to the nightingale, it was not merely that he might feast upon the melody of that bird's notes, but that then his mind was lulled to the deepest contemplation. In such a situation no thought, unworthy of the united majesty of genius and nature, could spring up in the mind: the soul was purified, and the imagination raised. The whole was a conception purely Grecian.

From their retired habits, and sparing respect for common institutions, great men are generally accused of misanthropy. With some restriction the accusation may be just. Genius has but too frequently been trampled on in its commencement by presumption and ignorance; and the very act of curbing its impatience has been produced by looking forward to a day of retribution, when it should be able to give vent to its inward hatred of littleness, and repay scorn with scorn. But this feeling, in truly great minds, wears away as they ascend in dignity. They no longer view the inflictors of petty vexations as worthy of their hatred, and their affection for their species gains ground in proportion as they are raised above its failings; as we hallow even unpleasant places in our memories, when absence has winnowed away their imperfections. But it is not so with institutions; these are but too often as dead walls, which prevent the clear prospect of man's nature, and must be thrown down, or pierced by convenient openings, before it

can be seen how far he may be led on in the road of improvement. These dead walls, man builds up between himself and his fears, for he is always afraid of futurity, and the changes it may bring along with it; but he shuts up his real enemies in the same enclosure with himself, and this he finds to his cost, when he has obstructed his own progression. Nature does not contain a more miserable thing than a nation which has closed up every avenue to its own improvement. It is like those Africans, who, as Mungo Park tells us, let down a great crate, or wicker trap, upon themselves and the lions they were attempting to ensnare: every soul is sooner or later devoured by his own folly.

Discovering this at a very early age, minds of great powers exert themselves to break through such institutions as are opposed to the free development of the human faculties, and which have no other tendency than to maintain their own duration at the expense of the people's understanding. Where men are free, the laws co-operate with individuals in carrying their genius to as much perfection as its nature will bear; and this cannot be done where, by the laws, some subjects of thought are interdicted, and where great talents are not the only means of arriving at the dignities of the state. Whatever may be said, Athens was the country for men of genius: what means and excitements to study did she not possess! her very mechanics were superior in taste and judgment to kings; and it is questionable, whether the Roman senate, with all its pride, could see through the intricacies of a debate with as much clearness and tact as the people of Athens. Cicero only flattered or laughed at his countrymen when he preferred them to the Greeks; they were inferior as individuals, and as a nation. For a people is neither to be estimated by its conquests nor duration:—the Tartars subdued more countries in one age, than the Romans during the whole existence of their state; and the little republic of San Marino was of longer duration: but neither of these is, by any means, to be compared to the Roman commonwealth.

Within themselves, however, men of genius attach more importance to thinking than acting; because they perform the former by themselves, and therefore more independently. In action, on the contrary, there is always the alloy of foreign interference—other men are concerned either as actors or sufferers—and they feel the irksomeness of awaiting an uncertain issue. For this reason, minds of the first order often retard the progress of business; they refine too much for the rough frame of things, and are especially guilty of this in youth, before they have discovered that they are not as other men, who are content with as much of facts as comes before them, seeking little into remote consequences.

It is certain, also, that sensibility is a considerable ingredient of genius. By nature its sympathies are more extensive and intense

than those which are given to ordinary mortals. But men, undertaking to criticise the ancient master-pieces of poetical art, without the requisite insight into human nature, and relying upon the sole knowledge of the structure of language, have condemned Homer and Virgil for the facility with which their heroes shed tears. It is a pity that persons like these should venture on poetical criticism. Heroism, when it is genuine, is as much built upon physical sensibility as any other species of greatness: it arises from a due mingling of all the great passions, among which pity and affection claim to be numbered. Ulysses weeping at the recital of his sufferings by Demodocus, and Eneas uttering lamentations in the storm, were moved by the same passions differently actuated. The former, being still far from his country, and in great uncertainty as to his ever being permitted to revisit it, is melted at the remembrance of what deeds of valour, and wisdom, and stratagem, (tinged probably by conscience with some degree of guilt,) he had achieved and undergone in vain. The latter, anticipating and fearing, not so much his own death, and the death of his only child, as the consequent extinction of all his vast hopes of empire in Italy, of the renewal of the Trojan name, of the establishment and perpetuity of his domestic religion, and fugitive and desolate shrines. One must have the heart of a critic, to refuse a few frail tears or sighs to such powerful feelings as these. How often, indeed, is our sensibility melted by the mere harmony and melancholy modulation of words—by a passage of history, by poetry chaunted in a sad and soothing strain! It is true, great men do not attempt, like Richard the Second, to wear themselves graves in the earth by dropping tears upon it; such conceits are naked absurdity; but they are accessible to all the calls of the nobler passions.

We know little of Homer, but much of his early life appears to have been spent in travelling. The imperfect impressions of scenes and objects which he might have received from the relations of others, were not such as could satisfy a mind like his, which thirsted to immortalize the very soil on which he trod. He had no resource but in travelling; and it would seem, that in the little adventurous barks of those ages, he had plowed the "immeasurable sea," in numerous voyages, before he commenced his poems. The heart is elated and inspired with a powerful enthusiasm by the sight of new countries and unknown seas: the adventurer feels as if transported out of the every-day world, and values himself, not for what he sees, but for the feelings with which it is beheld. It will be granted that the modish voyager, who should be carried round the world in a ship, would be nothing the better or the wiser for it; but the man of genius would carry back the suavity of nature in his soul; he would hold communion with the great deep, and drink a portion of its sublimity.

For this reason every truly great mind has a thirst for travel: caring little for the raree-shows of corrupted states, it delights to lose itself among ruins and deserts, and strange shores, and mariners, and savage tribes; it loves to be separated by vast distances from home—for the consciousness of remoteness is itself a pleasure—and to approach again by degrees the sacred and venerated spot.

Such are the motives which carry genius abroad; and although they be stronger and fresher in youth, they never very sensibly decay, for great minds never grow old. Their passions are rather nicely adjusted and balanced than weakened or subdued by time; they learn to will and desire with more art and method, and not with less vivacity or force. The seeming wavering and inconstancy which appear in their early habits, are no more than the efforts of the mind to discover what is most congenial to itself, and resemble the trembling of the magnetic needle, while gaining its true position. Nothing is of more steady temper than genius, but only so far as it regards the end; it may be permitted, without charge of fickleness, to search amongst infinite relations what is best fitted to forward its designs. Its whole existence is one piece, and not made up of the shreds and ruins of actions, like that of ordinary persons. Like a hunter, it spends the dawn of day in preparing for the chase, and is a-field early, lest the fine scents of things should wear away beneath the sun. From that moment its pursuit of the game is incessant, and when evening comes, it retires with unabated appetite from a finished field.

It is no easy matter to discover what one is fit for; and there are few but the greatest minds who arrive at an early conviction that they are not fit for every thing. From instinct the imagination is hurried away by a blind craving after infinite knowledge, and it requires great powers of judgment and self-denial to make choice of the right path, and to persevere in it to the end. Of this path, those who meditate great designs never lose sight; their little excursions are all made along its side, and serve to enliven and diversify the way. But if they wander too far; if they forget the original direction, they are undone. Like a traveller who has a given distance to perform in a stated time, they lengthen by every delay the space to come, and shorten the time in which it is to be accomplished, until at length difficulty annihilates their enthusiasm. But this conclusion always springs from an imperfect taste. The beauty and uniformity of one simple course is not enough for all minds; some delighting in a Gothic mixture of accessory stimulants with the primary energy, and storing their minds, like a virtuoso's cabinet, with all manner of heterogeneous knowledge. *To know* is enough for them; they deal chiefly in wonder and extravagance, and make up by a multiplicity of emotions for the absence of all those which are vigorous and permanent.

But the simple structure of a great mind is raised on very opposite principles. It is one vast range of continuity and harmonious proportion; its parts adhere together from natural affinity, and cementing, and striking root into each other (if we may vary the metaphor,) form one beautiful and prolific whole. For well-harmonized knowledge has this advantage also over the other, that it is productive and lasting in its operation.

But if we observe narrowly the history of those pretended men of genius, who by some unknown fatality arrive at a kind of dominion over the taste of their times, but afterwards sink gradually into oblivion, we shall perceive that they succeeded in deceiving their contemporaries by an arrogant self-confidence and seeming wisdom, and either violently flattered or abused all ruling prejudices and opinions. Either of these methods is a sure passport to popularity: for the world is no such nice judge of merit as is pretended, but will either be obeyed wholly, or opposed. In the former case it feels its consequence increased; and in the latter it is staggered, and "turns tail." For having adopted its own conclusions without examination, it is secretly conscious of weakness, and disposed to believe that every daring theorist who swims against the stream, must have looked more deeply into the nature of things, and reached purer and more sublime heights of speculation, than it can pretend to have done.

It is not to be denied that genius has sometimes sported with this failing, and thrown out monstrous systems upon which it might spend its fury. But even in this conduct there has been a hidden ulterior design. The kernel of truth has been concealed in the rough and forbidding husk of theory, and left to float upon the waters for the gathering up of some kindred discerning spirits. Systems, whether bad or good, were, in antiquity, the watch-towers, from which great minds hailed each other's beacons in the night of ages; and it is far from being certain that genuine day has yet opened upon the world. We stand in need of systems still, for it is certain that truth lies incased in some one of them; and we must open all before we be sure which are the empty ones.

As far as regards the affairs of life, there can in reality be little distinction induced by superiority of mind; for all persons are more or less within the influence of the society in which they live; and it becomes every man to conform; as far as virtue permits, to the manners of his times. Those persons, therefore, who expect to find the stamp of genius upon its every-day necessary intercourse and actions, except, in fact, that a seal shall leave its impression upon water. Men are not the lords of circumstances; these flow round them in a resistless tide, and the utmost they can do is to note well its ebbing and flowing, that they may time their important enterprises to its changes. 'Tis the keenness with which it perceives these mutations, that renders genius so impatient of the dull co-

operation of common persons, and makes its actions seem inconsequent and rash. This also furnishes us with a reason why people should make a false estimate of the actions of great minds. If a writer produce one good book, they require him forthwith to write a hundred, that he may not be thought to have given birth to the other by chance. It was Addison, we believe, who observed of the schoolmen, that they had not genius enough to write a small book, and therefore took refuge in folios of the largest magnitude. We are getting as fast as possible into the predicament of the schoolmen. No one knows when he has written enough; but, like a player at chess, still goes on with the self-same ideas, merely altering their position. This must arise from early habits and prejudices, from having been taught to regard with veneration vast collections of common-places, under the titles of this or that man's *works*. Tacitus may be carried about in one's pocket, while it will very shortly require a waggon to remove Sir Walter Scott's labours from place to place. Voltaire's *facility* was his greatest fault; better he had elaborated his periods, like Rousseau, who, notwithstanding, wrote too much. The latter, however, of all modern writers, best knew the value of his mind. His prime of life was passed in vicissitude and study. He did not set himself about writing books for mankind, until he knew what they possessed and what they wanted. It was his opinion, that a writer who would do any good should stand upon the pinnacle of his age, and from thence look into the future. Whoever, in fact, would be regarded in future times, must consider what may benefit them, and how he may bequeath a legacy to mankind which it shall be their interest to preserve. Hope of fame, without this care, is a mad expectation—but with it, a certain and inviolable inheritance.

THE MUSULMAN'S LAMENT OVER THE BODY OF TIPPOO SULTAN.

Written in 1823, on the Spot where he fell.

I.

Light of the Faith! thy flame is quench'd
In this deep night of blood;
The sceptre from thy race is wrench'd;
And,—of the brave who stood
Around thy musnud, strong and true,
When this day's sunbeams on the brow
Of yonder mountain glanced,—how few
Are left to weep thee now!

CHORUS OF SOLDIERS.

Allah! 'tis better thus to die,
With war-clouds hanging redly o'er us,
Than live a life of Infamy,
With years of grief and shame before us.

II.

Star of the Battle! thou art set;
But thou didst not go down
As others who could Fame forget,
Before the tempest's frown;
As others who could meanly crave
The mercy of their haughty foes:
Better to perish with the brave,
Than live and reign with those.
Allah! 'tis better thus to die, &c.

III.

No! thou hast to thy battle-bed
Sunk like thy native sun,
Whose brightest, fiercest, rays are shed,
When his race is nearest done.
Where sabres flash'd, and volleys rung,
And quickest sped the parting breath,
Thou, from a life of empire, sprung
To meet a soldier's death.
Allah! 'tis better thus to die, &c.

IV.

Thy mighty father, joyfully
Look'd from his throne on high;
He mark'd his spirit live in thee;
He smiled to see thee die;
To see thy sabre's last faint sweep
Tinged * with a foeman's gore;
To see thee go to the Hero's sleep,
With thy red wounds all before.
Allah! 'tis better thus to die, &c.

V.

The faithful, in their emerald-bowers,
The toobah tree beneath,
Have twined thee, of unfading flowers,
The martyr's glorious wreath.
The dark-eyed girls of Paradise
Their jewell'd kerchiefs wave;
And welcome to their crystal skies
The Sultan of the Brave.
Allah! 'tis sweeter thus to die,
The martyr's death, with heaven before us,
Than live an age, with infamy
And foemen's fetters hanging o'er us.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

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* An historical fact.

BURNING OF HINDOO WIDOWS.

When it is considered that this practice causes the death of a greater number of persons in twelve months than are publicly executed for their crimes in the course of twenty years, it cannot be wrong to call, to this momentous subject, the attention of every friend to his country. How would Britain feel, if within herself a hundred innocent persons suffered death by some mistake of law in the course of a year? How, then, ought she to feel, when, in only one province of her foreign dominions, nearly a thousand innocent widows are every year burnt to death?—Friend of India.

It was not our intention to have returned so soon to the consideration of this subject, after the remarks made by us in a preceding Number, at the close of an article on this frightful and disgusting practice.* But there are cases in which delay is a crime against the interests of the human race, and we regard this as one of them. During the brief interval that has elapsed since we laid aside our pen, more than a hundred living victims have no doubt been enveloped in flames, and suffered the most excruciating tortures. Many of them have in vain attempted to escape, and been forced back into the fire, by those against whom their mangled frames could offer little or no resistance; and few can have yielded up their lives to the devouring element, without, in their last moments, feeling horror at a sacrifice from which it was then too late to shrink, as even the appearance of an effort to avoid it would entail disgrace on their memory, without relieving a single pang of their suffering. Within the short period that has gone by since we last pressed this important subject on the attention of our countrymen, little short of a thousand children have been made orphans by this bloody and murderous superstition, which takes the mother from her helpless offspring, at a moment when her presence is most needed to repair the father's loss; and which, to add to the aggravated horrors of the diabolical custom, places the torch in the hands of the first-born child, to destroy, by its own agency, the pallid corpse of the one, and the living and beating heart of the other, of its parents! While these are the daily and hourly effects of a devouring fanaticism, which no friend of humanity can even think of without shame and confusion at the indifference manifested towards its victims in England, we repeat that delay is absolutely criminal:—We therefore return to the consideration of the subject with increased earnestness; and not altogether without a hope that others may join us in drawing the attention of the nation to the enormity of a practice which has no parallel for cruelty and crime, in any other country on the earth.

It is perpetually asserted by the pleaders for the continuance of this life-destroying superstition, (for even this has its advocates,

* Oriental Herald, Vol. I. p. 551.

and among Englishmen and Christians too,) that our Empire in India is an Empire of Opinion, and that this opinion must not be disturbed:—by which they mean that the natives of India entertain so favourable an estimate of our Government, from its tolerating all their notions and actions, that we rule them only by the power of this charm; and that if this were broken by any attempt on our parts to disturb them in the enjoyment of their rites and ceremonies, bloody and abominable as they may be, our empire in India would soon be at an end. The assumption is as false as the inference is unwarranted. Our empire in India is *not* an empire of opinion—it is not even an empire of law. It has been acquired, it is still governed, and it can only be retained, unless the whole system of its government is altered, by the direct influence of force. No portion of the country has been voluntarily ceded from the love borne to us by the original possessors. We were first permitted to land on the sea coast, to sell our wares as humble and solicitous traders; till by degrees, sometimes by force and sometimes by fraud, we have possessed ourselves of an extent of territory containing nearly a hundred millions of human beings. We have put down the ancient sovereigns of the land, we have stripped the nobles of all their power, and by continual drains on the industry and resources of the people, we take from them also all their surplus and disposable wealth. There is not a single province of the country that we have ever acquired but by the indirect influence which our strength and commanding position could enforce, or by the direct agency of warlike operations and superior skill in arms. There is not a spot throughout the whole of this vast region, whereon we rule by any other medium than that through which we first gained our footing there—simple force. There is not a district, in which the natives of the country would not gladly see our places as rulers supplied by men of their own nation, faith, and manners, so that they might have a share in the management of their own affairs;—nor is there an individual, out of all the millions subject to our rule in Asia, whose opinion is ever asked as to the policy or impolicy of any law or regulation that is about to be made by our Government, however strongly it may press on the interests of those subject to its operation. It is, therefore, a delusion, which can never be too frequently exposed, to believe that our empire in India is an Empire of Opinion, or to imagine that we have any security for our possession of that country, except the superiority of our means for maintaining the dominion of force.

This being admitted, all the pretended ground of alarm at interfering with the religious customs of the Natives, vanishes into nothing. We have made no treaty with them to permit the commission of any atrocities they choose to claim as privileges of their particular superstitions; and although there is a general under-

standing throughout the country that no force shall be used to make men abandon the opinions delivered down to them by their fathers, yet their rulers have so often been guilty of the grossest violations of faith, when their own selfish and unhallowed purposes were to be served thereby, that there are few among the Natives of India who have not experienced in their own persons abundant instances in which the prejudices of their religion are not suffered to stand in the way of the administration of injustice, or the punishment of untried and unconvicted offenders.

The only argument that we have ever seen advanced in favour of our refraining from interference in this matter—and we have read nearly every thing that has been written on the subject—is this: that it would alarm the Natives, by inducing a belief of our wish to destroy their idolatry, and introduce another religion in its stead; and that any indication of such a disposition on our parts, would make them fly to arms in order to expel us from the country. Even if this were true, we should say "*Fiat Justitia—ruat cœlum;*" and if we can only maintain our dominion in the West by perpetuating slavery, and in the East by legalizing murder, we would say, Perish Colonies, Commerce, and Empires, which have their foundations in injustice, and can only be cemented by the blood and sufferings of fellow-mortals. But, fortunately for humanity, it is *not* true; and if there be any one moral axiom more capable of demonstration than another, as connected with the government of our distant dependencies, it is this:—that in proportion to the destruction of false religions and all their attendant abominations; in proportion to the introduction of freedom, knowledge, and virtue, among the people of all classes; so will these dependencies be rendered more productive of pecuniary advantage to ourselves, more favourable to the enjoyment of happiness among those who inhabit them, and infinitely more secure to us as possessions, bound by the strongest of all ties, reciprocal interests and mutual interchange of benefits.

But it is worth while to examine a little more closely the pretended danger to India of agitating this important question. If such danger could be produced, it would be most likely to be effected by discussions originating in the country, and conducted by Native Indians. What then will be the reader's surprise to learn that among the Brahmins themselves great difference of opinion exists on this very subject. One of this powerful and influential body, some years since, and during our residence in Bengal, published a work in the language of the country for the benefit of his fellow-natives, accompanied by an English translation for the use of the European part of the community, the object of which was to show that the Burning of Widows was not even enjoined by the Hindoo religion, but that the greatest authorities among their early lawgivers taught a diametrically opposite doc-

trine. In this excellent work the Brahmin cited their most sacred book, to show that Menû was regarded as the highest authority in matters of faith and practice; the Veda declaring, "Whatever Menû has said is wholesome,"—and again, "Whatever is contrary to the law of Menû is not commendable." The words of this great lawgiver are then cited, and offer the most complete proof that self-destruction on the death of a husband is *contrary* to the religion taught by him. His words are these:

> Let a widow emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her lord is deceased, pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue, till death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one only husband.

It is impossible that this great teacher could have given such directions for the conduct of widows, if it were meant that they should not live, but destroy themselves at the death of their husbands. Indeed, these injunctions amount to a positive prohibition of this murderous practice; and nothing but the extreme ignorance in which the Natives of India are kept, even of the tenets of their own religion—all knowledge being artfully confined to the crafty and designing priesthood—prevents the practice from being abolished by the efforts of the Hindoos themselves. The most enlightened among them are already hostile to its continuance, and agree with the learned author of the work in question, that it is as contrary to the tenets of the Hindoo faith as it is repugnant to reason and humanity.

By some, however, it is contended that, as rewards in a future state of existence are promised to those who manifest devoted attachment to their husbands in this life, and as this must be considered as one of the strongest proofs of love that can be given, the widow of a deceased Hindoo is justified in passing through the flames to an immediate enjoyment of the bliss promised as the reward of her fidelity. Even this, however, is expressly contrary to the Veda, the most sacred of their books, and one, the authority of which no Hindoo would dare to dispute. It says—

> By living in the practice of regular and occasional duties, the mind may be purified. Thereafter, by hearing, reflecting, and constantly meditating on the Supreme Being, absorption in Brumhu may be obtained. Therefore, from a desire, during life, of future fruition, life ought not to be destroyed.

The practice is therefore clearly contrary to the highest authorities of the Hindoos themselves; and so little danger is there to be apprehended from efforts made by the British Government in India to abolish it, that its decree to that effect would instantly be hailed by a large portion of the native community, and by far the most intelligent among them, as a blessing to their race; and though the priests who profit by its continuance should murmur at

its abolition, their voices would be drowned by the acclamations of the millions subject to their tyrannizing influence, who would rejoice to be emancipated from a necessity by which they are now compelled to burn, or become outcasts from their families.

The very circumstance, however, of this division of opinion among the Hindoos, and the controversy opened on the subject by one of their own brahmins, a leader of an intelligent and gradually increasing sect, is a proof that no danger is to be apprehended from its being made a subject of inquiry and discussion by others. Add to this, the Baptist missionaries at Serampore have repeatedly written and preached against the practice, in the midst of crowds of native Indians, without exciting a single murmur of complaint. The English press in Bengal, during the short period that it enjoyed its freedom, did its duty in perpetually expressing an abhorrence of this bloody sacrifice; and the authority of Government, as well as of individuals, has been occasionally used, sometimes to oppose some one particular act of immolation, and at others to place restrictions on the practice generally, which at once established the right of interference, and proved that whatever was dictated by authority on such a subject would be submitted to without resistance and without complaint.

When the African Slave Trade was first proposed to be abolished, the dealers in human flesh, and those who immediately profited by the kidnapping and subsequent misery of the victims of this abominable traffic, made an outcry against its abolition. The slave-holders in the West Indies do the same thing now, when even gradual and distant emancipation is talked of as worthy the support of mankind. So would the monks and friars of Spain exclaim against the destruction of the Inquisition, and all its ingenious modes of torture. But "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" never enters into the contemplation of such classes as these; they think only of themselves and their exclusive privileges; and like them, the brahmins of India, who profit by the power, the influence, and the actual gains which this system of continual murder throws into their hands, would no doubt present some feeble opposition to a law which should annihilate their unholy perquisites. But if such opposition as this were regarded, no improvements could ever take place in any stage of society. The highwayman would complain of decisions which make robbery and assassination criminal; the swindler would oppose laws that should curtail his range of fraud; and among the perpetrators of every crime under heaven, there might no doubt be found many who would contend against the passing of acts to abolish the means by which they obtained their iniquitous enjoyments. The only questions we have to ask ourselves in such cases are these—Is the practice we desire to root out and destroy at variance with the eternal principles of justice, and contrary to the welfare and hap-

piness of the human race? Is it productive of any advantages to society at large which might be lost by its abolition? Is the change intended to be introduced, so pregnant with evil to any numerous and powerful class, as to ensure their hatred and opposition in such a degree as would render success doubtful? Is there so much of religious authority on the side of the practice as to make its destruction a violation of the rights of conscience? Is the property of individuals so extensively dependent on the continuance of the custom, that no mode can be devised for compensating the losses unavoidably attendant on the change? Every one of these questions may be conscientiously answered in such a manner as to prove beyond a doubt that the Burning of Widows is contrary to every principle of justice; contrary to the happiness of the human race, and unproductive of a single advantage to counterbalance its innumerable evils; that its immediate abolition might be effected with perfect safety, without violating a single right of conscience or of property, without having the slightest resistance opposed to it by the natives; but on the contrary, being certain of receiving the approbation of millions who would rejoice to be relieved from its appalling and hope-destroying thraldom.

Why then, it will be asked, is not the sense of the nation taken upon the subject, and the practice instantly abolished? The East India Company have the power, but they want the will even to make the experiment. The reign of idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, they vainly and erroneously believe to be more favourable to the durability of their dominion in India than the spread of intelligence and virtue. They find it more easy to tax the people to the uttermost farthing, while they are under the stupifying and enslaving influence of their priests; and in many instances, as has been proved by their own servants, they derive an actual and direct revenue from the unhallowed worship of idols. And yet, to show how groundless is the alarm which they pretend to set up, as to the danger of inducing in the people of India a belief of our wish to interfere with their religion, or of our desire to implant another in its stead, they make perpetual professions of their respect for Christian missions among the heathen: and give at least an apparent encouragement to all the collections of money made in England for the propagation of the Gospel in the East. Christianity can never be introduced into India, however, without displacing idolatry; nor can the precepts and practice of the Gospel flourish without striking at the root of all the abominations that characterize the Hindoo faith. To invite, encourage, and subscribe for the support of Christian missionaries in India is therefore as great a proof as could be given of their intention to destroy, if possible, the religion of the country, and plant a better in its stead; and if this can be done without danger, which no one can dispute, so also might the Burning of Widows be abolished by a single Regula-

tion of the Government, declaring it criminal by law for any one to be found accessary to the practice.

If the widow were left alone, she would never collect the fuel, ascend the pile, or set fire to it voluntarily with her own hands; and even those who admit that she is enjoined to destroy herself in order to follow her husband, do not contend that it is equally the duty of others to assist her in the work of death. A hundred modes might be enumerated in which the custom could be put down, without even appearing to disregard the prejudices of the people; by commanding that none should burn until they had attained a certain age; that it should never take place on British ground; that the property left by the victim should be devoted to public charities; that no brahmin should benefit directly or indirectly by the sacrifice; and above all that the widow might burn, but that no one should assist her in the ceremony, or be present to encourage her perseverance if her resolution should fail. If the determination were once made that it should be put down, there would not be the slightest difficulty in obtaining immediate and even willing obedience to a decree issued for that purpose. But, that even the most timid and scrupulous might be satisfied on this head; it would be easy to make experiments in various districts of the country, and ascertain beyond a doubt the exact limits to which our authority might be pushed in order to effect so great a good. If no steps be taken, however, no advance can be made; and the English nation will deserve the reproach of being the first to commit acts of injustice in order to possess herself of the vast empire of the East, from which all other nations are now nearly excluded, if we except the mere specks upon the map that remain to give a nominal existence to other settlements, while she has been the last to abolish the murderous and revolting practice of the Burning of Widows, long since successfully proscribed and driven from the territories of the French, the Dutch, and the Danes in India, where not one widow is sacrificed in a year; while in the territories of the British, now all-powerful, without a rival, and whose will is law throughout every district of Hindoostan, more than a thousand living victims are annually offered up to the most bloody and barbarous of superstitions that ever disgraced the earth.

It was a custom, among some of the nations of antiquity, to have the horses of their heroes buried alive, with their trappings and armour, in the tombs of their riders. But if it were attempted to introduce this custom into Britain, and the chargers of our warriors, or the racers of our sportsmen, were to be interred alive in the graves of their masters, a general feeling of indignation would be excited against such an act of wanton barbarity. If these animals were to be burnt alive on the funeral piles of their deceased possessors, it would excite a feeling of horror in all ranks who could witness their agonies in death. In India, hundreds of Eng-

lishmen have sickened with shame and disgust at the sight of young and beautiful women reduced to ashes by the devouring element, pinioned down so as to render their escape impossible, or if released by accident pushed back again into the flames, and their piercing shrieks drowned by the shouts of an infuriated multitude. Hundreds have seen, and have expressed, both publicly and privately, their abhorrence of such scenes as these; and yet they are perpetrated in open day, under the very countenance of British power, within a few miles of the metropolis of India, and under the form and sanction of British law. Can such things be, and the nation remain indifferent to their existence? We trust it is impossible; and that ere long one universal burst of indignation will rouse the apathy of our rulers, and force them to the abolition of this inhuman and diabolical system of daily and deliberate murder.

In the article on this subject, contained in a preceding Number, we broke off the continuity of our remarks, after giving an official document from the papers laid before Parliament during the last session; and resuming the chain of facts and arguments from thence, we shall take the liberty to repeat only a few sentences of the document in question, for the information of those who may not have read what we have before written on this subject. The last official document was a letter from Mr. C. M. Lushington, one of the civil servants of the East India Company on the Madras establishment, dated Oct. 1, 1819, and addressed to the Registrar of the provincial Court of Circuit at Trichinopoly. He shows in it, that he had himself put a stop to the practice in his district without danger, thereby giving strong grounds to believe that the Government could safely do the same. He proves that it is contrary to the religion of the Hindoos themselves, as well as repugnant to justice and humanity; and he proposes that it should be made criminal to assist in the practice, which he thinks might thus be immediately and effectually abolished. We give the following extracts from this excellent letter, and refer the reader for the document itself to pages 558 and 559 of the first Volume of the Oriental Herald. He says,

When I was acting magistrate at Cambaconum, I addressed the Government on this subject, and pledged myself to put a stop to all future instances of self-immolation, without any ill-consequences arising from the prevention. I look upon this inhuman practice as one tolerated to the disgrace of the British Government. It is even abominated by the natives themselves, and it is nowhere enjoined by the Hindoo law.

The only possible plea or excuse therefore, for the continuance of a practice so abhorrent to humanity, and irreconcileable with reason, is the fear of exciting an apprehension of interference on the part of the British Government, in the religious usages and customs of the country. But is custom so imperious as to sanction deliberate murder? Infanticide was a Hindoo custom; the punishment of sorceries by death was another; these were both openly avowed and practised; yet they have been both abolished: and it is a palpa-

ble contradiction to prevent the sacrifice of infants and allow the immolation of adults.

Convinced that no bad consequences could possibly result from the abolition of the Burning of Widows, I submit the propriety of making, by legal enactment, the attendants of such assemblies accomplices in the murder, and dealing with them accordingly.

These are the deliberate opinions of a judge in the East India Company's service, written in the country itself, addressed officially to men in power there, and carrying with them all the weight which experience and authority can give them. They are surely, therefore, worthy of the most serious attention.

The authorized quotations from the holy Shasters, given by him in a part of his letter not repeated, set the question at rest as to the non-indispensibility of burning; and the toleration of all subsequent sacrifices must heap guilt "like burning coals" upon the heads of the Legislature, which, with a consciousness of the facts, neglects to enact the necessary prohibitions. What moral improvement can ever be expected in that society where multitudes of mothers are allowed to turn over their infant children to the care of distant kindred, and yet more distant acquaintances? What becomes of the best feelings of our nature, when the kindest friend or nearest relative—the father, or, more horrible still—the son grown to maturity, seizes the flaming torch, and fires the pile which shall consume the breast that nourished his infant days—the author of his being! And how came it that when the Circular, pretending to restrain these horrid rites, was drawing up, the Shasters were so loosely examined, that the alternative was not noticed? Why not have suggested the most efficient means of pointing out to the devotee that her delusions were fallacious, and that some of the most revered authorities required rather the practice of austerities, combined with the charities of humanity, than this hateful sin of suicide? Yes, again and again it must be asked—with such documents, with such knowledge, why this indifference to human life? why this criminal connivance at murder? If, indeed, the practice were every where still rife, and the fever of superstition now agitated the Indian mind, there might be reason for the tenderness every where expressed; but in some provinces it is already upon the decline, and nowhere maintained with the obstinacy of the furious zeal which might at one time have characterized it.

To continue our quotations from the Parliamentary Papers to which we adverted in our last, we may add that, by a letter from the Governor in Council, of Bombay, to the Court of Directors, 6th May 1821, (p. 132.) it appears that,

In Guzerat, "the practice was so rare, that no judgment could be formed." "The magistrate of Anjar had only known one instance of a woman desiring to burn; he succeeded in persuading her to delay the ceremony, and the following day her resolution was changed."—"In the Concan the practice

in some degree prevails. The criminal judge of the southern Concan, when first appointed resident at Malwan, found that within his jurisdiction the ceremony, which was at no time common, had, on the introduction of the British government, entirely ceased, from a prevailing opinion that it was contrary to our laws."—"Since the accession of the Peishwa's conquered territories, where the practice was formerly prevalent, he (Mr. Hale) had only known two cases, and they took place before the introduction of our authority, and at a time when the inhabitants had been apprized that the customs and usages of the late government were still in force."—"Circumstances which occurred in one of the cases of suttee above alluded to, and which took place in the Viziadroog province, afforded the magistrate an argument in support of the latter remark. The officer commanding the fort took means to prevent its accomplishment, chiefly through the persuasive interposition of a brahmin, and the attempt was abandoned. Although the occurrence was subsequently reported to Mr. Hale, he states it did not appear to be complained of, and the intended victim is now living and thankful for her escape."—"Notwithstanding the former extensive prevalence of this custom in the Peishwa's territories, it appears to Mr. Hale very evident, some restrictions against it were in force. It was always considered indispensable to obtain, previous to the performance of the ceremony, the sanction of the local authorities; and persuasions were generally used against it. In the state of Sawunt Warree, these restrictions, at one period, were carried to much greater length, since, during the reign of Kem Sawunt, a positive prohibition against the practice altogether existed for ten or twelve years, and this too without creating any disturbance or any outward marks of discontent."

Charges are not unfrequently made, in these strictures, against the criminal indifference of the British authorities. Another quotation from this letter of the Governor in Council of Bombay will justify the expression, "Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee!" Mr. Hale proceeds to account for the existence of this disposition, and observes, that

An apprehension of incurring punishment, from acting contrary to laws imperfectly understood, may cause the present decrease of suttees in the new districts; but it is greatly to be feared, unless the sentiment prevails that the practice is contrary to our regulations, that as soon as the provisions of the existing rules are thoroughly and distinctly understood, and it becomes universally known that free toleration of this awful ceremony is acknowledged, strictly according to the tenets of the Shaster, the custom will revive.

In the next paragraph, another magistrate says,

It can hardly be doubted, but that the necessary presence of the police-officers of Government at these immolations, stamps on them that character of strict legality, and seems to afford them that degree of countenance on the part of Government, which must produce an evil effect.

The same letter goes on (p. 134.) to make Mr. Marriott report—

Under these circumstances, to have issued the instructions [meaning the circular before adverted to], would at once have informed the community that the sacrifice of the suttee was allowed by the British government, and that therefore it might be performed with impunity. It would also have opened a source of emolument to such Native officers as are corrupt enough to sell their authority at the expense of the sacrifice of a human victim.

Another passage states,

It must be the object of government to abolish it [the practice of burning],

if possible; but the question is, whether it would be most likely to be effected by permitting its free exercise, or by endeavouring to check it by the imposition of restraints.

So much for the profound wisdom of our Indian Legislators. Our notice of this important letter must close with the last paragraph, which is given to stamp the character of the Indian authorities with their full and fair claim to humanity.

In the Deckan, in some instances, the performance of this sacrifice had been prevented by the promise of a pension for the support of the widow and any children dependant on her. Conceiving the preventions, on such conditions, less likely to be attended with general benefit, than to lead to persons pretending a resolution to sacrifice, in the hope of being thus rewarded for desisting, we have desired the commissioner to require the magistrates under his authority to abstain from all interference. p. 135.

In opposition to these practices, Mr. Thomas Newnham, criminal judge of Cuddapah, (p. 98.) says—

The operation of doctrines averse to the act, if put in activity, might possibly be efficacious in some respects; thus suicide, of which this is a species, can be represented as a mark of cowardice, rather than of fortitude; and common suicide is greatly so viewed, in the manners now prevailing in this part of India. The ordinances of Munoo also, which are one of the principal law authorities in this part of India, do not encourage the sacrifice in the same manner as others quoted in the Vivade Changamana, translated by Mr. Colebrook, and introduced under this government into these parts. "Let him not wish for death, let him not wish for life, let him expect his appointed time, as a hired servant expects his wages," are doctrines more agreeable to the institutes of the oldest Hindoo legislator, who mentions doctrines very averse from self-immolation of widows, such as the raising up a son to the deceased by the widow.

Some sensible observations are contained in a report of Mr. C. Roberts, magistrate of Chittoor, (p. 93.) which might afford useful suggestions to any but the Legislators of India, who, to avoid difficulty, think it wise, as we have seen, "to abstain from all interference."

The suttees are almost exclusively performed by widows, who either have no children, or whose family having reached maturity are capable of maintaining themselves, and do not look to her for any future support. In some few instances, widows are induced to immolate themselves, in consequence of such a custom having prevailed in the family, and by breaking through which a stigma might be imputed. Considering the servile situation of Hindoo widows, the utter exclusion of all those enjoyments of dress and society, which alone constitute their happiness, it may not appear surprising that they should prefer terminating an existence in that mode which, they are assured, will lead to final beatitude.

Some further interesting particulars are communicated by Mr. Geo. Gregory, Criminal Judge of Ganjam, Berhampore,—p. 78.

Not to insist on the commonly known case of the degraded estimation in which surviving widows are held to be, and which is conceived to be one of the causes of women burning themselves, from some cases sent up by a police darogah, it has come to the knowledge of the criminal judge, that one zemindar at least (if not all the zemindars), in this zillah, claims the right of

taking the half of the property of widows who have no children; and that that zemindar appeared very indignant, and attributed it merely to a private quarrel, that the police darogah received complaints on that subject, and thought such an act would subject such zemindar to punishment on a criminal prosecution.

The tendency of the exercise of such a right may, in this country, without exaggeration, be said to be, that as thereby such women expect the means of maintaining themselves will be lessened, and have the prospect of poverty and misery increasing upon them with advancing years, they should come to the resolution of burning themselves to escape those evils.

No: these abominable sacrifices are not merely to be attributed to the ordinary workings of fanaticism, which it might be dangerous to provoke. A combination of the most irritating apprehensions alarm the unhappy widow, just wounded by the rupture of all the tender ties which bound her to society, and madden her into despair. She falls at once from her high station; she sinks from her proud condition; and loses all her rights, all power, save the privilege of choosing how to die! Nor has the unhappy victim of this disgraceful system any time for reflection; appalled by the array of every imaginable misery—want, degradation, insult, dishonour: without even the redeeming sympathies of kindred, or of offspring, she sees no refuge but in the flaming pile, and hurries into eternity!

That the remedy to this state of things is in the hands of the British Legislature there can be no doubt; that a different system would produce a different result is unquestionable. These papers afford numerous proofs that the benevolent interference of individuals has, in some degree, repaired the guilty neglect of Government,—awakened the love of life, and rescued the distracted victims of unconscious error from premature death. Musanmut Dungee, Buktee, Baylee, Nuguee, Dewcullah, Musst, Russoo Munjuree, Lutchonunia, Bilassee, Bowannee, Cashee Bye, Lucheheah, and many other names appear as proposed suttees, saved by timely admonition and kindness. The criminal judge of Masulipatam, reports that he saved one;—of Bellary, that he saved two;—of Cuddapah, that he saved four;—of Verdachellum, that he saved one;—of Madura, one; and many others. Several humane magistrates report various expedients to which they have successfully resorted, in order to protect the unhappy widow from impending fate. Messrs. P. R. Cazalet, J. Smith, J. O. Tod, T. A. Oakes, J. Hanbury, W. Cooke, Thos. Newnham, and many other honourable names offer themselves in this list.

The delay of permission [says Mr. Newnham] afforded time for the afflicted widow to recover her serenity of mind, so much as to render her sensible to the supplications of her friends, and to the advice of the public officers. Mr. Joseph Dacre, criminal judge says, he "is satisfied that the best informed and most respectable part of the natives would themselves have often prevented this ceremony, if they had had the power." Mr. C. H. Higginson, criminal judge, says, (p. 101.) "If I were required to give an opinion

as to the best means of putting a stop to it in future, I should say, that the collector and magistrate ought to be authorized to issue a proclamation, prohibiting altogether a custom so barbarous and unnatural; and which, though *permitted*, does not by any means appear to be insisted upon by the Shasters. I would authorize the magistrate to declare, by the proclamation, any person or persons assisting in the self-immolation of a widow, liable to be brought to trial as an accessary in homicide; and would issue strict orders to all heads of villages, and officers of police, to put an immediate stop to any attempt at preparation for an 'anugamanum,' or burning."

In the present times, the good sense and humane feeling of the brahmins, as well as the greater proportion of the Hindoo inhabitants, would point out to him the benevolent motive of Government in prohibiting a practice, which has originated in ignorance and infatuation, and which must be reflected upon with abhorrence by every mind capable of distinguishing good from evil.

Mr. J. Hepburn, magistrate of Tanjore, reports, (p. 111.) that—

The other instance occurred likewise at Cowbeconum, in the beginning of the present year, 1819, where the widow of a Hindoo peon, who had died of the cholera morbus, and left four young children, declared her intention of burning herself; but upon an assurance that she and her children should be provided for, she consented to alter her determination, and did so accordingly.

This fact speaks volumes; and will demonstrate, it is presumed, the necessity for the interference of the British Legislature. There is yet much important matter to extract from the Papers on this subject laid before Parliament; but the limits to which we are necessarily restricted, allow the report of only one other case.

This melancholy case may be given in abstract as follows: one Seetloo, a brahmin, died when absent from his family. A fortnight afterwards, his widow, Hoomulea, a girl of about fourteen years of age, proceeded to burn herself, the pile being prepared by her nearest relations then at the village she resided in. Her father, Puttun Tewarrey, was in another part of the country, and does not appear to have been made acquainted with what was passing. Whether the sacrifice was originally a voluntary one, has not been ascertained; it must be presumed it was so.

The preparatory rites completed, Hoomulea ascended the pile, which was fired by her uncle, the prisoner Sheolol. The agony was soon beyond endurance, and she leaped from the flames, but seized by Sheolol, Bhichhook, and others, she was taken up by the hands and feet, and again thrown upon it: Much burnt, and her clothes quite consumed, she again sprang from the pile, and running to a well hard by, laid herself down in the watercourse, weeping bitterly. Sheolol now took a sheet, offered for the occasion by Roosa, and spreading it on the ground, desired her to seat herself upon it. "No!" she said, "she would not do this; he would again carry her to the fire, and she could not submit to this; she would quit the family, and live by beggary; any thing, if they would have mercy upon her." Sheolol upon this, swore by the Ganges, that if she would seat herself on the cloth, he would carry her to her home. She did so; they bound her up in it, sent for a bamboo, which was passed by the loops formed by tying it together, and carrying it thus to the pile, now fiercely burning, threw it bodily into the flames. The cloth was immediately consumed, and the wretched victim once more made an effort to save herself, when, at the instigation of the rest, the Mahomedan, Buraichee, approached near enough to reach her with his sword, and cutting her through the head, she fell back, and was released from further trial by death.

The number of spectators before whom this diabolical and most lamentable sacrifice was exhibited, is variously stated. About two hundred persons were probably witnesses of it. A trial ensued, and the following was the sentence:—

"Making allowance for the superstitious prejudices of the Hindoos concerned, and for the ignorance of the Mahomedans, the Court do not discern in any of them, the guilt of murder; and viewing the case as one of culpable homicide, sentence the prisoner Buraichee to be imprisoned, with labour, for five years; and the prisoners Sheolol, Bhichook, Hurrepal, and Ijrail, to be imprisoned without labour, for two years from this date." p. 66—68.

After these details of facts produced before the Legislature of our country, and now made accessible to all men, it can hardly be necessary for us to add another word on the subject. If our readers have felt sufficient interest in the subject to pursue it to its close, we doubt not but that their feelings have been alternately melted into pity, and roused into indignation. Yet these are the blessed fruits of that Monopoly of Government vested in the hands of the East India Company; and this may be taken as a fair specimen of what they will do to improve the country they govern, as long as every thing is left in their hands.

We repeat, that such a state of things is a reproach to the British name: a foul stain on our national reputation, which cannot be too speedily wiped away. As long, however, as we have life and health, and the means of freely addressing our countrymen in the East and the West, we shall never cease to call their attention to the atrocities practised under our Government in India, until we see some attempts made to ameliorate the condition of the unhappy beings there subject to the joint tyranny of Superstition on the one hand, and of Oppression on the other.

STANZAS TO ADAH.

Oh, whisper not that we must part,
  Oh, breathe not sound so sad to me;
For, Adah, what can heal the smart
  Of leaving thee—of leaving thee?

I would not for the Houri race
  Exchange that form of love and light,
That blushing cheek, that air of grace,
  That eye so bright—that eye so bright.

Oh, tell me not to say farewell;
  Oh, bid me not of parting speak;
That word is bound by mystic spell
  I dare not break—I dare not break.

But turn again those eyes on me,
  That glance which mem'ry revels o'er;
And, Adah, I will worship thee
  For evermore—for evermore.

D.

ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 5.—*Japan.*

There is very often a feeling of melancholy attached to extensive views of human nature, because it has seldom happened that men have availed themselves of half the advantages that nature has put in their power. They have plunged themselves into danger, in order to avoid difficulty and inconvenience; perceiving a certain end dimly, and endeavouring to attain it without calculating the expense they were unavoidably to incur. This end, in most instances, has been ease and luxury; and the price paid for it, liberty, dignity, and happiness. It is a circumstance of considerable aggravation, that minds possessed of the lights of study, and of every requisite for drawing a just comparison between freedom and servitude however disguised, should yet be so far blinded by inordinate desire of wealth, as to prefer being at the nod of a rich bestower of places and pensions to eating the coarse meal of independence, in unaspiring cottages. We are well aware that in the latter stages of society, when nations are on the downhill part of their journey, every art is made use of, and every species of talent bought up, which may assist in directing the shafts of ridicule upon rough integrity. Honesty, and fidelity to ancient maxims, are denominated common-place notions, and their assertor is looked upon as a rare piece of game, upon which profligate and inexperienced wit may properly flesh its talons. Old opinions, old studies, venerated habits, every thing but *old superstitions*, are accounted pedantic; and those who respect them, rude and unversed in the ways of the world. Principles seem to be considered as also subject to the mode; which, with an awfully transmuting power, now turns steadiness into obstinacy, and a clear perception and preference of the right into an incapacity to see the excellence of new inventions.

We have been betrayed into these reflections by observing the state of affairs in Japan; but the incompetency of all those travellers who have given us relations of their voyages into that country, makes it very doubtful whether we possess any true knowledge respecting it. Being compelled to form our judgment of such states from very scanty materials, it is of the more consequence that the few we possess should be of the best quality; for the greatest questions in politics not unfrequently hinge upon ideas that appear very simple and unimportant. From such accounts as we have, however, it seems that the government of Japan, like the other governments of Asia, is an absolute monarchy; and that the hateful principle is encompassed in that country by terrors and evil influences peculiar to itself.

Until about the year 1585, the empire of Japan was under the dominion of a prince who united the spiritual and temporal power in his own person. He was revered as a saint, and his will was considered as irresistible and sacred as the mandate of some divinity. But the manners which custom required him to observe, were perhaps the cause of his ultimate fall; for as he was not suffered on any occasion to put his "legitimate feet" upon the earth, nor to move about unless upon the shoulders of his courtiers, he was certainly unfit to support the weight of sovereignty, which seems at least to require a man who has the use of his legs. Notwithstanding, the Dairis maintained their power for a long succession of ages, and were only at length overthrown by a signal violation of an old usage.

The greater portion of the active part of government devolved upon the commander in chief of the imperial armies, styled Kubo or Tzioogoon, who, in general, was the second son of the Dairi. It at length happened, however, that one of these princes had a third son by a favourite wife, whom he wished to associate with his elder brother in this dignity: they were to hold their office three years alternately, and in the intervals to return to a private station. No regulation of this kind is either politic or agreeable to those whom it concerns; but it is especially mischievous when made in opposition to ancient usages. It happened, as might have been foreseen, that one of these princes refused to resign the command at the expiration of the appointed time; and the consequence was a civil war between him and his father. In a short time the prince was defeated by the imperial commander, and put to death; but the poison of his example had entered the political body of Japan, and was not to be eradicated. The new commander rebelled in his turn against the Dairi; civil war was maintained in the empire; and after various turns of fortune, a military adventurer closed the scene, by successfully usurping the supreme power, to the total exclusion of the Dairi from all participation of temporal command.

From that time to the present, Japan has nominally had two sovereigns; but the Kumbo-sama, or temporal emperor, is in reality absolute, and totally independent of the Kin Rey, or Dairi. It seems from Captain Golownin's account that some attempts have been made to give limits to the royal authority; for there is at present in Japan a supreme council, which consists of five members, who must absolutely be *reigning princes*; that is, a kind of feudal dependents on the emperor. The same author goes on to say, that although in common cases, nothing can be done without the emperor, yet he has *no right* to decide without the approbation of the council. To judge by this, he adds, the Japanese government must be called a limited monarchy; *but the emperor can change the members of the supreme council at his pleasure*: however, the

Japanese emperors do not venture to abuse their power, for fear the princes should resist and revolt; and, how formidable they are to the emperors, appears from the precaution adopted of obliging the wives and children of the princes always to reside in the capital, and the princes themselves alternately, one year in the metropolis, and the other in their dominions. Kœmpfer and Caron say the princes remain only six months in their governments, and six months at court alternately. Indeed the more ancient accounts of Japan are almost entirely at variance in these particulars with Golownin's statements, and if both the former and the latter be faithful, a considerable change must have taken place in the government and usages of the country. For Caron, who appears to have keenly noted what he saw, assures us that he witnessed several noblemen and kings put to death *for trifling misdemeanours*, and their estates, revenues, and treasures arbitrarily bestowed upon others by the emperor. Kœmpfer also asserts that for very slight offences the greatest persons in the empire were exiled to a little island of difficult access, where they employed their leisure in weaving silk of curious and fanciful patterns. We are inclined to give the preference, in this respect to the testimony of the older voyagers, and the more so, as Captain Golownin's relation, taken as a whole, makes against the idea of Japan being governed by a limited monarch.

The superstitious veneration for high rank and power which exists in puerile and ill-formed minds, has always been observed to give way before the advances of freedom; so that at length the monarch is looked upon only as the supreme magistrate, and venerated in proportion to his abilities or virtues. But in Japan, when the emperor goes abroad, the citizens are compelled to retire to the interior of their houses, leaving all their doors open, to show that every thing they possess is the emperor's; and if the monarch desire to see any one, he must kneel on a mat before his door, while the king converses with him. This is not the picture of a people having any pretensions to liberty; indeed we are told by Caron that "no one dares to attempt any opposition to the will of the sovereign; and when he has positively stated his opinion, no one dares to utter any thing by way of persuading him to change it. The least punishment that would await a temerity of this kind would be banishment." The same writer adds that all men in place and office are chosen by the emperor, and are always ready to fulfil his desires and to applaud his excesses.

It is an old observation, that the degree of excellence at which any government has arrived, may be exactly estimated by considering the proportion of those whom its principles affect that are made happy by their operation; and by calculating how far it calls into action the energies of the members of the state. It seems to be an error very generally entertained, that a nation and

its government should be distinct bodies with separate interests, and that the interests of the former should at all times be sacrificed to those of the latter: but a government is a nation sifted to its first principles, or most simple elements, and acting for its own preservation and happiness; and like the apex of a pyramid is always best and most secure the less it is elevated above its basis. The efforts of all wise men in a state should be directed towards rendering the path of office of every description plain and accessible; for the more it is made a mystery, the further it is removed from the apprehension and grasp of popular inquiry; the more evil, quackish, and destructive of public happiness will it become. It is in a state as in an individual, the mark of meanness, evil intention, and want of all true vigour and intellectual superiority, to be for ever placing artificial and conventional barriers between itself and mankind; there is always in such cases a lurking consciousness of unfitness to be known, of ignorant pride to be abased, of unworthiness and guilt to be degraded and punished. It is in trial that virtue and genius shine. We know that many superficial reasoners, men who sail blindfold through the ocean of truth, and pick up what they get entangled in at random, have endeavoured to instal in the political science their puerile notions of the wisdom of mysticism, and artificial distinctions. To such persons Japan may offer a model of good government, and of excellent laws; for, according to them, it is better that the human mind and passions should lie bound up in a perpetual frost, than that the fierce heats of inquiry should melt them into a condition to receive the thrilling impulse of truth and nature.

There are various notions of civilization and refinement, and it might therefore be a vague way of speaking to say that government is good in proportion as it tends to promote their influences: but we will try to explain what we mean by civilization, and then see how it is affected by the government of Japan, that we may, if possible, gather its nature from its results. Civilization consists of arts for softening or banishing those evils which adhere to what is called the natural state of society, and for ensuring to the greatest possible number of men all those elements or ingredients of happiness which man's passions and the constitution of his mind befit him to enjoy. Various forms of government have attempted to promote this end in various ways; and it is observable that ordinary minds at length come to take their intelligible conception of happiness from the constitution of their government; that is, from its imperceptible influences, diffused through their education, religion, and amusements.

But there is in the mind an everlasting tendency or *nisus* after happiness, that seems to act blindly, which no government can eradicate; and it is the thwarting or fulfilling of this tendency that constitutes the weakness or wisdom of a government. To those

who cannot penetrate beyond the mere surface of politics, we are aware that this idea must be obscure; because, like taste, "it seems too volatile to endure even the chains of a definition;" but there are few who have not experienced the secret gnawings of the desire of freedom and independence. Such persons will be able to comprehend in what way man's felicity is best to be promoted, for the best school of politics is the silent reading of the heart; which is a book less subject than others to be corrupted by system. Drawing our principles from thence, and applying them to the government of Japan, we shall not fail to pronounce it a despotic and cruel system.

One of the worst of its features, and that which distinguishes it by superior cruelty from all other barbarous politics, is the punishment it inflicts on what it denominates *treason*. In other countries and some of them remarkable for the ferocity of their criminal laws, the punishment of the guilty person and his associates commonly satisfies the vengeance of terrified power; but in Japan nothing short of the extermination of the offender's whole race, however innocent or remote from any knowledge of the crime, can appease the rage of government. The supreme power, indeed, in such countries, has something of the nature of a sanguinary idol, whose victims are chosen from among its worshippers. A list of such crimes as are denominated *treason*, and their punishment, may afford a powerful illustration of our subject.

"The following are reckoned to be offences against the state: the breach of any of the emperor's ordinances and proclamations; the misconduct of the nobles of the empire in the administration of the affairs committed to them by the emperor; the embezzlement or improper appropriation of the revenues of the empire; the coining of counterfeit money; the ravishment of another's wife or daughter; the forcible carrying away of women from the highlands to the lowlands. Not only the offender, in these cases, but his whole family, is liable to punishment. If the wife be an accomplice in the crime, she must also suffer death; but if she be innocent of it, she is quit by being sold for a slave; for the women are not allowed to be put to death for the crime of another; it is only their own crimes for which they are liable to capital punishment. The usual punishment on occasions of the kind just mentioned are, according to the nature of the crime—burning alive; crucifixion, with the legs in the air and the head downward; tearing into four quarters by bulls; and sometimes being cast alive into boiling water or oil."*

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* Caron's Account of Japan. Two instances taken from the same author, will show that these doctrines are practised as well as taught. "A certain Japanese," says he, "who had contracted with one of the imperial governors to furnish a certain quantity of carpenter's work and masonry, having miscalculated in his bargain, failed to complete it properly; but to hide it, he had bribed some of the

But tyranny is seldom contented with interfering merely with public concerns; the emperor gives wives to his nobles, and the children born of these inherit to the exclusion of the rest; and if there should be none by these wives, the estate passes to another nobleman, leaving the other children in beggary. It is remarked by travellers that the luxury of these women is excessive, which assists in keeping their husbands dependent on the court, in order to maintain it. Pomp and excessive expenditure are assiduously promoted by the government; and to this end the emperor visits each of his nobles, if possible, once during his reign. Years are spent in preparation for this event, which sometimes ends in the total ruin of the noble host. This, in Japan, is considered a piece of good policy; for it is believed that the great are only dangerous as long as they are possessed of immoderate riches. But the monarch's patronage and friendship are not the only methods by which the Japanese nobles are encouraged to ruin themselves; it is made requisite, by ancient usage, for noblemen to be attended by a large train of dependents, consisting of persons of their own order impoverished by extravagance, adventurers of all ranks, and officers and troops of a kind of feudal soldiery, which they are required to maintain for the sovereign's service. The Governor of Firando, says Caron, was attended to court by three thousand of these followers. As every petty prince is absolute in his own

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military and inspectors, in whose department the contract was to have been executed. This having been discovered, the inspectors were condemned to rip open their bellies, and the contractor to be crucified with his head downwards." The second is as follows: "It happened," he says further on, "in my time, which, indeed, is not a matter of rare occurrence, that a nobleman who had been appointed by the Emperor to the administration of a certain territory in the neighbourhood of Jedo, extorted from the peasants a larger contribution than that at which the lands they cultivated were legally assessed. Scraping in this manner together more than he stood in need of for the support of his establishment, he saved money, and became a rich man. The peasants, at length, not being able to endure the oppression under which they laboured any longer, presented a petition, and proved the allegations which it contained. Upon this, the nobleman was condemned, together with his whole family, to rip open their bellies. He had a brother in the western territory, at about 250 leagues distance, in the service of the King of Tingo; an uncle at Zatsuma, 20 leagues further; a son in the service of the Rajah of Kinocani; a grandson in the eastern territory, 110 leagues from Jedo, at the court of the King of Massamne; another son in the service of the Governor of Quando; two brothers who were soldiers in the imperial service; and another son, the youngest of all, who lived near Jedo, and whom he had given to a rich merchant, who, having no other children but daughters, had, even in his infancy, earnestly begged to have the young man, with the intention of marrying him to one of his daughters: the Dutch were well acquainted with the merchant. All these persons, living at such wide distances from each other, ripped open their bellies, and died on the same day and at the same hour. In order to fix the day of execution, a calculation was made how many days an imperial courier would require to travel from Jedo to Zatsuma, the most distant place where any of the relatives of the culprit resided; and on what day of the month, and on what hour of the day, he could arrive there. It appearing that that would be on the eighth day of the eighth month, orders were issued that all the others should execute the sentence upon themselves on that day exactly at noon; which was observed with the greatest precision."

government, and very often at war with the chief of the next province, it is very natural that they should be desirous of keeping on foot as large a military force as possible, and we in fact find that they generally have in their pay double the number of troops required.

Those grandees who attend about the person of the sovereign, are not permitted to hold any offices under the government, and are called companion-nobles. It is the business of these to perform any action, or to learn any art, that the prince may command. Some of them are musicians, others physicians, singers, *beautiful writers*, painters, or *orators!* Thus the judicious traveller confounds the qualifications of these noblemen, for all things are reduced to the same level, when practiced for the pleasure and at the will of a tyrant. What indeed can we think of an orator decking his gaudy periods with all the tinsel of false eloquence, to amuse the ear, or stir the lazy passions, of an ignorant despot! What is he better than a singer or a fiddler? We are told by the same travellers, that even the common soldiers *are not ignorant of literature.* But persons must have strange notions of literature who can imagine it in the possession of such barbarians as the common soldiers of Japan, who are described by Golownin as ignorant of nearly every human thing. But it is plain that even among the highest classes there exists but a slender degree of knowledge; for as it is they who frame the laws, we may judge of them by the character of their works.

Crimes, it is allowed by all, should be punished if they cannot be prevented; but punishments should rather have respect to society than to the criminal; as their true aim is the prevention of such acts in future, by showing the consequences of evil-doing, rather than revenge for offences past. If society could exist without penal laws, they should not be introduced; but as it appears that it cannot, they are considered necessary; yet we are directed by nature to preserve our being with the least possible injury and pain to others. It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of mankind, that while they yet linger on the precincts of barbarism, their laws are cruel and ferocious; that as they proceed, increasing knowledge and civilization induce mildness and equity; and that as they again sink towards the close of their career, vice and corruption again bring in sanguinary and inefficient punishments. The march of some nations is like the track of the sun in winter, short, and never approaching the meridian heights of science—their very noon is cold and obscure.

This seems to be peculiarly the case of the Japanese; their civilization itself is nothing more than a modified kind of barbarism, and seems inferior in many respects to the state of the savage. Civilization is nothing, if it does not protect the life of the innocent—but in Japan, the honest and peaceful citizen is liable at

every moment to have his bowels ripped open for the crimes of another, over whom he has no control. This is the most extraordinary degree of legal ferocity existing on the face of the earth; and is alone sufficient to make the condition of the Japanese a thousand times less enviable than that of the most destitute savage of the wilds. If we were well assured that it was only theoretical, and never at all reduced to practice, it would still show that their legislator, whoever he was, together with the heart of a fiend, possessed a most despicable understanding; but it is too evident that practice in Japan outruns even the original system. Upon the whole it seems to be the worst government in Asia, both in its principles and their consequences. On all occasions it evinces a contempt for human life, and a repugnance to reform. "The Japanese," says Capt. Golownin, "are quick in learning, and possess not only drawings, but models, of European vessels; but they will not introduce any thing foreign among them, and lose every year a great many ships and sailors. The extraordinary population of this kingdom causes the government not to feel this loss, and it is perhaps for this reason that it so little regards the lives of its subjects."—"There are other reasons for believing that it is not too careful about the preservation of the subjects; for instance, there are no hospitals in Japan; every one gets cured as he can, and therefore poor people often die without assistance." When the Russian Government caused to be conveyed back to Japan a number of its mariners who had been shipwrecked on the Russian coast, the Japanese Government thanked them, but observed at the same time, that they might either leave them or *take them back, as they might think fit*. These are the sentiments of ignorant and barbarous policy, though they have sometimes been mistaken for greatness of mind. But no sentiment is great that is not humane, and no nation is civilized whose government is not solicitous for the safety of the citizens.

TO A YOUNG VIRGIN.

[*From the Greek of Anacreon.*]

Thou shouldst not fly me, Girl, although
Time has touched my head with snow;
Although the loveliest flower in Spring,
While shaken by the zephyr's wing,
Is not more beautiful than thou—
Thou shouldst not spurn my passion so.
Observe the chaplet's mingled hue,
Where the pale lily, steeped in dew
Right welcome twines its graceful head
Among the rose's brightest red.

MEANS OF IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA.

The anomalous and shortsighted policy so long pursued by Great Britain towards her East Indian dependencies, has been a frequent and fertile source of complaint and animadversion. Invested with supreme and unlimited control over eighty millions of human beings, inhabiting one of the most highly favoured regions on the surface of the earth, but reduced to the lowest state of mental degradation, she seems to have entirely forgotten that the possession of that power involves also the duty of improving the moral and physical condition of the people, and of imparting to them the blessings of civilization. Regardless, however, of this clear and paramount duty, she has delegated the sovereignty which bound her to its fulfilment, to a Company of Traders, whose primary object it has been to make that sovereignty permanent in their own hands, no matter by what means, in order to secure to themselves whatever of profit might be extracted from the soil, from which they have systematically withheld and excluded the means of improvement. Without wasting a thought on what might be the consequences of such an act, to the wretched natives of those remote regions, she has consigned their dearest interests to the tender mercies of a body of men, whose confined and money-making spirit has been invariably opposed to those extended and enlightened views of policy, which would have induced a more liberal Government to regard the permanent benefit of its subjects as an object of far higher importance, than the amount of tribute which it might annually drain from them.

Acting on the avowed principle that the poverty and ignorance of the Natives compose the strength of the Government, the East India Company has uniformly resisted every attempt to enlighten their minds, and to raise them from their present degraded condition. With the view of putting a stop to all such attempts, regulations have been studiously framed, by which Europeans, whose superior science and skill would have contributed greatly to promote those desirable objects, have been prevented from becoming possessed of any permanent interest in the country, whether as farmers or as landed proprietors. The European race has consequently been reduced to the mere servants of the Government, and to such as under its license are permitted to follow their mercantile pursuits. The number of persons thus circumstanced must of necessity be small, and it is calculated that at the present moment it does not exceed forty thousand. This vast disproportion between the governing and the subject orders, and the total want of that community of feeling by which all the members of a state ought to be linked together, has been productive of so great an internal weakness in the Government, that the insecurity of its tenure has been at all times universally acknowledged. Thus the means unwisely adopted by the Company for the purpose of perpetuating their dominion, have led to the very result against which they were intended to guard.

But while it is allowed on all hands that, under the present system of government, the British dominion in India is not secure, even for a single day, the opinions of those who have devoted their attention to the subject of the means to be adopted for ensuring its continuance, have been much

divided. Some, indeed, the constant advocates of the fitness of things as they are, have strenuously urged the doctrine of non-interference, lest any alteration, however trivial, in the existing order of things, should overthrow a power, the existence of which depends on so slender a thread; and have blindly maintained, that there is no safety for the Government except in a continued enforcement of those arbitrary and exclusive regulations, under the influence of which this precarious state of things has arisen. Those, however, who see nothing to terrify them in the bugbear innovation, when that innovation is loudly demanded by sound policy and common sense, have regarded, as the best and most decisive remedy, the formation of a body intermediate between the governors and the governed, which, while mutually controlling, would, at the same time, mutually support both the one and the other; and form the strongest bond of union between them. Among those who maintain this latter opinion, some are desirous that this intermediate body should be formed from among the Natives themselves, without, however, pointing out by what means this object is to be accomplished; while others maintain that the only safe and practicable mode of carrying into effect this essential preliminary, is the introduction of a sufficient number of European settlers, who, by forming a permanent connexion with the soil, and with the people, would speedily become identified with them, by a community of interest, and a reciprocity of feelings.

In the consideration of so important a subject as the Colonization of India, and of the means by which it is to be effected, the actual state of the country must of course be investigated, and the government of the East India Company, as well as the situation of the Natives, be fully reviewed. The difficulties opposed to the measure require also to be pointed out, and the consequences likely to result from it to be duly weighed. The whole of these points have been carefully and candidly examined in a recent work on India,* which we have no hesitation in characterizing as one of the most valuable that has appeared since the History of Mr. Mill. The author is one of the best informed writers that have ever taken up the subject; and throughout every line of his book, which is written expressly to advocate Colonization as the "one thing needful" for the security of India, there is also a patriotic attachment to every thing British; which may make him a safe guide to those even who think only of the glory of their country, on whatever basis this may be founded.

But it is not alone with a view to the stability of British interests in India that the author advocates the application of a system of Colonization to that country. Actuated by the true spirit of sound philosophy, he looks upon this as a result of secondary importance when compared with the immense moral consequences which could not fail to accrue from its adoption. Regarding the civilization and intellectual improvement of the human race, as the consummation to which all other considerations ought to be held subservient, he directs his powerful efforts to the attainment of this grand object, in the present work, of which we propose to lay before our readers a brief but comprehensive and faithful analysis.

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* An Inquiry into the Expediency of applying the Principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India; and of effecting an essential Change in its Landed Tenures, and consequently in the Character of its Inhabitants. London, 1823. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 382.

This valuable but unpretending volume first treats of the commercial system of the East India Company, and proves, by the confessions of the Directors themselves, occasional only, it is true, and apparently almost accidental, that that body cannot be regarded as a commercial one, unless it be granted that trade can continue to be carried on at a continual loss; for it is evident from these statements that the balance of a fair account, if such account had ever been kept, of the commercial concerns of the Company, would constantly evince a most material deficiency. The Company, however, has continued to exist; and even, as its friends affirm, to increase in prosperity; some other resource must, therefore, have been possessed by it, for no argument is requisite to demonstrate that a fair merchant can never become rich by a continued course of uninterrupted losses. This resource is discovered in the tribute which they drain from India.

Succeeding to the rights of the Native Princes, whom it has dispossessed, or taken under its parental tutelage, the East India Company has obtained for itself nine-tenths of the whole rents arising from the immense territories over which it rules. These, after deducting a small, and generally a very small, proportion of them, for the necessary expenses of the government of India, (for in this point alone the Company is actuated by the genuine spirit of commerce, and advocates the principle of the smallest possible expenditure,) are partly transmitted to China to be employed in the Company's monopoly of the tea-trade; and the remainder is invested in the purchase in the Indian market of such articles as may realize a profit in England, though this profit has on many occasions been treated as a secondary object; as indeed it may fairly be considered when we reflect that the whole of the investment derived from this source must be regarded as profit altogether. The revenue thus obtained, which in fact is tribute paid by India into the Company's coffers, forms, with the profit derived from its monopolies, the only income which is available for its dividends; and when this revenue has happened to be insufficient for the investment required, the deficiency has been made up by loans, the repayment of which, together with the interest thereon, is imposed upon the territory of India, which is thus made answerable for goods exported to its own detriment, and to the advantage only of a distant and mercenary community. How long it may be possible for the riches of that favoured and fertile portion of the earth to continue paying all and receiving nothing, is a problem difficult to be solved; but the day must come when this system must of necessity cease; when all having been taken, nothing will remain to be seized; and when the exhausted land will no longer afford any portion of the supplies now so unsparingly drained from it. The present system must, therefore, eventually destroy itself; but its duration may be prolonged by a continuance of the ruinous system of loans now in progress; and the check thus to be given by the ruin of the territory, is a consummation so devoutly to be deprecated, that we are bound to seek a remedy to prevent so fatal a result.

This remedy can only be discovered either in the diminution of the amount levied from the soil, or in its improvement, to such an extent as to enable it to bear with less inconvenience the burden imposed upon it. The increasing debt, with the interest accruing thereon, without referring to the rapacity of its rulers, would alone be sufficient to prevent the former of these alternatives from fulfilling the proposed object; nor would its

effects be other than deferring for a longer period of time the final ruin which must ensue from a constant and unceasing drain, which is not counterbalanced by any corresponding influx; neither would the latter be possible under the present system, as will be evident on a reference to the actual statistical condition of the territories.

Throughout the whole of India, the cultivation of the soil is universally in the hands of the ryots, who cultivate farms of from six to twenty-four acres each,—

"- - - the majority being of the smaller description, and requiring only one plough, which with other implements and a team of oxen, costs about 6*l*. Under these circumstances, together with the inveterate custom of borrowing for rent, seed, &c., at usurious interest, it will not be supposed that the farmer can earn more than a bare subsistence; and the result of Mr. Colebrooke's calculations is, that "the peasant, cultivating for half-produce, is not so well rewarded for his toil as hired labourers."

The impoverished state of this order, which constitutes the majority of the inhabitants, deprives them of the energy necessary to the cultivation of the soil in such a manner as to enable them to improve their condition; while the zemindars, or proprietors of land (who, however, are confined by law to certain rents for the respective farms, and possess no power over the ryots, so long as these rents are discharged), are, according to a minute of Mr. Shore, "almost universally poor." This assertion he verifies by referring to the actual condition of five of the zemindars, the aggregate of whose contributions to the revenue was at the time of the formation of the permanent settlement nearly 1,000,000*l*. And if this statement of Mr. Shore was correct in 1789, how much more forcibly must it apply to the present period, when all these large estates have been greatly reduced by the attachment and sale of portions of them for the recovery of arrears of revenue? The poverty of the natives then, from the lowest to the highest rank, as well as the mental debasement which they exhibit, will preclude all expectation of forming from among them that body of gentry, the establishment of which in India was so ardently desired by Lord Cornwallis. It will, therefore, be unnecessary for us to accompany the author through his details of the various plans which have been proposed for the attainment of this desirable object; nor shall we refer to his able observations on the permanent settlement, and on its results. We shall, however, avail ourselves of the statistical comparison which he has instituted between Great Britain and her West Indian colonies, as compared with her dominions in the East, which points out in the most forcible manner, the results which might be expected from the free introduction of European enterprise, and the diffusion of arts and of knowledge among the natives.

Bengal is about the same size as Great Britain, and each contains about 30,000,000 of cultivated acres. The revenue collected in Bengal is less than three millions and a half; in Britain it is more than fifty millions. In Bengal, the value of the gross produce of the land is little more than 1*l*. an acre, and the expense of cultivation, from the waste of labour and inefficiency of implements, averages three-f[illegible] of the gross produce: in Britain it is 5*l*. an acre, and the expense of cultivation less than one-third of the gross produce. So that though the gross produce of Great Britain exceeds that of Bengal only five-fold, its net produce exceeds that of the latter twelve-fold. In Bengal, a gross produce of 32,000,000*l*. divided by 24,000,000, the number of persons employed in agriculture, gives 1*l*. 7*s*. for each individual; in Britain, a gross produce of 150,000,000*l*., averages 37*l*. 10*s*. for each individual employed in agriculture. In the West Indies,

the yearly value of the produce exported, exclusive of what is consumed by the inhabitants themselves, is 13*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* per head, for man, woman, and child, black and white.

The disproportionate productiveness between the eastern and western possessions of Great Britain, as evinced in this statement, is so striking, as to force itself on the attention, and to compel an inquiry even from the most phlegmatic, as to the causes which produce it. No one will attribute this difference to the superior fertility of the west when compared with that of the east; so far from this being the case, the contrary is too notorious to be disputed. To what other cause then can it be owing, unless to the superior cultivation and improved means of agriculture which have been introduced by European colonists into the west; while the inefficient practices, which have been continued for centuries, and have descended from generation to generation, each blindly following, with a paramount dread of innovation, in the steps of the preceding one, have succeeded in checking in the east the bounteous gifts which nature had bestowed, and in reducing the overflowing abundance which the land yearns to pour forth, to a bare and scanty subsistence for its impoverished inhabitants. This dread of innovation, which forms the most prominent feature in the character of the natives of the east, presents an effectual bar to the expectation of the requisite improvement of the territory through them; and we are therefore compelled to seek for other means of attaining it. Analogy, drawn from the West Indian settlements, would indicate Colonization as the plan to be adopted; and this will be found to be the only safe and effectual remedy for all the evils under which India now labours.

It is necessary to inquire what specific measures should be adopted, in order to introduce and to promote Colonization; the first step to which must evidently be the reversal of those legislative provisions, which, at present, not only prohibit Europeans from being proprietors of land, but withhold all temptation to evade the prohibition.

All legal obstacles being supposed to be removed, the simplest operation that would follow would be the sale of waste lands, by government and by private persons, to Europeans, without the reservation or future imposition of any tax on rent. It would not be easy to reckon the advantages which these transactions would immediately produce. The demand for labourers would occasion a desirable rise of wages among the poorest class of the community. The rise would not affect those ryots who are attached to their own hereditary farms, or (as they may with perhaps equal propriety be termed) estates; but the benefit being less extended would be more sensibly felt; and the increasing improvement in the condition of labourers, as compared with that of ryots, would facilitate the conversion of ryots into labourers; a conversion which it would be the principal object of the proposed measures ultimately to effect wherever the range of their influence extended. Each undertaking would also be a school of agriculture, a focus whence instruction would be disseminated more effectually than from the experimental farms projected by Lord Wellesley, without occasioning any expense to Government; but being on the contrary the germs of an infinite augmentation of its resources. The means of transport, by land and water, would be improved, so as greatly to reduce the expense of conveyance to remote markets; while the increase of Europeans and the diffusion of a taste for the productions of Europe among the natives, would continually extend the export trade from Britain, the limitation of which used to be an argument with the Company against throwing open the trade, and still is with West India proprietors, against an equalization of duties on the sugars of both hemispheres.

When the land to be purchased by an European had been already in a state of cultivation, the operation would be somewhat complex. For after he had paid its

price to the zemindar, and redeemed the land-tax from Government (say at sixteen years purchase), it would still be necessary that he should purchase the interests which the ryots on his estate held in the portions which they occupied, so that nothing should stand between him and the use of the soil. The nature of these bargains would vary according to circumstances, and the compensation in each case would depend on a comparative estimate of what the respective parties were about to surrender on the one hand, and to acquire on the other. Wherever the situation of the ryot was superior, in point of earnings, to that of a hired labourer, the interest he would have to dispose of would be more tangible and susceptible of estimation; but even in those innumerable cases where it was worse, he would yet have to exchange the certainty of a subsistence, however scanty and wretched, for the fluctuating demand of the market of labour. As the superfluity of hands was drawn off from the old lands, their services would be required on the new, and in other operations connected with the preparation and circulation of an increasing quantity of commodities: and as these transactions would be contemporaneous, the balance would still be in favour of the demand for labour, so as to keep the reward allotted to it permanently above the former average. During the progress of this change, there would be a gradual tendency to fix, in the mind of the labourer, a higher standard of physical comforts than he or his ancestors had been accustomed to; and population would at last so adjust itself as to enable him to command all the conveniences that philanthropy could wish to see him in the enjoyment of.

After some forty or fifty thousand European heads of families had established themselves as agriculturists, merchants and tradesmen, in the territories subject to the Bengal presidency, and a like proportion in the other presidencies, it would be time to permit the natives to redeem their land-tax, and the rights of occupancy of their ryots, so as ultimately and universally to effect a really radical change in the Indian system of landed tenure. An increasing proportion of natives, especially of those born since the transition was in progress, would then be qualified, by emulating their British or Creole brethren, to avail themselves of the new advantages opened to them by a strong and liberal Government, and to cast off the slough of Indian habits and prejudices. It would then also be time to make the English language the medium of all public business, and to extend to native Christians eligibility to the highest civil and military offices; at the same time that the unconverted might be admitted into many from which they are now excluded.

At an early period of the new era it would be expedient to reform the Government, by substituting for the present council, at each of the presidencies, two legislative bodies, on the model of those of Jamaica: but from electors and elected the qualification to be required ought not to be genealogical, that is, ought not to refer to shades of complexion, but to property and religion. When circumstances rendered such a change practicable, the upper house would be composed of peers and prelates. As soon as the materials for such a fabric existed, its construction would be rendered imperative by a regard for the strength of Government and the welfare of the people.

Such are the leading outlines of the proposed plan for conferring on the population of India some portion of the advantages which they are entitled to expect at the hands of her rulers. It remains to be considered, what influence the climate is likely to produce on the progress of the colony. From the occasional visits of epidemics, no country is exempt; but, in general, it may be said, that, though the climate is far from being congenial to the European constitution, yet, in ordinary years, the proportion of deaths is not greater than it is in Europe. In the progress of the colony, the climate will moreover be continually improved, by the progressive clearing of jungles, draining of swamps, &c., which will be attended with the most salutary results. But, as the very existence of the colony would depend on the number and character of the Creoles, it is necessary to inquire in what manner they are likely to be affected by the climate. Reasoning again from the analogy of the West Indies, and the existing mixed race in India, we have no reason to

apprehend any kind of degeneracy. On the contrary, they will probably be as it were acclimated Europeans, with no less capacity and stability of mind; but equally capable, with the aboriginal inhabitants, of resisting the utmost fervour of the solar ray; forming at once the most valuable class of the community, and that into which the others would almost imperceptibly blend, until a whole was formed linked together by a common interest and feeling.

The total absence of this community of interest and of feeling between the governors and the governed, throws insuperable obstables in the way of all plans for the improvement of the latter. The immeasurable distance interposed between them is such, that "the greatest zemindar," as Sir H. Strachey declared in answer to one of the interrogatories circulated by Lord Wellesley, "though possibly a proud man, would not refuse, for the promotion of his interest, to court the friendship of the lowest dependant of an European." A political system so degrading to the one side, and so tempting to overbearing despotism on the other, can only be counteracted by the establishment of an intermediate body, connected with the natives by a permanent interest in the soil, and possessed of sufficient weight, by the extent of its landed possessions, to command respect and attention. This Sir H. Strachey proposed to effect by restoring to the zemindars the civil and military power with which they were formerly invested; though he confessed that he could not distinctly comprehend the mode in which it was to be effected. We cannot be surprised at this, when we reflect that this plan could not be brought into operation, without withdrawing both the collectors and judges from their several districts, and thus reverting to those first crude arrangements, from which constant experience of the venality and abuses inseparable from the exercise of power by the natives, have induced us to recede. If the collectors and judges are retained, the people cannot look up to the zemindars as persons intrusted by Government with the means of influencing their happiness,—and we cannot through their medium inspire awe, much less awaken national ardour; a sentiment, indeed, which never inhabited the breasts of their ancestors in any generation. It is, therefore, evident that the intermediate class can only be formed by the cordial encouragement of Colonization.

By no other means can the double objection to the employment of natives be removed; first, that they are not morally qualified, if Government were willing; secondly, that if they were so qualified, Government dare not arm them with so much power and influence. From the closer intercourse and more frequent mental collision on every subject of human interest and occupation that would then take place between the native and creole population, and from the increased means which the latter would possess of operating directly on the moral and intellectual character of the former by the multiplication of schools and colleges, the English language, religion, laws, and manners, would become common to the two races; and not only would the native candidates for office be endued with the requisite qualifications, but the Government would derive strength and consistency from laying open all offices to their ambition, and thereby interesting all, from the highest to the lowest, in its stability.

The advantages which have been indicated as the results to be derived from the Colonization of India are so prominent, and the chain of deductions by which they are supported so convincing, that it must be matter of surprise that any should continue so obstinately blinded by prejudice, as to refuse assent to them. There are, however, many who still object to

this, the only rational method of ensuring to the immense territories of the East, the blessings of civilization; and found their opposition to the measure on the evils which would result to the natives in consequence of it. The principal of their objections may be resolved into three heads; the first of which assumes that Colonization never takes place without dispossessing the original inhabitants of a part or the whole of their territory. The truth of this proposition cannot be disputed, when the people who take possession of the territory are in precisely the same state of civilization as those who formerly inhabited it. One pastoral people, for instance, subduing another, and appropriating their land, with its flocks and herds, to themselves, must of necessity, since they possess no means of rendering the land more productive than it had previously been, either expel or exterminate the former inhabitants.

But when a people colonizes in a country occupied by another less advanced in arts and improvements, they make room for themselves, not by displacing the indigenous inhabitants, but by the creation of new resources, by applying more skill and labour to the cultivation of the soil, and to every other means of sustenance and convenience.

The second principal objection proceeds upon the ground, that Colonization would create an Indo-British public, whose moral feelings would be so much debased, that their indifference to the sufferings of the natives would only differ in degree from that bigoted insensibility, which obtains in the West Indies, and especially at Barbadoes, with respect to that of the negroes. Unfortunately, however, for the argument, the illustration on which it rests is unfounded; and the real state of the case, particularly as it regards Barbadoes, affords a strong analogical presumption of the benefits which would be derived to India from the operation of the same causes. Barbadoes and Bermuda especially, above all our other West Indian Colonies, have been for a long time fully peopled, and "about ten generations of native whites and blacks," says Dickson, "have grown up together in a degree of forbearance in the whites, and submission in the blacks, unknown in the later settlements, where time has not yet smoothed down in some degree the asperities which naturally grow out of the incompatible interests and conflicting passions of owner and slave." Analogy would induce us to expect the same results from the same causes, whether operating in the East or in the West; and if we proceed to examine the result of continued communication, so far as it has been practicable under the system hitherto adopted, we shall find that we have not been deceived in adopting this as our criterion.

Wherever the European inhabitants are more thickly congregated, as at the three seats of government; wherever individuals have habituated themselves to much intercourse with the natives, and having survived their originalities of family and friendship, and contracted new ones, have ceased to contemplate Britain as the vista of their earthly pilgrimage; in short, wherever there is an approximation to that state of things which Colonization would exhibit, there we find the Europeans animated with the most kindly feelings towards the natives, most ably and actively co-operating for their improvement, and reaping the most ample returns of confidence and attachment. Thus, at Calcutta, there are Bible Societies, School Societies, and a School-book Society; and in the principal School Society and School-book Society, we see Europeans and Natives acting together as members of the same committees, and joint secretaries, giving to each other the right hand of fellowship.

And thereby justifying a belief, that the two orders will hereafter make

nearer and nearer approaches to mutual understanding, respect, and regard. The Saugor Island Society, the subscription list of which was filled by the joint contributions of Europeans and of Natives, presents another instance of the union thus effected; nor is this beneficial and kindly intercourse restricted to public undertakings alone.

Several Hindoos are also associated with Europeans as partners in their private mercantile establishments, and are thus enabled to invest their funds in undertakings, which Natives alone could neither have originated nor supported. These men speak and write English correctly, and their sons promise to surpass them, being taught English, Latin, and other parts of a liberal education.

From this mutual interchange of kindly offices, a Public has already sprung up in India; imperfect, indeed, for its formation has been impeded by every obstacle which could possibly have been opposed to it, but already presenting the germ which, by the vivifying influence of Colonization, would develop itself into a forest-tree of magnificent growth, the object at once of admiration and respect. On the spot where every Indian occurrence, great or small, is transacted; present to see, to hear, to snuff up the slightest odour of good or ill-desert; this Public already constitutes the audience, with whose applause or censure the actors must necessarily feel cheered or dejected.

But in order that this audience should be able to discharge the important function assigned to it, it is necessary that its mouth, the Press, should be free. When authors are subjected to arbitrary and extra-judicial punishments, the Press ceases to be an organ of praise or blame. When people once perceive that, like the suborned oracle, it can only Phillippize, its monotonous strains of panegyric are always suspected and generally despised. In the meantime calumny and misrepresentation creep about and maintain their existence only from the interception of that publicity under whose scrutiny and rebuke they could not live. Such was the condition of the press of Calcutta during the many years previous to the administration of the Marquis of Hastings; but as the censorship is not dead, but sleepeth, and may be restored to its abhorred office by his successor—as the control of Government over the press has not been legally annulled, but only the mode of exercising it altered—it is necessary to remind Englishmen, that their brethren in India, whatever station they may be honestly and diligently filling, are liable to be removed from it and turned pennyless on the wide world, if they publish any thing displeasing to the Government.

Little, probably, did the author anticipate, that within a few brief months, such an occurrence would actually take place, to the astonishment of India, and the eternal disgrace of the temporary Governor who dared to verify the picture which this writer has drawn!

It is urged, that it would be dangerous to allow indiscreet discussions to go forth among the Natives; in other words, that such are the motives of the existing Government, that they will not stand the test of examination: a bitter satire, indeed, which it casts upon itself, and infinitely more galling than any lashes which the press could inflict upon it. The press, however, is a powerful engine, which will bear no restraint; whatever difficulties may encircle it, its innate energies will suffice to burst asunder the bonds with which an interested policy may have conspired to fetter it. The protector of freedom, it will itself be free; and even in India, the offspring of Europeans by native mothers residing within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts, are exempted from these star-chamber proceedings, in respect to its use, to which British subjects are liable. An extraordinary anomaly, that those who are in other respects treated as objects of distrust, and who may, therefore, be presumed to be somewhat

dissatisfied and querulous, should be allowed the greatest latitude of public discussion, and be answerable to the laws alone for any breach of them which they may commit; while they stand exempt from the jurisdiction of the Governor in Council, to which the otherwise favoured native of Europe is compelled to bow his unresisting head.

Connected with the Press, as the great palladium of public liberty, is the Trial by Jury. In the provincial courts of India, the Natives are tried by European Judges, without a Jury; and in the Supreme Courts, at the Presidencies, by Juries composed of British subjects. Mr. Grant objects to the introduction of natives on juries, on the ground that no reliance could be placed on the oaths of any number of jurors promiscuously taken; an assertion which he founds on the lamentable prevarication so constantly exhibited by native witnesses. The tact of a native jury in drawing just inferences from the manner of witnesses, would, however, lead to great advantages, and an indiscriminate selection of the jurors would afford a considerable security for their impartiality. The Courts Martial of our native army, which are composed of native officers, discharge their office in a very satisfactory manner; and we may, therefore, be justified in expressing a hope that the virtues, which they are allowed to possess, may not be found altogether wanting among their civil brethren.

The third and last objection is completely at variance with the preceding. It ceases to dread for the natives that inhuman and barbarous treatment which shall irritate them to a successful struggle to throw off the British yoke; but assumes, in direct opposition to it, that the prudence and mildness of a numerous European community, progressively enlarging its views with its importance, should effect so great an improvement in the native character as to constitute a mass of political strength, capable of conceiving and asserting pretensions to independence. The author

--- confidently submits to the candour of all men, that there can be no justification for the conduct of those who would interpose obstacles to obstruct the growth of those seeds of independence; inasmuch as no obstacle could be devised that would not partake more or less of oppression. And if such progressive improvement should ultimately lead to separation, that event should be regarded as the consummation of a series of virtuous labours, as the noblest monument of paternal care, as the commencement of a more valuable commercial intercourse with a people destined to spread and to elevate our name and language in the world.

The importance of the subjects treated of in the preceding pages, has insensibly led us into more extended details than we had proposed to ourselves at the commencement of this article; we can, therefore, only sketch over with a hasty pen the remaining topic, the pretended evils which would result to Great Britain from the abolition of the East India Company, which have been much insisted on by its supporters. They have asserted the impossibility of carrying on the China trade through other hands; but the Americans are capable of conducting it without the intervention of an exclusive Company. They have also declared that India could not be governed but through their means: the every-day evasion and disobedience of the Governors General to the orders of the Directors prove, however, that even now they are not the controlling power of India. The overwhelming patronage which would result to the British Government from the numerous places in India, to which it would have to nominate on the abolition of the Company, has been

much deprecated as dangerous to the independence of the Parliament; but the number of these has been much over-rated, and the majority of them would shortly, under a colonial system, be filled by the colonists, as by those persons most fully acquainted with local necessities and interests; and the Company would thus be relieved from the nervous dread it experiences lest by its abolition the Parliament of Great Britain should become corrupted. Finally, it is declared, that the sovereignty of India is in the Company a vested right, of which it cannot be deprived; let, however, the State resume the powers which it has granted to the Company, and where then is its sovereignty? But they have a right at least to compensation; and if the sovereignty of the Isle of Man was worth 100,000*l.*, that of India may be fairly valued at 120,000,000*l.*, a comfortable sum to divide among 3,000 proprietors; they would, doubtless, be delighted to receive their 40,000*l.* each: but unfortunately for them, the measure of their compensation under such circumstances must depend on the market value of their stock; and with merely this must they be content. Thus easily might the many-headed monster, which wields the sceptre of India, be deprived of its power to depress the energies of that unfortunate country, which, under an improved system of government, with a free influx of European talent and capital, would raise itself rapidly among the nations of the earth to civilization, to plenty, and to happiness.

LOVE UNLIKE THE SWALLOW.

[*From the Greek of Anacreon.*]

WHEN throughout the summer plain
The purple flowers have sprung amain,
Sweet Swallow! thou, a yearly guest,
Buildest beneath our eaves thy nest;
But when bright days have ceased to smile,
Art off to Memphis or the Nile.

Not so within my breast I prove
The merely summer-reign of Love;
No seasons teach his rage to spare,
Through frost and snow, he nestles there;
Still hatching quick, ere others fly,
His aye-increasing progeny.
Now a little love peeps out
The bursting shell, and chirps about;
While others half-disclosed appear,
From springing forth restrained by fear;
And the noise increasing, thrills
My soul from many opening bills.
The greater loves the lesser feed,
As careful to preserve the breed;
And these, in turn, proceed apace,
To add to the fast-growing race.
Alas! what shall I do? how count
The ever-growing vast amount?
My muse the mad endeavour flies—
And shall I press when she denies?

THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. 4.—*The Quarterly Review: concluded.*

It has been the occasional practice of Reviewers in all former ages (and even long before such publications as *Reviews* were ever thought of) to abuse works of unquestionable merit, and *prove* them to be no less foolish than mischievous, and their authors either very silly, or very wicked, or both. Homer himself has had his Zoilus; and Pope was plagued by hosts of Oldmixons, Dennises, and Cookes. The various motives to this practice have been intelligible at least, if not justifiable. Either "*mine enemy* hath written a book;" and therefore it must be shown to be bad: for revenge is a natural desire of the human mind, however unchristian;—or if, in point of fact, the work in question happens to be a good one, that is of course an additional reason for proving its worthlessness,—inasmuch as, if it really *is* bad, the most triumphant revenge that can be taken upon its author is simply to refer to it, and thus extend the reputation which it must necessarily create for itself. "The strong antipathy of *bad* to *good*," (ten times stronger than that of good to bad) is another sufficiently intelligible motive for maligning a meritorious work. The ugly have a natural hatred to the handsome, and may be half excused for showing it. And how can they show it so effectually, in regard to their own views, as by persuading us to believe that those they hate are no better than themselves? Immediate and obvious personal interests, either in the matter of reputation or of profit, furnish a third, very natural if not a very honourable, ground for calling in question pretensions that might otherwise be admitted, to our own manifest injury. We would all of us willingly remove those objects which stand in the way of our own progress or prospects, however pleasant or useful they may be in the eyes of other people: to say nothing of our not being very clearsighted in discovering any beauty in that which shuts out another admitted beauty from our view. The other motives that have usually led to the production of unmerited and extravagant censure on literary works, seem to have been, a natural incapacity to appreciate either merits or defects—a feeling of envy and jealousy, or a fear of rivalship—a desire, tacitly to set forth the superior pretensions of the party censuring, since no one will be supposed to be very severe on errors and defects to which he himself is liable—or, lastly, a disposition to pander to the depraved appetites of those readers (a vast majority in the present day) who can relish censure, without inquiring or caring whether it be just or not; but would turn from praise with indifference, and with the more indifference the more it is likely to be deserved.

These seem to be the principal motives which have usually led to the unmerited censure of literary works; and they are not absolutely unnatural ones, and therefore not absolutely without excuse. But it was reserved for the Quarterly Review to set an example, and thereby establish a system, altogether unprecedented in any times, and no less inconsistent with any recognizable principle on which the human mind has hitherto been observed to act. It should be understood, that we are now speaking, and throughout the rest of this paper intend to speak exclusively, of one particular portion of the Quarterly Review, and that a small one,

when compared with the whole. We have already expressed our opinions, pretty fully and unequivocally, as to the *general* character of the work now under notice: so that we have the less scruple in devoting the rest of our space on the present occasion to the particular portion in question; and desire that whatever we may now be led to say may be considered as applicable to that portion alone. In regard, then, to the matters now referred to, the Quarterly Review seems to have laid down for its direction some such formula as the following: Man is by nature an animal disposed to form itself into civilized societies; and civilized society is a state growing out of, and dependent upon, high tory and high church principles; therefore, he who would, by thought, word, or deed, disturb the action of those principles, or throw doubts upon their efficacy, is at best an enemy to his species, if he can be allowed to rank among them at all; and to abate such a person, as a common nuisance, is to do the state a service, and to deserve its thanks! If this be not the principle on which the Quarterly Review has acted in most of the cases now to be examined, then has its conduct in regard to those cases been baser than words can express; or than honest thoughts can reach or reason upon. If, for example, in abusing the productions of the late John Keats, the Quarterly Review was actuated by purely *party* feelings, and did not proceed on any *general* principle of the above nature, then was the putting forth of that abuse the most *unnatural crime* that was ever committed; inasmuch as it was intended to destroy (and in fact *did* destroy, even more effectually than it perhaps intended) the evidence and the present effect of qualities that it knew to be admirable in themselves, and certain to lead to admirable results, merely because it had a slight reason to suspect that those qualities and their results would not be devoted to the furtherance of *its* views; and might, therefore, by possibility, be engaged in opposing them. It beheld a bright star newly arisen in the sky of poetry, and it clearly perceived that the admiration of mankind would speedily be directed towards it. But because the first emanations of that star were not employed in illustrating the beauties of the idol before whose footstool it (the Quarterly Review) was a willing worshipper, its light was to be held forth as worse than darkness, and its form blotted out from before the eyes of men. Unhappily there is no denying that this attempt of the Quarterly Review was but too successful, even more so than it could have expected or intended, if not more than it wished. And this, chiefly because the person against whom the attempt was directed, could not so properly be compared (as we have just compared him) to a star; but rather to a flower—" a little western flower"—whose frail form was incapable of standing against the cutting blasts of contempt and obloquy, and withered away before them. But nevertheless, the rich odours it has left behind it, and especially those which its crushed form gave out just before it sank into its premature grave, will remain with us for ever, to sweeten the earth on which they were breathed; while the pestiferous breath, whose contact had power to wither the form from which those sweets were exhaled, will be dissipated and forgotten, or only remembered, to " stink in the nostrils " of posterity, as an evidence of the corrupt source from whence it proceeded.

The paper in the Quarterly Review which has wrung from us the above remarks, is the first that we shall examine in detail; partly because it is that to which we always recur with feelings of the deepest

detestation, but chiefly because the writer to whom it relates can no longer be the object of either prejudice or partiality, in a personal point of view. We must observe here, that we have felt some difficulty in determining how to convey, to that great majority of our readers who are doubtless (thanks to the direct or collateral effects of the very paper to which we are now calling their attention) unacquainted with the merits of Mr. Keats's poetry, a just notion of the character of the Quarterly Review's attack upon him. For if we merely combat assertion by assertion, it may be fairly replied to us that *our* opinion is worth no more than that of the writer we are controverting. And to enter into a critical examination of the work itself, concerning which these assertions are put forth, though the most satisfactory method, would be one altogether incompatible both with the plan of these papers, and the space we can devote to them. The only alternative left us, under these circumstances, is to collect for the reader another general critical opinion, in every iota of which we ourselves fully agree, and which is in every part borne out by illustrative extracts; but which proceeds from a source not engaged in any controversy on the subject; and contrast this opinion with those expressed in the Quarterly Review. The following passages are extracted from a periodical work which, at the time they appeared in it, was avowedly conducted by a person of distinguished talents, and a finished and even fastidious taste, especially in the matter of poetry; and who was moreover a poet himself of no mean powers. We allude to the late Mr. John Scott. After some general remarks on the inapplicability of common critical rules to the productions of a true poet, and especially the early ones, he goes on to say:

> We will not shrink from applying these observations, prospectively, to the young poet whose work we are about to notice. Endymion, if it be not technically speaking, a poem, is poetry itself. As a *promise*, we know of nothing like it, except some things of Chatterton. Of the few others that occur to us at the moment, the most remarkable are Pope's Pastorals, and his Essay on Criticism; but these are proofs of an extraordinary precocity, not of genius, but of taste, as the word was understood in his day; and of a remarkably early acquaintance with all the existing common-places of poetry and criticism. It is true that Southey's Joan of Arc, and Campbell's Pleasures of Hope were both produced before their authors were one and twenty. But Joan of Arc, though a fine poem, is diffuse, not from being rich, but from being diluted; and the Pleasures of Hope is a delightful work—but then it *is* a work—and one cannot help wishing it had been written at thirty instead of twenty. Endymion is totally unlike all these, and all other poems. As we said before, it is not a *poem* at all. It is an extatic dream of poetry—a flush—a fever—a burning light—an involuntary out-pouring of the very spirit of poetry—that will not be controlled. Its movements are the starts and boundings of the young horse before it has felt the bit—the first flights of the young bird, feeling and exulting in the powers with which it is gifted; but not yet acquainted with their use or their extent. It is the wanderings of the butterfly in the first hour of its birth; not as yet knowing one flower from another, but only that all *are* flowers. Its similitudes come crowding upon us from all delightful things. It is the May-day of poetry—the flush of blossoms and weeds that start up at the first voice of spring. It is the skylark's hymn to the day-break, involuntarily gushing forth as he mounts upwards to look to the source of that light which has awakened him. It is as if the Muses had steeped their child in the waters of Castaly, and we beheld him emerging from them, with his eyes sparkling and his limbs quivering with the delicious intoxication, and the precious drops scattered from him into the air at every motion, glittering in the sunshine, and casting the colours of the rainbow on all things around.

It is of the work thus described that the Quarterly Review speaks as follows. The passage we extract first is the opening one of the Review.

Reviewers have been sometimes accused of not reading the works which they affected to criticise. On the present occasion we shall anticipate the author's complaint, and honestly confess that *we have not read his work.* Not that we have been wanting in our duty—far from it; indeed, we have made efforts almost as super-human as the story itself appears to be, to get through it: but with the fullest stretch of our perseverance, we have not been able to struggle beyond the first of the four books of which this poetic romance consists.——This author is a copyist of Mr. Hunt; but he is more unintelligible, almost as rugged, twice as diffuse, and ten times more tiresome and absurd than his prototype, who, though he impudently presumed to seat himself in the chair of criticism, and to measure his own poetry by his own standard, yet generally had a meaning. But Mr. Keats has advanced no dogmas which he was bound to support by examples; his nonsense therefore is quite gratuitous; he writes it for its own sake, and being bitten by Mr. Leigh Hunt's insane criticism, more than rivals the insanity of his poetry. ——At first it appeared to us that Mr. Keats had been amusing himself and wearying his readers with an immeasurable game at *bouts-rimés;* but if we recollect rightly it is an indispensable condition at this play that the rhymes when filled up shall have a meaning. He seems to us to write a line at random, and then he follows, not the thought excited by this line, but that suggested by the *rhyme* with which it concludes. There is hardly a complete couplet enclosing a complete idea in the whole book. He wanders from one subject to another, from the association, not of ideas, but of sounds; and the work is composed of hemistichs which, it is quite evident, have forced themselves upon the author, by the mere force of the catchwords on which they turn.

Thus much of the mere *poetry* of Endymion. Let us now look to what is said by each of its critics, as to the *versification;* the one whose object is to speak the truth concerning it, pronounces as follows: and that he has said more than the truth will scarcely be suspected, when it is known that the conductor of the work, in which the remarks in question appear, had a particular, we might almost say a personal, quarrel with that school of poetry, of which the Reviewer says that Mr. Keats is so strict a disciple.

Nothing can be more exquisitely beautiful than this—(an extract he has just given)—nothing more lulling-sweet than the melody of it. And let us here, once for all, direct the readers' attention to the rhymes of the various extracts we lay before them; and add, that, upon the whole, it combines more freedom, sweetness, and variety, than are to be found in that of any other long poem written in the same measure, without any exception whatever. In the course of more than four thousand lines it never cloys by sameness, and never flags.——Sweetness and variety of music in the versification of a young writer, are among the most authentic evidences of poetical power. These qualities are peculiarly conspicuous in Shakespeare's early poems of Lucrece, and Venus and Adonis. It should be mentioned, however, that, in this work before us, these qualities seem to result from—what shall we say? A fine natural ear?—from any thing, however, rather than system—for the verse frequently runs riot, and loses itself in air. It is the music of the happy wild bird in the woods; not of the poor caged piping bullfinch.

But what has the Quarterly Review to say on this point?

We come now to the author's taste in versification. He cannot indeed write a sentence; but perhaps he may be able to spin a line. Let us see. The following are his prosodial notions of our English heroic metre.

And then he gives six or seven *single detached lines*, every one of which is only a portion of a phrase, purposely broken off in the middle, or cut off from the beginning or the end. As if it were possible to judge of the musical effect of any one line, when detached from its connexion with those to which it belongs! The Reviewer concludes his remarks with the following words:—

If any one should be bold enough to purchase this "poetic romance," [he means, after we have taken all this pains to deter him,] and so much more patient

than ourselves, as to get beyond the first book, and so much more fortunate as to find a meaning, we entreat him to make us acquainted with his success; we shall then return to the task which we now abandon in despair, and endeavour to make all due amends to Mr. Keats and to our readers.

It is *since* this was written, that the paper from which we have made one set of the above extracts, appeared in the London Magazine; and just after this, a new volume of poems was published by Mr. Keats, and received by all true lovers of poetry, with a delight amounting to enthusiasm. But we have heard no more on the subject from the Quarterly Review; and its promised "amends to Mr. Keats" will come too late. In order that the Reviewer may not have any excuse for failing to redeem the above pledge, so far as it relates to "*his readers*," he is hereby informed, that *we* have read both the volumes in question, over and over again, from beginning to end, and each time with new and increased delight; and that we have never once risen from the perusal of either of them without a renewed impression that they evinced powers in their writer, in most respects equal, and in many respects superior, to those of any other living poet that we possess; and that, moreover, we conceive, one poem (or rather fragment of the Hyperion) contained in John Keats's last volume, to be, for a certain calm, deep-thoughted, and imaginative power, beyond the capacity of any English writer since the days of Milton. It must not be thought that we are travelling out of our course in thus expressing our own individual opinions of Mr. Keats's powers as a poet; for unless we were to do so, it would be impossible for us to convey, except by mere abuse and declamation, (which we desire above all things to avoid) the opinions which it *is* our immediate object to promulgate, as to the Quarterly Review's treatment of that writer.

Does the reader, before we dismiss this part of our subject, desire to be informed what grounds the Quarterly Review had for suspecting that Mr. Keats (then a mere boy, and totally unknown beyond the limits of his own very confined circle) was likely to prove obnoxious to its peculiar views?—The only reply that can be given on this point is, that his poetry had been favourably noticed in the Examiner newspaper, and that in the course of that notice it appeared, if we mistake not, that he was a personal friend of the Editor of that Paper. There is, indeed, in an introductory passage to one of the books of Endymion, (one of those which the Reviewer professes not to have read) a few idle and unmeaning words, which, if they indicate any thing, might be supposed to show that the writer of them did not as yet cherish that blind reverence for the great ones of the earth, and that implicit belief in the perfection of all existing institutions, which the Reviewer conceives to be indispensable not only to a true poet, but to an honest man. But *this* the Reviewer could not have met with. No—Mr. Keats had been seen in company with a reformer; and "reformers," (the Quarterly Review somewhere says) "are no better than house-breakers;" and therefore his poetry is to be indicted at the bar of public opinion, as a common nuisance, and suborned evidence produced to prove the charges against it!

We now turn to the papers in the Quarterly Review which treat of the late Mr. Shelley and his works. We shall, however, confine our notice in this instance almost entirely to the treatment of Mr. Shelley's *private character*; for it seems almost superfluous to pay much attention to the mere criticisms on his published works—since these involve in every por-

tion of them the *contradiction in terms* that the works in question are at once utterly contemptible where they are not utterly unintelligible, and yet the most monstrously wicked, and the most extensively mischievous, that were ever penned! It will require but a very small portion of our space to show this. In the Quarterly Review's account of Mr. Shelley's principal work—the Prometheus Unbound—we meet with the following passages:—

A great lawyer of the present day is said to boast of practising three different modes of writing: one which any body can read; another which only himself can read; and a third, which neither he nor any body else can read. So Mr. Shelley may plume himself upon writing in three different styles: one which can be generally understood; another which can be understoood only by the author; and a third which is absolutely and intrinsically unintelligible. Whatever his command may be of the first and second of these styles, this volume is a most satisfactory testimony of his proficiency in the last. Metaphors and similes can scarcely be regarded as ornaments of Mr. Shelley's compositions; for his poetry is in general a mere jumble of words and heterogeneous ideas, connected by slight and accidental associations, among which it is impossible to distinguish the principal object from the accessory. But take away from him the unintelligible, the confused, the incoherent, the bombastic, the affected, the extravagant, the hideously gorgeous, and "Prometheus" and the poems which accompany it will sink at once into nothing.

All this being the case, the Quarterly proceeds to combat, in the most solemn and elaborate manner, the moral and philosophical principles which Mr. Shelley has laid down and attempted to promulgate through the medium of all this unintelligible nonsense; and which principles the Reviewer seems to understand as clearly, and think himself capable of explaining as intelligibly, as if they had been laid down by the pen of Bacon himself! All this, as the reader will perceive, is mere blundering. So that we need trouble him no further concerning the merely *critical* part of these papers. The truth is, it was the Quarterly's *cue* to destroy any present influence that Mr. Shelley might have gained, and, if possible, prevent him from ever establishing for himself, an honourable reputation in the public mind; and finding that his poetry was not of a nature to be tampered with, and torn to pieces with impunity, it determined merely to pass a general and sweeping condemnation upon *that*, and then depend, for the more certain accomplishment of its purpose, on the expedient of vilifying and destroying his private character; and this it attempted to effect, not by any direct charges supported by any pretence at proof, or even by direct assertions dependent for their value on the credit of the parties making them; but by dark hints, doubtful inuendoes, and distant but tolerably intelligible insinuations.

We cannot expect this statement to be credited without proof. We therefore proceed to offer such proof; and the rather because this renewal and propagation of the calumnies in question can no longer injure the person against whom they were directed. A paper in the thirty-sixth number of the Quarterly Review, on Mr. Leigh Hunt's "Foliage," after expressing its disapprobation, generally, of certain persons and opinions with which Mr. Hunt seems to have shown some sympathy and agreement, goes on to say, with reference to the probable results of the opinions in question—

We should not, for instance, commend as singularly amiable, the receiving great and unmerited favours, to be returned with venomous and almost frantic hatred; we are at a loss for the decency which rails at marriage, or the honour

which pollutes it; and we have still greater reluctance to condemn as a low prejudice the mysterious feeling of separation which consecrates and draws to closer intimacy the communion of brothers and sisters. We may be narrow-minded, but we look upon it still as somewhat dishonourable to have been expelled from a University for the monstrous absurdity of a "mathematical demonstration of the non-existence of a God." According to our understandings, it is not a proof of a very affectionate heart, to break that of a wife by cruelty and infidelity.

Again—

We know the author's disgraceful and flagitious history well, and could put down some of the vain boasting of his preface.* At Eton we remember him notorious for setting fire to old trees, with burning-glasses. No unhappy emblem of a man who perverts his ingenuity and knowledge to the attacking of all that is ancient and venerable in our civil and religious institutions.

Both the above passages were well understood to have been directed at Mr. Shelley; indeed they are followed by another which expressly indicates as much; and they seem to have been intended merely to prepare the way for that open attack which was shortly afterwards to be made upon him; still, however, by inuendo and insinuation chiefly. In the review of his "Revolt of Islam," he is described, by name, as "a young and inexperienced man imperfectly educated, irregular in his application, and *shamefully dissolute in his conduct.*"

This is pretty well, one would think, from a writer who two or three pages afterwards says, "*We* have learned too, though not in Mr. Shelley's school, *to discriminate between a man and his opinions*, and while we show no mercy to the sin, *we can regard the sinner with allowance and pity.*" But what will be said when the very same "*we*," in the next page but one of the same paper, concludes with the following words?—

If we might withdraw the veil of private life, and tell what we *now* know about him (Mr. Shelley), it would indeed be a disgusting picture that we should exhibit, but it would be an unanswerable comment on our text: It is not easy for those who *read only*, to conceive how much low pride, how much cold selfishness, how much unmanly cruelty, are consistent with the laws of this "universal" and "lawless love." But we must only use our own knowledge to check the groundless hopes which we were once prone to entertain of him.

This is to "regard the sinner with allowance and pity," with a vengeance! to say nothing of the imputations and insinuations, thus put forth in regard to the said "sinner," being utterly without foundation. Such, at least, is our own belief—grounded, however, not on any personal knowledge of the late Mr. Shelley, but on the report of those who enjoyed the strictest intimacy with him during his life-time, and who represent his conduct, in all the moral relations of society, to have been perfectly irreproachable. Indeed, the Quarterly Review itself seems to have had some notion of this kind—whether after or before it put forth the above passages, it is impossible to say; but certain it is, that the next time it is called upon to notice one of Mr. Shelley's productions, it concludes its review (of the "Prometheus Unbound") in the following almost incredible terms—for such they must seem to those readers who have just perused the foregoing extracts:

Of Mr. Shelley himself we know nothing, and desire to know nothing. Be his private qualities what they may—[this is as plain an indication as need be that they

* They are referring, in a note to the same paper, to a work which they do not name; and which they say is so bad that they dare not extend the knowledge of it by exposing it.

have some reason to believe those qualities to be unexceptionable at least]—his poems *(and it is only with his poems that we have any concern)* are at war with reason, with taste, with virtue, &c.—*Quarterly Review*, No. 51.

This, then, is one of the methods which the Quarterly Review employs in putting down one of those persons, who, from whatever cause, have made themselves obnoxious to it. Finding his published works not made of such "penetrable stuff" as it could wish, it vilifies his private character and conduct—first, by covert and indirect insinuations, and then by open and direct assertions. And then, finding probably that the odium has alighted upon the last spot in the world where it was expected and intended to alight, it turns short round (upon itself) and gives the lie direct, as well as the lie by implication, to all that it has formerly asserted—asserting instead, that "of Mr. Shelley himself, we know nothing;" and, moreover, if we *did* know him, "it is only with *his poems* that we have any concern:" innocently hoping, that its readers will be good enough to forget, or to forgive, (it does not care which) all its former asseverations, touching the "shamefully dissolute conduct" of Mr. Shelley—his "venomous and almost frantic" ingratitude—his "cold selfishness"—his "cruelty and infidelity" to a heart-broken wife—and all the other particulars of his "disgraceful and flagitious history"!!

Leaving our readers to find fit epithets by which to characterise such conduct as this, in a public journal professing to uphold the principles of public justice, and to respect the acknowledged relations between man and man, we proceed in our somewhat irksome task of producing additional matter for their consideration: for all that we profess to do in this paper is, to collect facts, and arrange them in a striking point of view, with reference to each other; leaving inferences and conclusions to suggest themselves. And if, in the performance of this task, we are now and then tempted into an exclamation or an epithet, it must be looked upon as a momentary and involuntary stepping aside from the direct course which we had appointed for ourselves.

Of the Quarterly Review's general treatment of Mr. Leigh Hunt, unjust and uncandid as it has unquestionably been, we shall say but little; because we are of opinion that it comes under one of those heads of conduct to which we have referred in the outset of this paper, as not without some natural excuse. Mr. Hunt had been, for years before the appearance of his poetry, an avowed and a not uninfluential party writer; and no one, who remembers him in this character, will say that he was himself very careful to steer clear of all personalities against his political adversaries; or that he showed any marked anxiety to bestow "heaped justice" on that part of their pretensions which did not come into action in their political characters. When, therefore, he chose to commit himself with the literary world, in a published work bearing his name, it would have been strange, indeed, if some of those to whom he had, during so long a period, been making himself studiously obnoxious, had not exclaimed exultingly, "Our enemy hath written a book!" and pounced upon it immediately as fair game. That the flagrant injustice which they committed in regard to this writer, was one jot less dishonourable in virtue of the justice or *in*justice (whichever it might be) which *he* had previously committed in regard to *them*, we do not of course for a moment admit. But we must, and do admit, that the course they pursued was at least natural, and therefore not absolutely inexcusable. That

their pursuit of that course evinced very bad policy, and still worse taste, there can be little doubt, and as little that the most triumphant revenge they could have taken upon Mr. Hunt, would have been to show (as they easily might) that, with all his faults, and setting aside his political opinions, as well as those moral ones with which it might be their cue to differ, he is still one of the most agreeable and instructive writers of the day in which he lives.

Be this as it may, however, the Quarterly Review's general treatment of Mr. Hunt does not strike us with that instant and involuntary abhorrence which some of its other delinquencies in this kind do. But to make up in some measure for this, there is *one point* in their attack on this writer which *does* strike us as utterly inexcusable, because it is inconsistent with all the understood usages of civilized warfare, and is, in fact, exactly equivalent to the conduct of an English prize-fighter, who should take advantage of his adversary's situation to give him a *foul blow*, or kick him in a vital part when he is *down*. Gouging and scalping are, it is true, "all fair" in the backwoods of North America, because *they are understood to be so;* but the soldier who should practise them in our gentlemanly European warfare, would be drummed out of his regiment. The point, to which the above remarks are intended to refer, is contained in the opening paragraph of the Quarterly Review's notice of Mr. Hunt's "Story of Rimini."—The Review commences in these words:—

> A considerable part of this Poem was written *in Newgate*, where the author was some time confined, *we believe* for a libel which appeared in a newspaper, of which he is said to be the conductor. Such an introduction is not calculated to make a very favourable impression. Fortunately, however, we are as little prejudiced as possible on this subject; we have never seen Mr. Hunt's newspaper; we have never heard any particulars of his offence; nor should we have known that he had been imprisoned but for *his own confession.*

Now, thinking, as we do, that this paragraph is not only the most insidious, but the most base, and indeed atrocious, that was ever printed, (of course excepting many that have graced the pages of Blackwood's Magazine)—why should we shrink from saying so? The reader is aware that Newgate is a prison attached to the criminal court of the county to which it belongs, and is almost exclusively devoted to offences of an infamous and felonious nature. Its very name, therefore, has something contagious in it; and to mention it as the place of confinement of any person moving in reputable society, without going into all the particulars connected with his offence, would be, to say the least of it, uncandid and illiberal. But to mention it in the way it is here mentioned, with purposed doubts thrown upon the *nature of the offence* which had called for such confinement, and words used in reference to the party's own feelings, which are intended to imply *a sense of shame and contrition*, is altogether unfair and unjustifiable. "Where the author was some time confined, *we believe* for a libel," &c.—as much as to say, "though for any thing we absolutely *know* to the contrary, *it may have been* for a highway robbery, or something worse." And then again, "nor should we have known that he had been imprisoned, *but for his own confession;*" as if Mr. Hunt, instead of glorying (whether with reason or not is not now the question) in the act for which he was punished, had put forth some penitent "confession" relating to it; the word *confession* invariably implying a feeling of penitence, and a sense of shame. All this will

strike the reader as base, paltry, and unmanly enough: but what will he say, or rather what will he feel,—for there are feelings which words cannot express,—when he is told that, in point of fact, *Mr. Hunt never was confined in Newgate at all?* One thing, at all events, he will feel—that any further charge we can have to bring against the Quarterly Review, will come as a species of anti-climax. We must proceed nevertheless; though we shall do so in a much less detailed manner than we have hitherto adopted; for our limits are already passed. But the reader, who is now first made acquainted with the delinquencies of the Quarterly Review, would gain but a very inadequate notion of their extent, unless we were to direct his attention to a few more examples of them.

And first of Lady Morgan;—for the Quarterly Review has always delighted in "setting its wits at a woman." Some time ago this lady published a work in two volumes, quarto, on the subject of "Italy;" which of course it was the Quarterly Review's business to deride and cry down; seeing that it had previously assured the literary world, over and over again, that Lady Morgan was an ignorant and a wicked woman, and a worse authoress. How then was this object to be effected? Doubtless, by a full and fair examination of the work in question, and by applying to it the usual critical rules and canons "in such cases made and provided."—No such thing. When there is a lady in the case, the Quarterly Review scorns to do its work in so formal and old-fashioned a manner. On the contary, it merely asserts, in general terms, that "'Italy' is a series of offences against good morals, good politics, good sense, and good taste;" and that moreover "this woman is utterly incorrigible;" that "her indelicacy, ignorance, vanity, and malignity are inimitable;" and finally, that "every page teems with errors of all kinds, from the most disgusting down to the most ludicrous." And this being the case, it proceeds forthwith to—*prove* what it has asserted? By no means; but to occupy all the rest of the paper in setting forth the infamous and immoral manner in which the said work has been—ADVERTISED! For the effecting of which notable purpose, it confesses to having searched the files of the Morning Chronicle all the way back from the date of its article (October 1821) till the 17th of January preceding, in the publication of which day it actually discovers the following incendiary advertisement, to which it devotes two distinct lines, in form as under:

Preparing for the Press,
ITALY, BY LADY MORGAN!

Can the reader believe that any thing so atrocious could be perpetrated by a public Newspaper in the nineteenth century? But we advise him to husband his horror; for he will have still more striking occasion for it presently. The Reviewer asserts, on his own responsibility, that, in fact, "Advertisements, in the foregoing style, continued to be fired off, in the manner of minute guns, till the 11th of June,"—on which day (the Reviewer does not take upon him to state at what particular hour) the same Morning Chronicle actually put forth a notice, to the astonished eyes and horrified understandings of the inhabitants of this loyal and religious metropolis, couched in terms, and arranged in form, no other than as follows:

Shortly will be published,
ITALY, BY LADY MORGAN.
Those who desire copies of this work on the *day of publication*, are requested to forward their orders *immediately* to their respective booksellers!!

Why this is "flat burglary." But all this, we can assure the panic-stricken reader, is nothing to what follows; as he may see for himself, if he dares venture to peruse the whole exposure of this worse than gunpowder plot! In case he should decline this undertaking, we have only space to assure him that all the rest of the paper on Lady Morgan's 'Italy' is taken up with an exposure of the foregoing and similar flagitious notices and advertisements, of and concerning that work; not one word of any one of which does the Reviewer attribute to Lady Morgan, or any one connected with her. And of the work itself not a syllable is said, except those which we have quoted as contained in the first half-page of the criticism; and not one line of extract is supplied!

We shall only notice in particular the Quarterly Review's treatment of one or two other persons; for what we propose by this paper is, not to offer an abridgment of all the abuse which that work has from time to time put forth against its political adversaries, but merely to place on record, elsewhere than in its own pages, the line of conduct that it is capable of pursuing in regard to those persons who, from whatever causes, become in any way obnoxious to it, or to its patrons.

Those who are acquainted with the writings of Mr. Hazlitt, and know the fearless and uncompromising manner in which he is accustomed to speak the bare truth concerning whatever, and whoever, comes under his consideration—whether friend or foe—will not be disposed to whine over any reprisals that may be made upon himself in this kind. If, therefore, the Quarterly Review had spoken nothing BUT *the truth* of this writer, we should certainly not have complained of it, even though it had neglected to speak *the whole* truth—since this latter is more than Mr. Hazlitt himself would think it necessary or convenient to speak of the Quarterly Review, if he were to give an account of it to-morrow. (Indeed, to speak plainly, we do flatter ourselves that *that* is an undertaking which no one but ourselves would ever have contemplated, much less have performed! seeing that we never yet happened to meet with any one who was not wilfully prejudiced, either for or against it.) But when the Quarterly Review assures its readers that Mr. Hazlitt is not only the basest of mankind, in the matter of politics—in other words, that he is somewhat intolerant of tyrants, and no great eulogist of their slaves—but that he is, moreover, a very silly and inefficient person, incapable of coupling two ideas, or of originating one—it is but fair, in an examination of the kind we are now engaged in, to remind the reader that this is said of a person who, for natural power of intellect, and acquired skill in using it, is not surpassed, as the Quarterly Review well knows, by any single writer of his day, in those particular departments to which his efforts are directed. It is of the person who puts more *meaning* into fewer words than any other writer of his day, that the Quarterly Review lays down the following, as a general proposition:—"He seems to think that *meaning* is a superfluous quality in writing, and that the task of composition is merely an exercise in varying the arrangement of words."—It is of an octavo volume, of between three and four hundred pages, by the most original thinker of his day, that the Quarterly Review propounds as follows:—"We are not aware that it contains a single just observation, which has not been expressed by other writers more briefly, more perspicuously, and more elegantly." After this it would be superfluous to inquire further into the justice of the Quarterly Review's strictures on the author of Table Talk.

The only other instance we shall mention of the Quarterly Review's

sacrifice of principles to party is, its treatment of Mr. Buckingham, during his absence in India. We shall, however, not descend to details in this instance; and for obvious reasons—one of which is that that gentleman has himself published a reply to the charges brought against him, in which he takes up the review of his work, paragraph by paragraph, and refutes the whole.*

We have thus (however reluctantly) fulfilled our self-imposed task of exposing a few of the delinquencies of the Quarterly Review. We now at once take a willing leave of it, by expressing our unfeigned admiration of its good qualities, our regret at its unintentional errors and deficiencies, and our mingled contempt and abhorrence for its wilful and therefore wicked misrepresentations.

ON A FEAST.

[*From the Greek.*]

Joyful let us quaff the wine,
And praise the Giver of the vine,
The inventor of the dance; the lay
Who loves to hear the live-long day,
Love's cherished foster-brother, dear
To Venus' self, and nursed by her.
Festive cheer through him has birth,
Through him the Graces raise our mirth,
Through him lone Grief forgets to weep,
And Sorrow's self is hushed to sleep:
Then let soft youths bring in the bowl,
I long with wine to cheer my soul;
To give to gusty storms my care
To bear away—I care not where.
Let us, let us seize the bowl,
Nor bear old wrinkled Care's control:
What gain we by the thoughtful brow?
Will sorrow teach us how to know
The hue of dusk futurity?
Or thrust one stroke of fortune by?
Give me wine, and through the maze
Through which the foot of beauty strays
To music's note, O! let me move,
And steep, oh! steep me deep in love.
Give care to those who love it, I
Bid it far from me to fly.
Joyful let me drain the wine,
And praise the Giver of the vine.

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* The reader will readily perceive that the varied articles in a publication of this extent must be the production of various pens: as no periodical journal could be supported without the aid of other writers than its editor. We think it right, after this explanation, to state in a note, that the reply here adverted to, was originally published in India, and sent to this country some time since; and that legal proceedings are now in progress, which will be likely to give further publicity to the refutation, when these proceedings can be brought to a close.—Ed.

INCONSISTENCIES OF THE ABBE DUBOIS IN HIS LETTERS ON INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, London, March 15, 1824.*

I HAVE just risen from the perusal of the Abbé Dubois' "Letters on the State of Christianity in India; in which the Conversion of the Hindoos is considered as impracticable." The importance of the subject to which these Letters relate, has induced me to bestow upon them a more than ordinary degree of attention; and to mark such passages as, upon any account, appear to call for observation. The memorandum of these passages, which is now before me, exhibits a catalogue apparently so disproportionate to the size of the volume, that I am desirous to submit the remarks which arise out of them, through the medium of your Journal, to the consideration of the public. Upon taking a review of the passages in question, I have noted down such as are most worthy of remark, according to the different heads under which my observations seem naturally to have arranged themselves; and, in requesting that you will give these observations publicity, I am actuated only by an earnest and anxious desire that a Work which proclaims, in its title page, the Author's firm persuasion, that the benighted nations of India shall never "come to the brightness" of our Saviour's rising, should have its pretensions exactly defined, and the weight of its authority calmly and dispassionately considered.

I. I will begin with pointing out some obvious instances of *inconsistency*.

1. In page 161 the Abbé Dubois pronounces the following assertion of the Rev. ——— ; viz. that "*dishonesty* is so familiar to the natives, that a Hindoo will never trust another," to be one of the most unfounded that was ever brought forward against these people; although in the page immediately preceding (160) the Abbé has recorded his own sentiments on this point in the following terms: "The propensity of most of them" (the Hindoos) "to pilfering is almost irresistible; and, in general, if a native can avoid discovery in being *dishonest*, he will be so as often as his own interests require it." The Abbé observes also, in his second letter (notwithstanding the dark and dismal colours in which he has exhibited the character of the "Hindoo Christians") that "if a parallel for *honesty* and *probity* were drawn between them and Pagans, the *former* would have the advantage." (p. 83.)

2. But I proceed to notice still more glaring discrepancies—discrepancies, indeed, which seem to indicate that the Abbé's judgment is "a vane blown with all winds," and easily accommodating itself to the several occasions on which it is to be employed. For instance: when speaking of the difficulties which oppose the introduction of Christianity into India, the Abbé expresses himself in the following very remarkable manner:

> In order to make true Christians among the natives, it would be necessary before all things, to erase from the code of the Christian religion, the great leading precept of *charity*; for try to persuade a Hindoo that this religion places all men on equal footing in the sight of God, our common Maker and Father;—that the being born in a high caste, authorises nobody to look with indifference or contempt on the persons born in a lower tribe;—that even the exalted Brahmin, after embracing Christianity, ought to look upon the humble pariah as his brother, and be ready to bestow upon him all marks of kindness and love in his power;—try to prevail upon the Christian Hindoo to forgive an often imaginary injury, such as would be that of being publicly

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* We ought, in justice to the writer, to state that this article was originally intended for insertion in our Number for April; but was unavoidably postponed, from the pressure of other matter which could not lie over without entirely losing its interest.—Our arrangements are now so improved, however, as to render this delay less likely to happen in future.—ED.

upbraided with having violated any one of their vain usages;—try to persuade even the low-born pariah, that after turning a Christian, he ought for ever to renounce the childish distinction of *Right and Left Hand*, upon which he lays so much stress, and which he considers as the most honourable characteristic of his tribe;—tell him that as that distinction of *Right and Left Hand* proves a source of continual quarrel, fighting, and animosity, it becomes wholly incompatible with the first duties imposed upon him by the Christian religion, and must altogether be laid aside;—try to prevail upon parents, in opposition to the established customs, to permit a young widow, their daughter, who, on account of her youth, is exposed to dishonour, both herself and family, to marry again; so to act in opposition to any of their leading usages and practices; your lectures, your instructions, your expostulations on such subjects will be of no avail; and your Christians will continue to live the slaves of their Antichristian prejudices and customs.—p. 63—65.

Again; when desirous to enforce the alarming declaration that, in his opinion, "these unhappy people are lying under an everlasting anathema," he exhibits the following picture of the Brahmins:

In fact, the inferiority of the Hindoo Brahmins to all other Pagan nations, with respect to religion, is the more striking, as they have not been able to distinguish what is a virtue, and what is not, since they in general suppose it much more meritorious to render service to beasts than to men. A pious Hindoo Brahmin, who will make it his imperative duty to share his frugal meal with fishes, snakes, monkeys, and birds of prey, will, on the other hand, behold, with the coldest indifference, a poor wretch starving at his door, without thinking of assisting him.

Instead of that great leading precept of Christian charity, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," which is calculated to convert the whole of mankind into a community of brothers, it might be said that the leading precept of the Brahmins is this, "Thou shalt love brutes as thyself."—p. 112, 113.

And yet, when it is the object of the Abbé to vindicate the Hindoos, in answer to the attacks before referred to, he can exhibit the national character in such a totally different light, that I am tempted to disbelieve the evidence of my senses, and to say with Lear,

> I know not what;
> I will not swear these are my hands:
> ——— and all the skill I have,
> Remembers not these garments.

The description is as follows:

The Hindoos are not in want of improvement in the discharge of social duties among themselves. They understand this point as well as, and perhaps better than the Europeans. They might even be said to be rather excessive in this respect in several instances. They will never suffer the needy who has implored their charity to go unassisted. Their hospitality among themselves, it is well known, has no bounds. Even the humble, the distressed pariah, as long as he has a measure of grain in his possession, will cheerfully share his pap of millet with the weary traveller of his caste who may happen to take shelter in his hut; and in all their wants and distresses the Hindoos, *of all castes*, will readily assist each other more effectually than the Europeans would do in the same circumstances. What the European possesses he keeps for himself. What the Hindoo possesses he is always disposed to share with those who have nothing. In fact, it might be said that a wealthy Hindoo considers himself as the depositary, or the distributor, rather than the proprietor of his fortune, so greatly prone is he to acts of charity and benevolence; and it is chiefly from this cause that those frequent revolutions in the fortunes of the Hindoos, and those frequent passages from extreme opulence to extreme poverty, arise.—p. 158, 159.

3. But, not to dwell longer on this head, let any person read the following passages:

I am, however, far from adopting the opinion of those who think that in such circumstances, and with a people of such dispositions, Christianity is of no avail at all; for, should it produce no other effect than that of altogether detaching so many thousand natives from the worship of idols, and the monstrous kind of idolatry prevailing all over India, to inculcate into their minds even nothing else but the merely barren and speculative knowledge of only one true God, and that of his only son our Lord and common Redeemer Jesus Christ; this alone, ought, in my humble opinion, to be sufficient to wish for, and encourage its diffusion by all practicable means.—p. 81.

I have to this day remarked amongst them [the Hindoo Brahmins, whom the Abbé

represents, in other places (p. 101: 103.), as 'the refined part of the nation, and 'the leaders of the public opinion,'] nothing but pride, self-conceit, duplicity, lying, and every kind of unnatural and *Anti-christian* vices.—(p. 92.)

The leading feature of the education of a Christian, is an universal charity and benevolence towards all his fellow-creatures.

The leading feature of the education of a Brahmin is an universal hatred and contempt towards all the human race.

A Christian is taught to love even his enemies, and to return good for evil.

A Brahmin is taught, if not positively to hate his friends, and to return evil for good, at least to conduct himself through life by quite selfish considerations, and to sacrifice all, without exception, to his private interests, without distinction between friends and foes; to be entirely unmindful of the services rendered to him, and to consider them, whatever may be their importance and value, as his strict due.--p. 102.

Are the worshippers of the Lingam less culpable than those of Belphegor [Baal-peor]? and is the worship of Jagnot and Teroopatty less nefarious than that of Moloch? Are we not warranted, on beholding the unnatural and odious worship which prevails all over India, in thinking that these unhappy people are lying under an everlasting anathema; that by obstinately refusing to listen to the voice of the heavens, which "declare the glory of God," they have for ever rendered themselves unworthy of the divine favours; that by obstinately rejecting the word of God, which has been in vain announced to them without intermission, during these last three or four centuries, they have "filled up the measure of their fathers," have been entirely forsaken by God, and (what is the worst of divine vengeance) given over for ever to a reprobate mind, on account of the peculiar wickedness of their worship, which supposes, in those among whom it prevails, a degree of perversity far beyond that of all old Pagan nations?—p. 112.

With these passages, let him compare the following:

It has at present become a kind of fashion to speak of improvements and ameliorations in the civilization and institutions of the Hindoos, and every one has his own plans for effecting them; but if we could for an instant lay aside our European eyes and European prejudices, and look at the Hindoos with some degree of impartiality, we should perhaps find that they are nearly our equals in all that is good, and our inferiors only in all that is bad.

In my humble opinion, these people have reached the degree of civilization that is consistent with their climate, their wants, their natural dispositions, and physical constitution; and in fact, in education, in manners, in accomplishments, and in the discharge of social duties, I believe them superior to some European nations, and scarcely inferior to any.—p. 155, 156.

And then let him say whether, with the writer of these letters, whose judgment appears to be "like a wave of the sea, driven with the wind and tossed," we shall leave these benighted nations to their fate, and "care not that they perish;" or, whether we shall still pray, with our venerable church, for "mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics," and testify the sincerity of our prayers by cheerfully co-operating in the blessed work of "preparing the way of the Lord," and "making straight in the desert a highway for our God."*

II. I will proceed, under the next head, to point out instances of *inconsequence;* by showing that the facts he has adduced, do not justify the conclusions at which he has arrived.

1. In the first place, the Abbé Dubois seems to ground his opinion, with regard to the impracticability of converting the Hindoos, chiefly on the "state of degradation to which Christianity has been reduced in these latter times" (p. 17). But does not the Abbé admit, in several parts of the volume, that the Missionaries of former times *did* make considerable progress (comparatively speaking, at least) in the work of conversion? And may we not attribute the present degraded state of Christianity in India, therefore, *partly* to the present state of the European missions, some of which, by reason (as he observes) of the late "distracted state of Europe," are from the want of new supplies, "threatened with a speedy extinction;" (p. 54.) *partly* to the manner in which the Roman Catholic Missionaries have "accommodated

* Isaiah, xl. 3.

themselves" to the "gross minds of the Hindoos," by "incumbering the Catholic worship with an additional superstructure of outward show, unknown in Europe, which, in many instances, does not differ much from that prevailing among the Gentiles, and which is far from proving a subject of edification to many a good and sincere Roman Catholic;"* (p. 69—72.) and *partly* to "the immoral and irregular conduct of many Europeans in every part of the country"? (p. 17.)

Of the injury done to the cause of Christianity by the conduct of those who "hold the truth in unrighteousness,"† we have, indeed, melancholy evidence in almost every page of this work. "I have been many times challenged," says the Abbé in one place, "to bear testimony on this fact" (*whether the Europeans have any religion whatever*), and have been "very seriously asked by the Hindoos, whether the *Farangy* (European) acknowledged and worshipped a God." (p. 84.) And, in another place I find the writer expressing himself in the following manner:

On the whole, it is my decided opinion, that as long as we have no warmer promoters of the cause of Christianity than the existing race of Europeans of any nation whatever, we can entertain but very faint hopes of Christianity gaining ground in India. As long as a native Christian, who happens to fall in the way of an European, shall (after having been surveyed with a stern and scornful countenance) be welcomed by him with this insulting reproach, "Why hast thou forsaken the religion of thy forefathers to embrace a foreign worship?" so long as the name of a native Christian and a rogue shall sound as synonymous in the ears of a prejudiced European; so long as the deluded victims who devote themselves to the most arduous of all professions, forego all worldly prospects in life, and sacrifice their repose, their health, and their lives, for the purpose of imparting to their fellow-creatures (what they consider as the most valuable of all blessings,) the knowledge of the only one true God, and of the worship due to him by all his creatures, shall be branded with the appellation of fanatics, idiots, and other like opprobrious epithets; so long as the Hindoos shall hear the Europeans themselves, making in several instances their own religion, and its sacred records, the subject of their paltry sarcasms and railleries; so long as the natives shall behold the precepts and morals of that holy religion openly violated without shame or scruple by those who were educated in its bosom; in short, so long as the Christian religion shall have to struggle with so many domestic and foreign obstacles, it would, in my humble opinion, be perfect nonsense to flatter ourselves with the hope of its ever gaining any solid footing in the country.—p. 120, 121.

Now, although it is evident, that these objections are levelled, not against our most holy religion, but against those who do not "walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are called,"‡ and that to make *Christianity* responsible for the evils which *professed Christians* have occasioned, would be to fall into the error noticed by Paley,§ of charging Christianity with many consequences for which it is not responsible; yet I may be allowed to ask my fellow-countrymen in India, whether they acknowledge the above portrait to be correct; and, if so, whether they reflect that proportioned to the importance of our empire in the East, is its awful responsibility? I may be allowed to say to them, in the admirable words of a living writer; ‖ "If ever the worship of false deities is to fall by the instrumentality of human efforts, the whole armour of the true God must openly be worn by those who profess to call upon his name. Let the Christian religion appear in the East, with a mild and tutelary aspect, the guardian and benefactress of millions. But while she is

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* Rom. i. 18. † Eph. iv. 1.

‡ In p. 69 the Abbé says, "Their processions in the streets, always performed in the night-time, have indeed been to me at all times a subject of shame." He then goes on to describe the pageantry of these processions; and he adds, in p. 72, that "all this pageantry is at present beheld with indifference by the Hindoos," and that "the interests of the Christian religion have not been improved by what *some may be disposed to term mere priestcraft*."

§ Evidences of Christianity, Part III. chap. 7.

‖ Rev. C. W. Le Bas. Sermons delivered chiefly in the Chapel of the East India College, Murray, 1822.

scattering blessings far and wide around her, let it not be suspected that she has lost the veneration and allegiance of her own children. While she is labouring to diffuse the light of civilization and knowledge over that gigantic empire, let it not be supposed that her celestial origin and office have been forgotten." I may be allowed to remind them of the tremendous peril at which they presume, by their whole life and conversation, to deprive our blessed religion of all her "form and comeliness," and make her "despised and rejected of men." I may be allowed to say to them; "If, instead of being, that which you should deem not less your privilege than your duty to be, 'the light of the world,' you suffer the 'light' that is in you to be 'darkness,' consider '*how great is that darkness.*'"

2. To give another instance of inconclusive reasoning: the Abbé Dubois assumes that, inasmuch as "*almost unintelligible translations* of our sacred books into the several idioms of the country," (page 149) have not been productive of any good effect, the time of conversion has passed away, and that to "translate and circulate among the Hindoos as many Bibles as we please, *in every shape and in every style*," (p. 42) will not be of any avail. So again:

> Ask the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore whether they have really the well-founded hope that their indefatigable labours in endeavouring to get the holy scriptures translated into all the idioms of India will increase their successes? Ask them whether those extremely incorrect versions, already obtained at an immense expense, have produced the sincere conversion of a single pagan? And I am persuaded, that if they are asked an answer upon their honour and conscience, they will all reply in the negative.—p. 26.

Now to me it appears that these two questions admit of very different answers; and that a negative to the *second* question would still leave the Missionaries at liberty to reserve their answer to the *first*, until the experiment of circulating a close and accurate version (a point to which I will revert before I conclude) shall actually have been made.

3. To specify another instance in which the writer of these letters has made an inference not altogether warranted by the facts he has detailed: he seems to consider the cause of Christianity in India to be utterly hopeless, because, in the year 1784, when Tippoo Sultan ordered all the Native Christians in Mysore to undergo the rite of circumcision, "not a single individual among so many thousands had courage enough to confess his faith under this trying circumstance, and become a martyr to his religion." (p. 74) "Will this be believed (says the Abbé) in the Christian world?" Had this fact stood alone, we might well have been staggered at the sad recital; but when I read, in other parts of his letters, that "the greater, by far the greater number [of Native Christians] exhibit nothing but a vain phantom, an empty shade of Christianity" (p. 63); that "the religion of all consists in little more than a few outward practices, and the occasional recital of some forms of prayer, accompanied, it is true, with many external grimaces, but without any inward or practical spirit of religion" (p. 65); that "their processions" (as I have already had occasion to remark) "have been to him at all times a subject of shame" (p. 69); and that among the converts made by the Abbé during the period of his residence in India, "those who have continued Christians are the very worst among his flock" (p. 135): I must frankly confess that the spirit of martyrdom was not to be looked for among the persons he describes, and that the melancholy fact here recorded proves, (if such proof were wanting, indeed,) that conversion, *conducted upon the principles he has described*, could terminate in nothing but an "empty shade of Christianity."

III. Under my next head I have noted down several positions, which, to say the least of them, seem *liable to be questioned*; but as my letter is extending itself beyond the limits which I had originally prescribed to myself, I must endeavour to be concise.

1. If any form of Christianity were to make an impression and gain ground in the country, it is undoubtedly the (Roman) Catholic mode of worship, whose external pomp and show appear so well suited to the genius and dispositions of the natives.—23.

Do not the statements contained in these letters (to some of which I have had occasion to advert) respecting the methods employed by the Roman Catholic Missionaries, lead to a very different conclusion; and may we not infer, from the ill success of those methods, that (to use the Abbé's own words,) "the interests of the Christian religion" are not likely to be "improved by what some may be disposed to term mere priest-craft"?

2. The line of separation between us and the Brahmins is drawn, and the barrier impassable; there is no opening to argument or persuasion: our opponents are strictly bound by their religious and civil statutes to shun, to scorn, and hate us. They are obliged to do so from a sense of duty. To listen to us would be in them a crime, and the greatest of all disgraces.—p. 101.

I would here observe that, according to the writer's own statement, "*to listen to us*" could be no crime or disgrace, since he admits, in p. 15, that a great many Hindoos, "*of every caste*," are "fond of discoursing upon religion" with us. But the truth is, that with regard to the great body of *secular* Brahmins, the remark quoted from p. 101 is wholly inapplicable: and may it not be justly inferred, from the instance of the learned Brahmin, Ram Mohun Roy, (an instance which, I have reason to believe, does not by any means stand alone) that whatever may be the letter of the Hindoo statutes, civil or religious, *now in operation*, the "barrier" spoken of above is not, *in point of fact*, altogether "impassable"?

3. There are, I suppose, in Calcutta, many hundred natives of all castes, who can read, write, and speak English well; among them, I am persuaded, that you will not be able to find ten independent individuals who are ever seen with an English book of science in their hands.—p. 167.

This opinion may be, and very probably *is*, perfectly correct; and yet I cannot see how the bare statement of what *has* or what has *not* been done, *without* the aid of schools, shall authorize any conclusion either *for* or *against* what *may* be done, by the general adoption of the school system which has lately been introduced.

4. Many other questionable positions are entered in the list now lying before me; but as some of them are comparatively unimportant, I will restrict myself to such as appear to involve doubtful, if not erroneous, interpretations of Scripture.

The Divine Founder of our religion has, it is true, announced that his Gospel *should be preached all over the world*, but, to the best of my knowledge, he has never affirmed that it should be heard, believed, and embraced by all nations.—p. 42.

Christ (as I mentioned in another letter) has, it is true, promised that "the Gospel of the kingdom shall be published in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come." His sacred pledge, in this respect, has been fulfilled, or is still fulfilling, but, at the same time, has he told any one that all nations, or even the majority of them, should be brought under the yoke of the Gospel?—p. 108.

Not to mention in this place, the long and luminous train of prophecy, extending from Genesis to the Revelation, which directs the eye of faith to the glorious period when "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ,"* I would ask the writer of these Letters, how he interprets the apostolic commission given by our blessed Saviour, before he ascended to take his seat in glory, on the right hand of his Father: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, (or, as it is more strictly rendered in the margin of our English Bible, '*make disciples or Christians of all nations*,') baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:"† a commission, the *perpetuity*, and, may we not add, the

* Rev. xi. 15. † Matt. xxxviii. 19.

ultimate efficacy, of which, may be inferred from this gracious assurance subjoined by Him, to whom all power is given in heaven and in earth, "And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

In support of the above position, the Abbé cites part of the 10th chapter of St. Matthew (p. 44-5), together with the parallel passages from St. Mark and St. Luke, forgetting that the instructions there recited relate to the *first* mission of the apostles, whom, upon this occasion, Jesus expressly commanded, saying, "*Go not into the way of the Gentiles*, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."* The writer of these Letters should have referred us rather to the 24th chapter of St. Matthew, and to the parallel passages in the other Evangelists; and have left us to judge whether any thing in these passages, or in the apostolic commission recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, can be construed into a "recommendation" (as he terms it, p. 44, 45.) to the disciples of Christ, "quietly to quit places and countries ill disposed to hear the truth; and to leave these people in their hardness of heart."

Again: the Abbé Dubois cites the language employed by St. Paul, in the 9th chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, respecting the Divine Sovereignty, as an argument for our suffering the Hindoos to remain "immersed in the deepest darkness of the most extravagant idolatry." (p. 43.) The occasion does not permit me to enlarge upon the sublime doctrine treated of in this chapter; but the Abbé must surely be aware that the apostle is here treating of the rejection of the *Jews*, as having a close and necessary connexion with the calling of the *Gentiles*, which is the great subject of the Epistle; and that the scope of the chapter is to prove that the *Jews* are rejected, and the *Gentiles* called, without any impeachment of the Divine perfections. Let the Abbé Dubois view the passages as quoted by him in this light; and then let him say, how his case is to be supported by a reference to a part of Scripture which declares the *accomplishment of prophecy*, in the present rejection of God's *favoured and peculiar people*, and in the "calling them his people which were *not* his people, and her beloved which was *not* beloved."

Of a like tendency with the above is the opinion, to which I had occasion to advert, under the first head, that the natives of India are "lying under an anathema," like the worshippers of Moloch and Baalpeor, and the Canaanites of old, who were "doomed to a general and total destruction." (p. 111, 12.) Does the Abbé Dubois, I would ask, possess any means of instituting a comparison which shall warrant such a conclusion as this? Does he find any reservation whatever in the terms of the apostolic commission, for "going and teaching *all nations*?" And does he not, in expressing the above opinion, expose himself to the severe rebuke with which our blessed Lord silenced the demand for "fire from heaven," upon the village of the Samaritans, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of"?†

IV. I have marked, under the last head, such passages as appear to furnish valuable hints for the guidance of all those who are desirous of co-operating in the glorious work of "rolling away that weighty stone, which seems to confine and shut down a whole people in idolatry and superstition; in order that from their sepulchral abyss of moral and spiritual degradation, they may hear the voice of the Son of God, and that hearing they may live!"‡

In speaking of the difficulty of securing a close and accurate version of the Bible, in the different languages of India, the Abbé Dubois declares it to be his belief, that the undertaking "to be fairly and properly executed, would occupy, for half a century, all the learned to be found in India:" and he then goes on to describe the manner in which the authorized English version was made, and the time which was required for its completion. (p. 35, 6.) I am inclined to think that the Abbé has made an exaggerated statement, both of

* Matt. x. 5, 6. † Luke ix. 54, 55.

‡ Rev. Daniel Wilson's Sermon on the Death of Mr. Grant, 1823.

the defects of the present translations, and of the difficulties to be conquered, before we can hope to possess close and accurate versions of the Bible, in the various languages of India. But I am quite aware, that very low and inaccurate versions have gone abroad, particularly in those indigenous dialects, which differ most widely from the Hebrew idiom; and I entirely agree with the writer of these Letters, as to the mischief which such versions must have occasioned. Considering, indeed, the vast importance of ensuring faithful versions of the Scriptures, is it too much to expect that our Governments in India should listen to the encouraging voice, which may be said to have issued from the British Legislature, in 1813; and that they should endeavour, in communication with the ecclesiastical authorities, to devise such means as may be worthy of the representatives of a Christian country, for enabling the nations of India to "hear in their own tongues, wherein they were born, the wonderful works of God"?*

2. Some persons seem to be of opinion, that should the civil government of the country give proper support and encouragement to the Christian religion, it might be rescued from the state of contempt and degradation into which it has fallen, and prosper. In my humble opinion, *this might have been the case in former times;* but under existing circumstances, when the prejudices of the Hindoos against it have reached so great a height, I question whether all practicable support on the part of government could materially advance its interests, and whether such an interference would not rather prove detrimental to it, by increasing the jealousy and distrust of the natives.—47, 48.

In this passage, the writer of the Letters again declares an opinion (often repeated by him), that the progress of Christianity in India has been retarded by the "immoral and irregular conduct" of many Europeans. Some passages to this effect have been noticed already. In another place (p. 12), it is said, that "Christianity became more and more an object of contempt and aversion, in proportion as the European manners became better known to the Hindoos:" and, in another, I find the following remarkable testimony to the existence of the prejudices above mentioned:—

When the arguments of my opponents in vindication of their own religion are exhausted, and they have nothing more to say, they rarely fail to conclude and sum up their reasoning by this solemn and, in their mind, unanswerable appeal, exclaiming with much exultation and emphasis, "After all, your religion is the religion of the *Farangy;*" refraining, however, from a feeling of respect, or perhaps from motives of prudence, from adding, in my presence, the second part of this forcible sentence, viz. "and all that comes from so impure a source must be radically bad."—p. 15, 16.

In again adverting to this mournful delineation of the lives of multitudes, who, professing and calling themselves Christians, have "cast" their God "behind their back,"† my object is *again* to remind my countrymen in India of the peculiar responsibility which attaches itself to their situation, and to take occasion to repeat to them, from the primary charge of the late Bishop of Calcutta, the following just observation, viz. that "*a strict attention to Divine ordinances and to Christian duties among ourselves,*" is one of the means by which, under the Divine blessing, the Church in India, now in its *infant state,* "may receive gradual, yet continual accessions of strength; and may ultimately, in the unseen methods of Providence, be instrumental in dispensing knowledge and consolation to millions who are yet without its pale."

The other means noticed by Bishop Middleton, in the charge above referred to, are "the general dissemination of knowledge," and "a faithful and affectionate exhibition of the truth, as it is in Christ Jesus;" for *both* of which objects provision has been made by the Act of the Legislature, passed in 1813, for the renewal of the East India Company's charter.‡

3. To enable us to judge of the important consequences which may be expected to flow from the "general dissemination of knowledge," the Abbé

* Acts ii. 8. † 1 Kings xiv. 9.
‡ 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, s. 43, 49—54.

Dubois exhibits to us the following striking picture of the degraded condition of the great mass of the people in India.

The Hindoo is forbidden by his institutions to lay any claim whatever to either sacred or profane science, or to intermeddle in any way with the one or the other. His religious leaders have engrossed, as their absolute and exclusive inheritance, all that is included within the term *science*, fearing lest if an access, even to profane science, were given to the other tribes, this, by causing them to exert their own reason and judgment, should lead them to discover the heap of religious absurdities and extravagancies imposed upon their credulity by an interested priesthood.—p. 90.

Can we require any stronger testimony than this to the wisdom of our Legislature, in making "provision for schools, public lectures, and other literary institutions, for the benefit of the natives of India"? Or, can we, after this, hesitate to consider the anxiety which is said to prevail in India for the acquisition of English literature, as a circumstance of peculiar importance? On this subject, I consider the following remarks quite unanswerable:—"It has been urged as a reproach to Christianity (in India), that its converts are chiefly of the lowest condition; but the establishment of schools for the promotion of English literature, would soon do away even the excuse of this disingenuous and unfriendly charge. There is no doubt that children of the highest castes would be glad to attend them; and can it be believed that their familiarity with the English language and with European literature, would leave their minds in the fetters of superstition and the darkness of heathenism? It is by the confinement of the intellect that idolatry maintains its sway. If we open to them our fields of science,—if we lead them to our schools of philosophy,—if we travel with them in our variegated walks of morals and of taste, they will, in due time, find their way to our temples. This influence of the Christian religion on the higher orders, will be felt through all the inferior classes of the population. The circulation of the Scriptures, and the labours of missionaries, will come powerfully in aid of this progressive improvement; and superstition will be effectually assailed in all her strong holds."*

4. For "a faithful and affectionate exhibition of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus" (the third method noticed by Bishop Middleton for extending the bounds of the visible church,) the Legislature provided by introducing clauses into the Act above-mentioned, for the maintenance and support of a Church Establishment in the British Territories in India; and since the period of this enactment various religious institutions have been formed at the several Presidencies, which seem calculated to promote and to adorn the Christian cause.

In connexion with this, I will quote, at length, one more passage from the Letters before me. It contains the writer's statement of the manner in which the earliest Missionaries, who made their appearance in India, more than three hundred years ago, "gained some ground, and got a hearing;" and it seems, in its general outline, worthy of the attention of all who desire to co-operate in the merciful purposes of Providence, and to hasten the coming of that day when "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."†

After having made a certain number of proselytes, they selected the best-disposed, and most intelligent among them, and established schools for the forming of catechists, or native religious teachers. The missionaries superintended and directed those schools of catechists, and made it their principal study to give them an education suited to their intended profession. They, in consequence, composed several religious tracts explanatory of the Creed and of the Ten Commandments; whilst other tracts were also written containing some plain and short proofs of the existence of the only true God, an explanation of his divine attributes, and a refutation

* Thirteenth Anniversary Sermon before the Church Missionary Society, by the Rev. William Dealtry, 1813.

† Habakkuk ii. 14.

of the idolatry prevailing in the country. After the catechists had properly become acquainted with these matters, they were taken into the service of the missionaries, and taught the manner of introducing themselves by good manners among the natives.

These native catechists introduced themselves easily every where; into the markets and other places of public resort; into private houses and elsewhere; as physicians, merchants, and under other denominations, without exciting any distrust. In their free intercourse with the world, they were taught by their employers dexterously to provoke discussion upon religion; and so to manage such disputes, as that in making a display of their own learning they should in no way excite suspicion. When they perceived that they were listened to without disapprobation, they returned, and continued their discussions, without any pretensions to superior information. When they saw that they had made an impression on any one of their hearers, they prevailed upon him to accompany them to the missionary, who finished the work.

Such was the manner of proceeding of the first missionaries, and the way by which they gained some ground in this country in better times. Those schools for forming good catechists were the only ones established by the missionaries, and under their immediate superintendence. They continued, without interruption, to a late period, and were finally suppressed about fifty years ago; nearly at the period when the European invasions taking place rendered (as I have remarked in another letter) the Christian religion an object of universal opprobrium all over the country; and no means whatever remained of getting from the pagans a further hearing on the subject, either through native catechists or otherwise.—p. 131—3.

The Abbé Dubois indirectly admits in this, as in many other similar passages, that the chief obstruction to the progress of Christianity, remains *not* with the *Hindoos*, but with *us*. Let this reproach be wiped away. Let the nations of India see that the same system, whose influence secures to them a just and merciful Government, rules in the hearts of all concerned in its administration. Let them perceive that the same principles which are at work for their prosperity, promote, with a sovereign efficacy, the personal holiness of their benefactors. Let it be seen that the only weapon in the Christian panoply is a weapon of ethereal temper, "the sword of the spirit which is the word of God;" * and then, if any among us, viewing only the strong holds of error and superstition, shall be tempted to exclaim, "Alas! how shall we do?" let them remember in whose strength it is that they gird themselves to the spiritual contest, and let them treasure up the answer of the Prophet, "Fear not; for they that be with us are more than they that be with them." † It was this spirit of Christian courage which sustained the venerable Schwartz; and it was a kindred spirit which seemed to animate the present Bishop of India when on the eve of departure from his native land. I was present when he bade adieu to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and I shall not easily forget that ray of hope which seemed to gild his countenance as he uttered the words with which I shall conclude my present communication: "What would have been the feelings of Schwartz ('clarum et venerabile nomen Gentibus,') whom even the Heathen, whom he failed to convince, looked up to as something more than mortal; what would have been his feelings, had he lived to witness Christianity in India established under the protection of the ruling power, by whom four-fifths of that vast continent is held in willing subjection? What, if he had seen her adorned and strengthened by that primitive and regular form of government which is so essential to her reception and stability among a race like our Eastern fellow-subjects! What forbids, I ask, that, when in one century our 'little one is become a thousand,' ‡ in a century more that incipient desertion of the idol shrines, to which the learned Prelate § so eloquently alluded, may have become total, and be succeeded by a resort of all ranks and ages to the altars of the Most High; so that a parochial clergy may prosecute the work which the

* Eph. vi. 7. † 2 Kings vi. 15, 16. ‡ Isaiah lx. 22.
§ The Bishop of Bristol, in his Valedictory Address.

missionary has begun, and 'the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim' may be more 'than the vintage of Abiezer'?"*

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

CLERICUS.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have been reading the third and last Charge delivered by the late Bishop Middleton to the Clergy at Calcutta; and I earnestly recommend it to the perusal of my countrymen, both at home and abroad. In the course of this charge, the great work of conversion is viewed in all its bearings; an interesting statement is afforded of the impediments to the progress of the Gospel in India, at the present day, compared with those which were opposed to the earlier Christian teachers; and, in considering the several means to be employed, the introduction of the English language as a medium of communication with the natives, is stated to be the grand result to which our efforts should be unceasingly directed. "The first teachers of Christianity (observes Bishop Middleton) had a great advantage in the prevailing use of the Greek tongue; and we ought, as much as possible, to disseminate our own, with a view to the possession of similar facilities."

FAREWELL.

WHILE joyous youth and hope remain,
I ask thee not to think of me,
Though I must ever be the same,
Unchanged in mind, in soul to thee.
While round thee pleasure weaves her chain,
And gay thy morn of life appears;
Then be forgotten e'en my name,
Though far from thee I droop in tears.
Farewell!

I ask thee not to think of one,
Who could have loved through joy and woe;
Whose every thought was thine alone,
Whose ardent love thou ne'er canst know:
Of one, whose only wish had been
Through life to soothe thy every care,
With thee to share death's parting scene—
For, oh! to live would be despair.
Farewell!

Should fortune fleet, or friends decay,
With every hope, once dear to thee;
Should sorrow cloud thy cheerless way,
Then in that time remember me.
Till then, again Farewell! Farewell!
In silence I will wail and weep,
And not one sigh my grief shall tell,
Though misery mark my pallid cheek;
Though wastes my form in calm despair,
The tale unbreathed shall perish there.
Farewell!

* Judges viii. 2.

FURTHER OPPRESSIVE TREATMENT OF MR. ARNOT IN INDIA.

It is from no desire of attaching undue importance to the treatment of this gentleman as an agent of our own, that we revert to this subject; but purely with a view to expose the mischievous tendency of those despotic principles on which the treatment of the individual in question has been defended. There are some, we believe, who think we mix up our private concerns too much with our public writings, and that we have our personal interest more in view than the general good. If this were the case, we should not have suffered so severely in India, nor have been now reduced to tell our story in England. But the unfortunate fact of our being the victim of power, can surely be no reason why the facts of our case should be suppressed, or told in such a manner as to leave, by the omission of dates and names, a vague and inconclusive story of wrongs, done to some individual, nobody knows whom, and happening nobody knows when or where. The chief claim that we have to a hearing by those to whom we address ourselves, is the circumstance of our being specific in the statement of what we write; but unfortunately for us, there was no separating our grievances from most of the questions that we have had lately to bring before our readers. Our object is to call the attention of the British public to acts of misgovernment in India, merely *as* acts of misgovernment, and not because they relate to us and our interests principally. We should have done the same, whether the oppressions complained of had been exercised on A, B, or C. But it is surely better to give these grievances in detail, rather than indulge in a vain tissue of declamations. We are strongly fortified with facts, and dates, and names, and all that can give an assurance of authenticity to what we say; and if there be an appearance of egotism in producing them, it should be remembered that this is the only way in which we can hope to convince those who look into our pages, that we have strong grounds for our complaints. We have no desire to place our own case prominently before the English public, except for the purpose of exposing the system to which we are opposed; and this, not so much because, individually, we have suffered from its baleful influence, as because we desire to see it remedied for the sake of the millions now subject to its dominion, and to prevent the possibility of other victims falling a sacrifice to its destroying operations. The only value of knowledge is first to use it for our own honourable advantage, and then to promulgate it for the benefit of others. Possessing, therefore, as we do, the means of informing our fellow countrymen at home of many atrocities committed abroad, which but for the exertions of the Press in England would never be known to them at all, we shall use these means to promote the end we have in view; and if our readers can divest themselves as readily of all personal feeling in the perusal, as we shall do in the narration of the details, they will come to the consideration of them with unbiassed and impartial judgments, and attach no more importance to the names that appear, than if they had never before heard them mentioned. But it would be a false delicacy indeed to omit or disguise such names from a fear of the imputation of egotism. We repeat, it is not because these events are personally interesting to us that we dwell upon them;

it is because they are of the highest importance to all who desire to see despotism shorn of its power, and freedom and justice take the place of slavery and persecution. We have now no exclusive or personal interest in the emancipation of the Press in India—none in Colonization—none in the abolition of human sacrifices—none in the general improvement of the country. But these are great questions in which we shall never cease to feel as sincere and intense an interest, as when we resided in the country, and were surrounded by the thousand associations that made hourly calls on our zeal and labour for their promotion. It is with this feeling, and this alone, for the benefit of others rather than for our own gratification, that we revert to the history of the cruel treatment which Mr. Arnot has received from the Government of India, and add what has further taken place, even since his release from an imprisonment declared to be illegal by the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court in Bengal.

To make the history of this case intelligible to those who may not have seen the articles on this subject in the early Numbers of our Publication, we shall briefly recapitulate the outline of the events by which it is characterized.

When Mr. Buckingham was banished without trial from India, in February 1823, he addressed the Government of that country, stating that he resigned his Journal, and all the property he left behind him, to the management, not nominally but actually, of his successor, Mr. J. F. Sandys, an Indo-Briton by birth, chiefly because he was exempt, by the privilege of that birth, from the power of the Government to banish him in the same arbitrary manner. In this Letter, the Indian Government were distinctly apprized that in the editorial management of the Paper, Mr. Sandys would have no colleague, but that he, as the *real* Editor, would be ALONE RESPONSIBLE for its future conduct from that date. Soon after this, the new laws for licensing the Press were passed, of which the history has been already given. On the 30th of October, there was inserted in the Calcutta Journal, an *editorial* article on certain discussions then before the Indian public, in the course of which some remarks appeared that drew forth the wrath and displeasure of the Indian Government.—The names, places of birth, and respective duties of the several individuals employed in the office of this establishment, having been required by the Government on a former occasion, for what purpose it will hereafter soon appear,—the following were given as the principal ones:

Mr. J. F. Sandys, a native of India, Editor.
Mr. Sandford Arnot, a native of Scotland, Assistant.
Mr. J. Sutherland, a native of England, Reporter.
Mr. T. Heckford, a native of England, Accountant.
Mr. F. Blacker, a native of Denmark, Librarian.

Of these, the first and last, not being British-born subjects, could not be banished without trial; and of the two natives of England, one was married to an Indo-British lady, and was therefore half-naturalized, and the other had, between the period of his name being required and the publication in question, paid the debt of nature. Mr. Arnot was therefore the only *banishable* individual left, (if we may frame a word for the occasion), and he was accordingly selected for punishment. The Government took no steps whatever to inquire as to whether he wrote or even assisted in writing the article that had offended them:—they were

determined to *have* a victim; and whether it were the innocent or the guilty individual whom they should choose, seemed to them a matter of indifference. They wanted *one*, and this was the only one on whom they could safely seize to wreak their vengeance; the others were, unfortunately for their purpose, under the protection of that law which shields foreigners from their fury, but leaves their countrymen exposed to all its horrors—reversing the order of the Alien Act at home.

In order to place the conduct of the Indian Government in the fairest possible light, we have hitherto given their official Letters to the world, leaving the public to form their judgment on the contents. We shall follow the same course in the present instance; for on this, as on all former occasions, the evidence furnished by their own documents is quite sufficient for our purpose. The Letter written by them, on the occasion of their determining to banish Mr. Arnot, was as follows:

To John Palmer and George Ballard, Esqrs.

Gentlemen,—After the official communication made to you in my letter of the 18th July last, and the recent assurances on the part of the conductors of the Calcutta Journal conveyed in Mr. Sandys' letter to your address of the 29th of that month,* the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, has noticed with surprise the following passages contained in the Calcutta Journal of the 30th ultimo, page 833:—

"Our readers cannot but recollect the subject of the paper for which Mr. Buckingham was removed from India. The mention of this event is essential to our present argument, and we hope we may speak of it as a matter of history without offence, as we shall express no opinion on it either one way or another. If it were not absolutely necessary, we should not even allude to it; but in doing so, we shall not for a moment forget the respect due to the established laws and government of the country. The article in question related to the appointment of Dr. Bryce, as clerk to the Stationery Committee, *and the part of it which is understood to have been so offensive to the Government, as to determine Mr. Buckingham's transmission, was an allusion to the report of Dr. Bryce being the author of those letters, placed in connexion with his appointment to his secular office. Thus it appears, Dr. Bryce's reputed authorship and pluralities were the cause of Mr. Buckingham's removal; and of the new laws which are in consequence established for the press.*† But for him this society might have continued in the enjoyment of all its former privileges, nor have been deprived of one of its members. When those who watch with anxious expectation the progress of improvement in this country, and the spread of that Gospel which Dr. Bryce is commissioned to preach, consider the effects of these measures, it will be for them to award him the praise or censure which they think he has deserved."

2. The renewed discussion in the Calcutta Journal, of the question of Mr. Buckingham's removal from India, after the correspondence which has so recently passed, is IN ITSELF DISRESPECTFUL to the Government, and a violation of the Rules prescribed for the guidance of the editors; and the OFFENCE is GREATLY AGGRAVATED, by the *manner* of treating the subject, and by the *manner* in which the motives of the Government in removing Mr. Buckingham from India, are GROSSLY AND WILFULLY PERVERTED.

3. The passages in question marked by a double line, which clearly impugn the motives of Government, in removing Mr. Buckingham from India, would WARRANT the immediate recall of the license under which the Calcutta Journal is published; but notwithstanding the JUST cause of displeasure afforded on this occasion, the Governor General in Council is still unwilling from considerations connected with the interests of those who share in the property, to have recourse to so EXTREME a measure while it can be avoided.

4. His Lordship in Council cannot, however, pass over the present INSULT

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* See these letters in the last Number of the Oriental Herald, p. 80, 81.

† The above passages *here* distinguished by italics, were marked with a double line in the original letter as the part considered offensive.

offered to Government, with the mere expression of his displeasure, and he has resolved to adopt the following course:

5. The article containing the offensive passages above quoted, is professedly an editorial article, for which Mr. Sandys and Mr. Arnot, the avowed conductors of the paper, are clearly and personally responsible.

6. Mr. Sandys CANNOT be subjected to any DIRECT mark of the displeasure of Government, suitable to the occasion and to the nature of the offence, which would not EQUALLY INJURE the interests of the sharers in the property; but Mr. Sandford Arnot is a native of Great Britain, residing in India without any license from the Honourable the Court of Directors or other legal authority. The Governor General in Council has ACCORDINGLY resolved that Mr. Arnot be sent to England, and that immediate orders be issued to effect the foregoing resolution.

7. The Governor General in Council trusts, that this measure will be sufficient to prevent any further violation, by the conductors of the Calcutta Journal, of the respect due to Government and the Rules prescribed for the regulation of the periodical press, and will render it unnecessary to have recourse to the ultimate measure of withdrawing the license, under which the Calcutta Journal is now published.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Secretary to Government.

Council Chamber, Sept. 3, 1823.

To most readers this letter will carry with it its own comment. None but men absolutely intoxicated with power, and blinded by the stupifying effects of despotism, could possibly have seen any thing "disrespectful" in a passage so full of humility and submission; much less have discovered "insult" in what was studiously intended to evince deference and respect. Then, too, the mere complaint of "manner" being instantly transformed into a charge of "gross and wilful perversion," is equally characteristic of the infatuation of men, who rave in their frenzy, with the assurance that none dare open their lips to answer them. It is easily assumed that the act here called an "offence" *warranted* even a more severe measure than that with which it was visited: but this is the sort of begging the question which despots constantly practise; though, on the justice or injustice of this, the whole affair may be said to hinge. The affectation of a regard for the interests of those concerned, as sharers in the property, is more false and hollow than their pretensions usually are; and its utter insincerity may be inferred from the simple fact, that within a month afterwards, without any provocation whatever that could justify recourse to the "extreme measure" here prophetically glanced at, this property was suddenly annihilated, by a single stroke of the pen, consigning, for aught they knew or cared, one, whose best days and nights too had been exhausted in endeavours to assist their professed object in improving the country they governed,—to poverty and misery for the remnant of his life. But that is past. We mention it merely to illustrate the shameless disregard of truth and justice, which equally marks their professions and their practice. It was not because they felt any scruple at destroying the property, that they selected Mr. Arnot for banishment; for they well knew that in such an establishment there were subordinate individuals, on whom its good management and success depend in a still greater degree than on the nominal head, from their general acquaintance with business, prudence, connexions, &c.; and we believe they knew that, in these particulars, Mr. Arnot was the most efficient of the two, and that his removal would injure the property more than the removal of any other individual employed on it. But Mr. Arnot was *not* the Editor; he was never named as one of the avowed conductors of the Calcutta Journal—he had no share whatever in the respon-

sibility of publication; but it was because the *real* Editor, Mr. Sandys, COULD NOT be punished without a trial, being an *Indian*, that, therefore, Mr. Arnot, who was neither the real nor the nominal Editor, was selected for punishment without trial, he being a *Briton!* Proud and enviable distinction! that men born *free* should be reduced below the level of those whom their ancestors regarded as *slaves!*

To the letter of the Chief Secretary, before given, we annex the following, from the same pen, addressed to the Magistrates, and dated on the same day:—

To HENRY SHAKESPEAR, Esq. and the other Magistrates of the Town of Calcutta.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed to transmit to you, the accompanying copy of a letter, which has been this day addressed to Mr. J. Palmer and to Mr. G. Ballard, apprising those gentlemen of the resolution adopted by Government for removing Mr. Sandford Arnot from India, and for sending him to the United Kingdom.

2. I am now directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council to desire that you will call Mr. Sandford Arnot before you, and make him acquainted with the resolution in question.

3. If Mr. Arnot should voluntarily engage to proceed to England, and embark on board a ship for that purpose, within one month from the present date,* and shall enter into such security as may appear to you to be sufficient and satisfactory for the fulfilment of such engagement, the Governor General in Council will not subject him to the privations and inconveniences which would necessarily follow the enforcement of the process authorized in the 104th section of the Act of the 53d George III. cap. 155, for arresting and sending to England persons found in the East Indies without license or lawful authority for that purpose. If Mr. Arnot should fail to enter into such engagement, and give the required security, the usual warrant will be prepared and sent to you without delay.

4. You will lose no time in reporting to Government the result of your communication to Mr. Arnot, on the subject of these instructions.

I am, Gentlemen, your, &c.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Secretary to Government.

Council Chamber, Sept. 3, 1823.

These letters, though officially issued, and rigidly acted on, could not be made public through the papers in India. They appeared, however, in a privately printed statement drawn up on the spot; a copy of which has come into our possession, accompanied with some comments that are

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* In order to judge of the character of the terms to be enforced on Mr. Arnot, it is to be considered:—

1. That no eligible vessel might present itself within one month; offering suitable accommodations for passengers, or bound for a proper port, and not going by a circuitous course.

2. Should an eligible vessel offer, the captain might refuse to take Mr. Arnot on board, unless on exorbitant terms; to which the latter must accede, or risk losing a passage within the short time to which he was limited.

3. Mr. Arnot's creditors might by means of the legal proceedings long previously instituted against him, prevent his departure by arresting him, in which case he could not fulfil the condition required by Government.

It must be extremely difficult for any one, unless a man of large fortune, placed in such circumstances in a foreign country, to come under a penalty of twenty thousand rupees (the sum required by the magistrates), and find sureties for half that amount; when every person whom he might ask to become bound on his behalf that he would comply with the required condition of embarking for England within one month, must be convinced of the great risk the individual would run of being unable, with the utmost exertions, to avoid incurring the penalty.

These terms, however, were extolled by the parasitical writers of the period for their excessive mildness and leniency!

worth transcribing at length; we give them, therefore, in the writer's own words.

The part of the foregoing letter to Messrs. Palmer and Ballard, most worthy of remark, is the 5th and 6th paragraphs, where it is assumed that Mr. Arnot was "personally responsible," as an "avowed conductor," for an Editorial article appearing in the Paper. The utter unwarrantableness of such an assumption in the letter of the Chief Secretary, is shown by the following extract of a letter to his address, written by Mr. Buckingham, the principal Proprietor, shortly after he had received the notice of his intended transmission. In reply, he intimated to Government, that in consequence of that order for his removal, he had transferred the management of his Journal into other hands, which new arrangement, then formed, was also made public over all India, and remained unaltered while Mr. Arnot continued attached to the concern. The following is the extract of Mr. Buckingham's letter to W. B. Bayley, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government, dated February 17, 1823, above referred to:

"After the resolution of the Governor General, which you have communicated to me, I can no longer hope to exercise with any security or advantage to the public, my duties as editor of the Calcutta Journal: and as numerous other individuals are associated with me in the joint possession of the interests of that paper, I am also bound by a regard to their safety no longer to retain my present dangerous office, a perseverance in which might perhaps render our property as insecure as the freedom of my person is now shown to be, under a system which leaves both subject to the mercy of a power exercised at the mere will and pleasure of an individual, without the intervention of the law. I feel myself compelled, therefore, under all these considerations, to avail myself of such legal and honourable means as will most effectually secure that property from further injury than it has already sustained by the measure of my sudden removal from its superintendence.

"I have already resigned the editorship of the Calcutta Journal, *not nominally only but actually* into the hands of Mr. J. F. Sandys, a gentleman of Indo-British or Anglo-Indian birth, well known as a public writer and editor of an Indian newspaper some few years ago, to whose future management the Calcutta Journal will be intrusted, from and after this date; and to whom you may therefore address yourself in all future cases in which you may desire a correspondence with the editor of that paper.

"Retaining, as I shall do, my pecuniary interest in the concern, in common with numerous other individuals of every rank and class in the community, who have become joint shareholders with me in that establishment, I shall rely also in conjunction with them on the protection which the law will extend to that property, to save it from further injury by trespass or spoliation; and while the real editor of the Calcutta Journal, Mr. Sandys, will be ALONE *responsible* for the future conduct of that paper from this date, I shall lose no time in directing all my exertions in another and a higher quarter, to obtain for my countrymen in India, that freedom and independence of mind, which is not denied to the most abject individuals of *Indian* birth; but which, while the power of banishment without trial exists, no *Englishman* can hope to enjoy in the performance of his public duties, or the promulgation of his opinions in this quarter of the British empire, however sincerely such opinions may be entertained, however lawfully they may be expressed, or however zealously they may be directed to the improvement of the country, or to the attainment of public good."

As therefore it had been announced to every person in India, and the Government could not be supposed unacquainted with the contents of a letter addressed directly to itself, as well as soon afterwards published, it is not a little astonishing that Mr. Arnot should have been so unscrupulously charged with a dangerous responsibility which he never under-

took, and which no one without his own consent had a right to fix upon him;—while moreover the fact was notorious that it rested *solely* with another.

Of a similar nature is the allegation with which the Chief Secretary sets out at the very commencement of his letter, that the Government had received "assurances on the part of the *Conductors* of the CALCUTTA JOURNAL." The letter of Mr. Sandys, referred to as containing these assurances, of date the 29th July, proceeded entirely from himself as *sole* Editor, and neither *did* nor *could* contain an assurance on the part of any other person but himself as Conductor of the Paper. So far from Mr. Arnot being concerned in it, he was altogether ignorant of the contents of that letter, till after the order for his banishment, and his consequent imprisonment in Fort William. The use of the plural instead of the singular number ("Conductors" for "Conductor,") might appear a trivial error, were it not of a piece with the whole letter, the object of which is unwarrantably to extend the responsibility from Mr. Sandys to Mr. Arnot; and for this purpose the latter is boldly asserted to be an "avowed Conductor," and as such, alleged to have given assurances in a private letter which, in point of fact, he had never seen. The reader will therefore distinguish between a grammatical error or a slip of the pen, and a systematic extension of the sense, involving an individual in banishment and ruin.

Another position in the letter requiring notice is, that the above mere *transient* mention of Mr. Buckingham's transmission is a "*discussion of the question* of his removal from India," and that it is in violation of the Rules prescribed for the guidance of Editors. This will be best determined by reference to these Rules themselves. Whoever will compare the obnoxious passage with the last restrictions imposed on the Press, will immediately perceive that, if any part of them be thereby violated, it can only be the fourth article, which is, therefore, here quoted:—It prohibits

"Defamatory or contumelious remarks, or offensive insinuations levelled against the Governor General, the Governors, or Commander in Chief, the Members of Councils, or the Judges of his Majesty's courts at any of the Presidencies, or the Bishop of Calcutta; and publications of any description, tending to expose them to hatred, obloquy, or contempt; also libellous or abusive reflections and insinuations against the public officers of Government."

The Government adds, in the same Rules for the guidance of Editors, the following explanatory clause as to the manner in which its restrictions were to be understood and observed:

"The foregoing rules impose *no irksome restraints* on the publication and *discussion* of any matters of general interest, relating to European or Indian Affairs, provided they are conducted with the temper and decorum, which the Government has a right to expect from those living under its protection; neither do they preclude individuals from offering in a *temperate* and *decorous* manner, through the channel of the public newspapers or the periodical works, their own views and sentiments relative to matters affecting the interests of the community."—*Restrictions for the Indian Press.*

After perusing the above, by which the Government professes to allow "*discussion*," and encouraged individuals to express their own views and sentiments, thereby solemnly pledging itself to give its restrictions on the Press a liberal interpretation, the reader has only to consider whether

the passage for which Mr. Arnot was ordered to be transported, be "defamatory or contumelious" towards any of the members of the Government; and whether also the mention of Mr. Buckingham's removal was made in an "intemperate," an "indecorous," or a "disrespectful," manner? It was mentioned, as therein stated, unavoidably; as will be clearly seen on viewing this detached passage in connexion with the context from which it has been separated. It was written in defence of a Judge of the Supreme Court, against a most unjustifiable attack upon his conduct; although, as will be observed from the above extract, he ought to have been equally protected from censure with the Government itself, being included in the very same clause of the Restrictions on the Press. The consideration that the observations were called forth by a publication inconsistent with these Restrictions, might have suggested a liberal interpretation of them, when the object of a writer was evidently not to give offence to one privileged person, but to defend another, whose conduct ought to have been held equally sacred from comment. If, in combating an opponent who had thus trespassed on forbidden ground, he unavoidably exceeded somewhat the exact limits assigned to Editors, the lawfulness of the object he had in view might have procured him some indulgence. The reader cannot doubt for a moment, that the mention of Mr. Buckingham's transmission was unavoidable, if justice was to be done to the decision of the court. For, in a trial for libel, how, it may be asked, can a fair view be given to the case—how can due allowance be made for the *animus* with which the libels were written, if the thing that provoked them be kept entirely out of sight? The incitement to write against Dr. Bryce, in this case, was Mr. Buckingham's transmission, of which Dr. Bryce's appointment, through the article to which it gave rise, was the occasion. The writer of the defence of Sir Anthony Buller's judgment could hardly be supposed to imagine beforehand, that the mention of this fact would be proscribed by the Government; seeing the character of the Court, and those who looked to it for justice and protection, must thereby suffer. And as, from the very commencement of Lord Amherst's administration, Dr. Bryce had been allowed to infringe the restrictions with impunity, in proof of which the Number of his Magazine for August, (*vide* Calcutta Journal, Aug. 8th, p. 529) may be referred to—it could not be anticipated that his Lordship would enforce them rigorously against persons who might endeavour to counteract the effect of those violations. The public ascribed Dr. Bryce's impunity, not to any partiality of the new Governor General, who had lately assumed the reins of power, but to his liberal views with regard to the Press, which it was hoped would now enjoy some degree of liberty. Under these feelings the article in question was written; but what was the surprise felt when the Government condemned the Calcutta Journal for, at most, a very slight and evidently unintentional infringement (if an infringement at all) of one clause of the Regulations, although it had been driven to this alleged infraction by the writings of Dr. Bryce, who had been allowed to set that *very same clause* at open defiance.

While the paragraph above quoted was declared to be a sufficient ground for at once suppressing the Paper, and more than sufficient to warrant Mr. Arnot's transportation, it is to be borne in mind that the Editorial article, from which it was selected, being published by the Editor (Mr. Sandys) on his *own* responsibility, he was clearly answerable for it

if the restrictions on the Press were supposed to be thereby violated. In that case, the Government had the power of suppressing the Paper entirely, which was the *only* mode of punishment prescribed by the existing laws. Mr. Arnot, knowing that he had individually incurred no penalty, and that his acting as Assistant in the office of the CALCUTTA JOURNAL, (although not contrary to any existing law,) was the only fault that could be imputed to him, conceived that his relinquishing in future all connexion with the Press, would deliver him from the displeasure of Government. He therefore hastened to address the following letter to the Chief Secretary:

To the Honourable W. B. BAYLEY, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

SIR,—Being yesterday informed by the magistrates of Calcutta, that I have had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of Government, by a paragraph that appeared in the Calcutta Journal of Saturday last, in consequence of which the Honourable the Governor General in Council has been pleased to direct my removal to the United Kingdom, I beg leave through you to make the following representation to his Excellency in Council:—

As my being concerned with the periodical press, is the sole cause of Government withdrawing from me its protection, I indulge a hope, that my breaking off all connexion with the Calcutta Journal or any other newspaper, will be calculated to restore me to the indulgence of his Lordship in Council.

Upon this supposition, I take the liberty of tendering my solemn promise, to cease to have any concern either directly or indirectly in any publication within the territories of the Honourable Company, and of soliciting your kind interference in making a favourable representation of my case to Government, with a view to obtain permission on these terms, for my future residence in India.

I beg you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus addressing you; and

I have the honour to remain,

Sir, your most obedient and humble Servant,

Calcutta, Sept. 5, 1823. SAND. ARNOT.

On the same day the Chief Secretary returned the following reply:

To Mr. SANDFORD ARNOT.

SIR,—Having submitted to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, your letter of this day's date, I have been directed to acquaint you, that his Lordship in Council does not think proper to comply with your application, or to authorize any modification of the resolution passed by Government, and communicated to the magistrates of Calcutta on the 3d instant.

I am, Sir, your obedient, humble Servant,

(Signed) W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Secretary to Government.

Council Chamber, Sept. 5, 1823.

Notwithstanding this unfavourable answer, Mr. Arnot still hoped that a full representation of the great hardship of his case might make some impression on the mind of Government, and probably produce at least a modification of the resolution for his banishment; and he therefore next day drew up the following letter, which was forwarded to the Chief Secretary:

To the Honourable W. B. BAYLEY, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, in reply to the representation made through you to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council; and regret to find, that I have failed to obtain the indulgence which I solicited. I therefore feel myself necessitated again to request that you will kindly direct the attention of his Lordship in Council to the circumstances of my case, in the hope that the following statement of them may appear to deserve the favourable consideration of Government:

On my arrival in Calcutta, in July 1820, I found all the accounts I had previously received in my native country of the liberal and indulgent spirit of the Government of Bengal, with regard to European residents, completely confirmed; and that not only were natives of the United Kingdom permitted freely to settle

here, without any special license from the Court of Directors or other authority, while they conducted themselves agreeably to the established laws of the country; but also that Government encouraged their residence, by giving many of them employment in various public situations of trust and emolument. Finding that there were many hundreds of individuals in different parts of the country, and in every situation of life, residing here upon that footing, and securely engaging in extensive speculations, without any apprehension of the interference of Government, I gave up the thoughts of returning to the United Kingdom, and rested all my hopes and prospects in life upon this country; as by endeavouring to qualify myself to be useful in society, I expected in the course of years to be able to maintain myself honourably and usefully, like innumerable others similarly circumstanced.

During a period of three years and upwards which I spent here with these views, while it was my fortune to be engaged in the management of several newspapers, I have made myself acquainted with the country, and the character and language of its inhabitants; contracted friendships, which could not fail ultimately to promote my advancement in the world; and relying on these favourable prospects, I have ventured to enlarge my speculations and engage in pecuniary transactions, the success of which entirely depends on my continued residence in the country.

My removal now, therefore, will suddenly destroy all my prospects, render useless the knowledge and experience of this part of the world acquired during the last three years, and throw me back upon a country where I cannot profit by any of these favourable circumstances which are now available to me in India; and where, after an absence of four or five years, I can expect to find few of those advantages I possessed at an earlier period of my life.

If soon after my arrival in India, it had been intimated to me by Government, that without a license from the Court of Directors, my residence in the country could not be permitted, I might then have complied with such a notice with comparatively little loss; whereas, at present, it not only involves the immediate ruin of my pecuniary affairs, but takes away from me all the means of future success on which I relied; will very probably render it for ever after difficult for me to procure even the common comforts of existence, and condemn me to live and end my days in poverty and destitution.

As a young beginner of the world, I necessarily look forward with dread to such a prospect of approaching ruin; and as my fate depends on the pleasure of the Right Honourable the Governor General, I feel assured that the hardship of my case will appeal strongly to his lordship's feelings, as a man and as a father of a family, expanded as these must be in one, who has lately undertaken the high and important trust of diffusing the paternal blessings of British government among the many millions over whom he has been called to rule.

With respect to the paragraph in the Calcutta Journal of the 30th ultimo, which I am told has excited the displeasure of Government, I beg to disclaim, agreeably to what is therein stated, the most distant idea of disrespect, and to express my regret that in the article quoted allusion was made to the proceedings of Government under the mistaken notion that his lordship did not intend that the Restrictions on the press should in future be strictly enforced; as I observed that during his lordship's administration, part of the press had made remarks on the conduct of the judges of the Supreme Court, although such liberty was prohibited in the Rule and Ordinance lately passed by Government.

Persuaded that under such circumstances the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council will not enforce the order of my removal while there remains any other satisfactory expedient involving a less severe punishment, I take upon me to repeat my solemn promise to relinquish the line of life I have hitherto followed in India, and in which I regret to find I have unintentionally given offence to the Government; and in the hope that on an indulgent review of the case, his lordship in Council will be pleased to permit my residence in Bengal on this condition, I hereby engage to bind myself to conform thereto, under such penalty as Government may deem necessary; and to produce competent and respectable securities who will become bound on my behalf in such a sum as may seem necessary for my fulfilment of this obligation.

I have the honour to be,
Sir, your most obedient, humble Servant,

Calcutta, Sept. 6, 1823. (Signed) SAND. ARNOT.

The only reply made to the above was by an intimation through the Magistrates that the Government adhered to its resolution of removing Mr. Arnot to the United Kingdom. This was communicated to him on the 10th of September by Mr. Paton, one of the Magistrates of Calcutta; who at the same time delivered to Mr. Arnot authentic copies of the official papers from Government relative to his transmission. Being thus at last put in possession of these copies, which, as appears from the newspaper report of Mr. Arnot's case, he had till then in vain solicited, both from the Magistrates and the Chief Secretary, he next day addressed a letter to Mr. Paton, inquiring if security for his removal, in terms of the resolution of Government would now be accepted. To this he received the following answer:

To Mr. Sandford Arnot.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of this date I beg to state that as the warrant is out for your apprehension I have not the power of accepting sureties, but when the same has been duly executed upon your person, I shall be most happy to forward to Government any representation you may wish to make on the subject.

Sept. 11, 1823. (Signed) Chas. Paton, Magistrate.

What followed, it is not necessary to detail here, as Mr. Arnot's apprehension the day after (Sept. 12th,)—his confinement in Fort William,—his release on a writ of *habeas corpus,*—and the discussions to which it gave rise, are stated at great length in the reports of this case already published to the world; * and as the right of intermediate imprisonment formed a distinct question from Mr. Arnot's transmission, it appeared advisable to keep the interesting proceedings and arguments relating to it, separate and distinct. It is sufficient to state here briefly, that being required to place himself and his friends under a penalty of twenty thousand rupees, that he should embark on board a ship bound for England (he being left to find such ship for himself) within one month from the date of the order for his banishment, (Sept. 3d,) because he failed to comply with these hard and peremptory conditions, when not allowed even to see a copy of the Government order containing them, he was seized in the public street, hurried away to Fort William, and shut up in a strong room secured with iron bars, from which he could not stir without a guard attending him, and where his friends were not allowed to visit him, (and forbidden even to speak with him through the door,) without a special pass or license in writing from the Fort Major.

There was certainly no room for complaint, on the part of Mr. Arnot, of the treatment experienced from Mr. Paton the Magistrate, who took him into custody, or Col. Vaughan, the Fort Major, to whose charge he was transferred. On the contrary, but for the humane and gentlemanly character of these gentlemen, who happened to have this disagreeable public duty to execute, it is not known to what rigour or ignominy a person in his situation might have been subjected.

He now, fortunately, looked for protection to the laws of his country; otherwise it is uncertain how long he might have remained immured in the Fort, where the only hope of release held out was, that he would be shipped on board one of the first of the Company's vessels that might happen to be bound for the United Kingdom. But there was at that time no prospect of any such ship proceeding to England; and, in fact, none that could be then sent; there not being one in a state of preparation, and

* See the Oriental Herald, Vol. I. p. 637.

consequently no certainty whatever about the time of one sailing. Besides, the Government, (as appears by the return to the writ of *habeas corpus*) did not even promise to send him with the *first* that should sail; no, but only by "*some one* of the next,"—which still further reduced the chances of speedy liberation. The period of his confinement was therefore involved in utter uncertainty. But thanks to the glorious palladium of British liberty—*habeas corpus*—he was released at the end of seven days by order of the Supreme Court of Judicature. This decision will stand recorded in the annals of British jurisprudence in India, as a proud memorial to judicial virtue and constitutional liberty. Such a triumph of law and justice over wrong, is infinitely more calculated to consolidate British power than the exercise of despotic authority over the lives and fortunes of individuals. But for this decision, the mere mandate of a Governor General, or other Governor, might have sent a British subject, innocent of any real crime or injury to society, to languish in confinement for weeks, or months, or years! without seeing any termination to his sufferings. The release of Mr. Arnot was therefore hailed by the Indian community as a matter of public congratulation. The constitutional principles in favour of the liberty of the subject, so boldly asserted by the highest law authority in India, became the subject of keen discussion and ardent applause in every circle. So general was the interest excited by the event, that it is asserted to have become a familiar topic of discourse not only among the obscurest inhabitants of the metropolis, but even among the remote villagers; and it may be safely said, that in every corner of the land where the intelligence extended, it produced a warmer and stronger attachment to that system of rule under which the humblest individual, if injured, may find protection against the most powerful.

In a clime so congenial to the brood of parasites, it was not to be expected that any decision would pass without cavil, which stamped a measure of the Government as illegal. In such a case, hirelings and place-hunters are ever ready; and strenuous efforts were accordingly made, by sophistry and falsehood, to create an impression that the decision of the Court was contrary to law, and an encouragement to crime. The object of this was to screen the advisers of Mr. Arnot's imprisonment from the obloquy that necessarily rested with the authors of a measure which all classes of persons joined in condemning; and even the highest individual in the country is understood to have felt regret that advantage had been taken of his inexperience to procure his sanction to a mode of procedure which the Supreme Court of Judicature declared to be illegal, and which the unanimous voice of the public pronounced to be oppressive.

After his liberation from this illegal confinement, Mr. Arnot being anxious to ascertain whether Government would now grant him any indulgence with regard to the time of his removal from the country, which he entertained no doubt it still intended to carry into effect as soon as it possessed the means, addressed the following letter to the Chief Secretary:

To the Honourable W. B. Bayley, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,—The vexatious and harassing circumstances in which I am placed, in consequence of the order of Government for my removal to the United Kingdom, and the anxiety which I necessarily feel on account of the total uncertainty as to the time of my embarkation, will, I trust, be considered as affording an excuse for my again addressing you on this subject.

It is now perhaps too late to advert to the cause in which this measure originated, viz. a passage in the Calcutta Journal; of which publication, as inti-

mated to Government by the late editor and principal proprietor, Mr. Buckingham, in his letter of the 17th of February last to your address, Mr. F. Sandys then undertook the *sole* responsibility as editor, and became answerable, legally and morally, to the Government and to society at large, for whatever should appear in its pages; in which nothing, either original or borrowed, private correspondence or selections, could be inserted without his express sanction and approval; and he was about the same time publicly announced as editor, and entered upon the performance of his duties in that capacity in which he continues to act till the present moment. The passage above mentioned, published on the 30th of August last, while I was an assistant in the office of the Calcutta Journal, but without ever undertaking *any portion* of that responsibility, having to my sincere regret excited the displeasure of Government, I have already suffered the disgrace of imprisonment; and the punishment which yet awaits me is transmission to England, necessarily involving the immediate ruin of my pecuniary affairs and the complete destruction of all my future prospects; and having contracted obligations with the intention of remaining permanently in this country, this sudden reverse of fortune will compel me to leave it without satisfying the demands of my creditors.

Having come to India, encouraged to do so by the trade being thrown open to British subjects, with a commercial adventure on my own account, and not with any view of assisting in publishing a newspaper, I did not entirely rely on that as the means of acquiring an independence, but entered into pecuniary transactions which might enable me to engage at any time in profitable speculations. I, in consequence became involved for a debt of twelve thousand rupees, for which, several months ago, legal proceedings against me were instituted; but by producing bail for my appearance, I succeeded in temporarily pacifying the creditor, and hoped by thus gaining delay to be able in the course of time not only to satisfy his demand, but greatly better my own situation by the indulgence afforded me. But all my plans being completely frustrated by my sudden removal from India, these hopes are of course at an end; and I trust the Government, from a desire not to add to my embarrassment, will at least agree to postpone for three months the period of my embarkation; during which interval I shall endeavour to place all my affairs on the best footing circumstances will permit, and engage to be in readiness when necessary to conform to the orders of Government.

I request that you will have the goodness to represent the above to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, and communicate to me the result.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Calcutta, Sept. 22, 1823. SAND. ARNOT.

Not having received any answer to the above for upwards of a week, on the 30th of September, Mr. Arnot addressed a note to the Chief Secretary, requesting to be informed whether he might expect the honour of a reply. He in consequence received the following ultimatum:

To Mr. SANDFORD ARNOT.

SIR,—With reference to your communication of the 30th ultimo, I am directed to state that your letter of the 22d ultimo was duly submitted to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council; and that his Lordship in Council does not think fit to authorize me to return any reply to it. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Secretary to Government.

Council Chamber, Oct. 2, 1823.

Here then the matter rested up to the date of the letter given above: and from that period onward, till the 7th of December, no notice was taken of Mr. Arnot's further stay in India, the Government being apparently satisfied with his retirement from the Calcutta Journal, and the subsequent destruction of that paper itself, which was suppressed by authority on the 7th of the preceding month. He was then, however, arrested by order of Lord Amherst, at Chandernagore, and conveyed on board a ship in the river, to be kept in confinement till his arrival in England.

The following copies of the letters sent in by Mr. Arnot to the Government of India, on this occasion, contain, no doubt, an accurate, because an unanswered, description of the treatment he received. The letters are as follows:—

To W. B. BAYLEY, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

Dated on board the Honourable Company's Ship Fame, off Calcutta, Dec. 15, 1823.

SIR,

Captain Paton, the magistrate of police, who by a warrant from the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, yesterday apprehended me in presence of the Honourable the Governor of Chandernagore, where I was residing, and placed me on board this vessel (the Honourable Company's ship Fame, where I am in custody), having kindly offered to convey to you any communication I may wish to make on this subject, I avail myself of his offer, and beg to request, if you find it consistent with your duty, that this letter may be communicated to his Lordship in Council.

As I was precluded from performing the engagement under which I offered to place myself, in my letter to your address of the 22d of September, soliciting three months' delay, and promising to hold myself in readiness, when necessary, to conform to the orders of Government; since, although upwards of three months have elapsed, Government declined accepting my proffered obligation, nor signified its future intentions towards me, I trust my residence in the French settlement, where I was apprehended and brought back into the Company's possessions, will not have been construed into any opposition to the wishes of the Government, of which I was kept totally ignorant.

Indeed from this very silence, (which after the engagement I had offered to make, I could not consider as intended to keep me in uncertainty, since this offer proved that I had no intention of evasion) I was led to hope that similar indulgence would be extended to me, as has often before been experienced by persons in the same situation, who, after being ordered to leave the country, were yet suffered to continue residing. I flattered myself that my case was one which peculiarly admitted of this kind of indulgence, as the order for my removal to the United Kingdom had been passed upon grounds, which, after the explanation I offered, I hoped would be deemed no longer to exist.

1. In reference to that of my being an avowed "conductor of the Calcutta Journal," and personally responsible for whatever appeared in its pages, which appeared, by your letter of the 3d of September, to have been the ground on which the order for my removal originated; having obtained at last a copy of that letter, I took the first opportunity of pointing out to your notice a true statement of the case, contained in an official letter to your address, dated 7th of February last, written for the information of Government by the former editor and principal proprietor, Mr. Buckingham. From this it appears that John Francis Sandys was the real editor, not nominally only, but actually, and "*solely* responsible" for what appeared in the paper, in which nothing could be inserted without his express order. And as I had agreed to continue in the situation of assistant solely on this understanding and on this express condition, I trusted that no such heavy responsibility could be imposed upon me without my knowledge or consent. I, therefore with submission, attribute this part of your letter to misinformation; and hoped that a measure originating in such a misconception would not be carried into effect, after the above means had been adopted to have the misconception removed.

2. As it was apparently only my connexion with the Calcutta Journal that had drawn towards me the displeasure of Government, and as I engaged to break off all connexion with the press (and in fact resigned my situation from that period in the Calcutta Journal office), and offered to produce the most respectable securities for my future conduct; I hoped that Government would deem any further precautionary measure with regard to me unnecessary.

3. In regard to my being unlicensed to reside in the Honourable Company's territories, I conceived myself correct in supposing that the statute 53 Geo. III. did not render it imperative on the Government of Bengal to remove *all* Europeans found here without a license; but merely granted the power of removing them, to be exercised only provided it appeared absolutely necessary for the good of the state. In which opinion I was strongly confirmed by the well-known fact

that many hundreds of unlicensed persons have for many years past settled and resided, and continue to settle and reside, in the different parts of the country, with the tacit approbation of Government and its numerous public functionaries; and in this opinion I was further confirmed by the fact, which I believed to be no less certain, that for an equal length of time no individual after being any considerable period settled in the country has been removed by Government, unless brought officially to its notice as guilty of some positive injury to the Company's exclusive trade; disobedience to the constituted authorities, or other public misdemeanour in flagrant violation of the existing laws; or conduct thought derogatory to the British name.

I myself, however, have never, to my knowledge, been brought thus officially to the notice of Government, and am unconscious of committing any thing injurious to the state, or derogatory to the character of my countrymen in the East. My officiating as an assistant in the office of the Calcutta Journal could not possibly constitute such offence, since Government never would have permitted a paper to continue in existence, with which it was culpable to be connected, having at any time the power of suppressing it; yet its publication was sanctioned by Government as long as I was connected with it, and continued to be so after my connexion was broken off. And if by the misrepresentation of others a suspicion had been excited, that I was likely to be the cause of that paper transgressing the limits assigned by Government to discussion—this suspicion must have been removed by what subsequently occurred after I ceased to be connected with the paper, when its conduct became such that Government saw reason to suppress it altogether.

My character standing before Government thus unimpeached, I did not imagine that a license would, at this day, be an indispensable requisite to my longer residence in India; otherwise I should have thrown myself on the indulgence of his Lordship in Council, to grant me at least one year's respite, until I could write to my friends in England, and obtain an answer; while at the same time I might have given my assurance that, from the promises made me by a gentleman who proceeded to Europe almost twelve months ago, and undertook to arrange this satisfactorily before two or three months more, were I allowed to remain in India so long, I have good reason to believe that this want would be supplied.

Notwithstanding, if for reasons incomprehensible to me, of which it would be unbecoming to express a doubt, my apprehension even in a foreign settlement, and my immediate removal to Europe, were deemed a measure of public expediency, I feel confident that the Honourable Company could never sanction this treatment of a British subject, unless it seemed absolutely necessary for the security and dignity of the state; and that when such urgent necessity is considered to exist, no expense would be spared to carry their extreme measures of precaution into execution, in a manner worthy of British rulers, presiding over so great an empire.

The order for my removal having already stripped me of a situation worth from four to five thousand rupees per annum, and blasted all my future prospects, I trust that my simple transportation to the United Kingdom, with the restraint and confinement which it imposes upon me, will be deemed sufficient, without the additional punishment of my being subjected to any hardship or degradation during the voyage. Although the clause of the statute under which I am removed, does not specify the kind of treatment persons so transmitted as I am, without being charged with any misdemeanour, ought to experience, yet the legislature could not surely have intended that persons of all ranks and classes in society should be reduced to the same level, and subjected to the treatment of common soldiers or seamen, under the general appellation of a charter-party passenger. Since even if transmission were intended not as a measure of precaution, but as a punishment, the penalty inflicted ought to be increased in proportion to the aggravation of the offence, and not the rank of the offender: whereas, by this indiscriminate mode of treatment, while a person not guilty of any misdemeanour is placed on a footing with the flagrant culprit, a gentleman, who has been accustomed to the comforts of Indian life, will, from such a charter-party passage, suffer a more severe infliction than a common seamen would in being sent home in irons. It can hardly be imagined that the legislature meant to condemn British subjects in my unfortunate situation to so hard a fate, and at the same time leave them no means of relief, except perchance their own good fortune, the generosity of their friends, or the humanity of the captain, enable them to obtain some mitigation of suffering.

I have the satisfaction of being able to add, that the highest judicial authority in this country, Sir F. Macnaghten, lately declared his opinion publicly on the proper construction of this Act of Parliament, (which carefully provided that persons found in India without a license should only be sent home in a good and sufficient vessel—one of the Company's ships), declared that he considered *me* thereby entitled to "the best treatment and accommodations." If it were necessary to corroborate this high authority, I might cite the opinion of Mr. Turton, one of the most eminent lawyers in India, who considered the legislature to have intended, without doubt, that every individual transmitted under this statute, should receive treatment and accommodation corresponding with his sphere and condition in life. This, which is, as far as I know, the unanimous judgment of the legal profession here, is sufficiently confirmed by a clause in the same act, with regard to foreigners removed from India under similar circumstances, in which the legislature commands that a foreigner shall be removed "in such a manner as his or her rank, state, and condition in life may require," (53 Geo. III. cap. 84, sect. 6,) and it cannot surely be supposed that the British legislature intended that in its Eastern dependencies its own subjects should be treated worse than other Europeans or aliens.

Hoping I have not trespassed the rules of propriety in wishing, through you, to submit these points for the consideration of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council, I shall only add, that I trust his Lordship will be pleased to pass such an order, before the vessel sails, with regard to my treatment and accommodation on board, as the particular circumstances of the case may seem to him to require.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) SAND. ARNOT.

As the ship was on the point of sailing immediately, it is fair to suppose that if any answer had been intended to be given to this letter, it would have been sent without delay. None, however, came; when, on the 15th, the following was sent in as addressed:—

To W. B. BAYLEY, Esq. &c. &c.

Dated on board the Hon. Company's ship Fame, off Calcutta, December 15, 1823.

SIR,

In reference to the conclusion of my letter of the 11th inst, forwarded to you several days ago by Capt. Paton, I beg to be permitted to bring to your notice the following facts, for the further information of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council.

The Government having, it appears, allowed eight hundred rupees for my passage money in this vessel, directing me to be received into the third mate's mess, I am *authorized* by Capt. Young to state, that there not being in a ship of this size and description a third mate's mess, as on board the regular Indiamen, he having none such, can consequently for the above sum only allow me to mess with his carpenter, boatswain, &c.; and as for such a sum it is equally out of his power to give me any cabin, I must consequently live in the steerage, among the servants and other inferior persons employed in the vessel.

For a cabin of any description, and entertainment at his table, he finds it necessary to demand two thousand rupees in addition to the sum above specified, making in all two thousand eight hundred, as the lowest terms on which he can afford comfortable treatment and accommodations. Moreover, the captain's main hopes of profit by passengers in this voyage depending, I understand, on Sir Stamford Raffles and family proceeding home in this vessel from Bencoolen, he is unable to secure to me comfortable accommodation any further than that place, when I must, if asked, give up my present cabin on the deck to Sir Stamford Raffles and suite, should he wish any of them to occupy it, which it is considered next to certain he will; after which I must take my chance of any vacancy there may be amongst the cabins on the deck below, which are very badly ventilated and uncomfortable, from the ship not having been built expressly for this climate.

Having, however, no alternative but to accept the terms offered by the captain, or submit to the vilest accommodation and hardest fare, during a long sea voyage, which may be protracted indefinitely at Bencoolen, a very sickly station, where the vessel is to be delayed some time, I remaining all the while confined on board of her, I have felt myself under the necessity of entering into a conditional engagement with Capt. Young, to make up to him the sum of two

thousand eight hundred rupees, provided the Government send me to sea in his vessel without giving any other order regarding my treatment.

I owe it of course entirely to Capt. Young's having some sense of moderation, that he did not demand of me double or triple the sum required, since I have been placed in a situation, where I had no choice but to accept his terms or suffer the consequences. At the same time I know, that among the numerous vessels now about to sail for England, several would most readily give me a passage for a much smaller sum, by which I might both be saved considerable expense, and obtain a *direct* passage to England; or at least, if not quite direct, without my being subjected to any indefinite delay at a very unhealthy station.

Having simply stated these facts, I leave them to make the impression they are calculated to do, and shall now conclude by expressing my unfeigned regret that, from the unparalleled circumstances in which I have been placed, I have felt myself so often compelled to trespass on your patience, and intrude my affairs on the notice of those whose attention is necessarily engaged with objects of so much higher importance, that, in comparison with them any thing relating to so humble an individual as myself can hardly appear worthy of a moment's consideration.

I beg to be allowed to correct an error that appears to have crept into my last letter, last paragraph but one, in citing an Act of Parliament, without the book, viz. the 55th Geo. III., which I have reason to believe was inadvertently quoted as the 53d Geo. III. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) SANDFORD ARNOT.

There are few Englishmen, we think, who can read these documents without feeling their indignation roused against the perpetrators of such refined cruelties as these. If they can read them unmoved, we do not envy them their apathy: for, it appears to us, that insensibility to such treatment as this, must betray the want of all those qualities which distinguish the free man from the slave.—The last letter written by Mr. Arnot was addressed to a friend in London, dated on board the Fame, the 17th of December, and put on board the Florentia, Capt. Wimble, both ships then dropping down the river, the latter for England direct, in which, if Mr. Arnot had been sent, he would have been at home nearly two months ago; and the former for Bencoolen, from which he may never return alive. From this letter, which recapitulates some of the facts already given, and adds others not before made known, we shall give a few extracts, with which our record of this disgraceful and unfeeling persecution must close.

Honourable Company's Ship Fame,
River Hooghly, Dec. 17, 1823.

DEAR SIR,

Although I expect to reach you myself not long after this letter, I hasten to inform you, by the earliest opportunity, that I am sent home a charter-party passenger, on board the Honourable Company's ship Fame, merely on the ground that I am residing in India without a license.

I trust you received the large packet I sent you some time ago; you will thereby have learnt the state of my transactions with the Indian Government up to the 30th of September. From that date the most profound silence was observed as to their future intentions; and I remained quietly residing in Calcutta to await the event. But having lately heard, on the very day we were in hopes of re-establishing the Journal, that you had reached England in safety, and entertaining a hope that the information, which my friends at home would receive from you, respecting the critical situation of your concern in India, might induce them to exert themselves to obtain for me, without delay, a license from the authorities in England for my residence here, I thought it would be most advisable to take up my quiet residence in a foreign settlement, until I should know whether the Court of Directors would sanction my continuation in India or not.

I hoped, also, that although the authorities here objected to my residence without a license in the British or East India Company's possessions, they would have no objection to my going out of their territories, and residing in a foreign settle-

ment for a few weeks, until the pleasure of the authorities at home could be known. In this, however, I was mistaken; for I had not been three days at Chandernagore, when, on the 11th of December instant, a magistrate of Calcutta came and arrested me, on a warrant signed by Lord Amherst, in presence of the Governor of this French settlement, and the Lieutenant of Police, and conveyed me on board the Honourable Company's ship FAME, Capt. Young, bound first for Bencoolen—the place of exile for native convicts—and thence for England, to which more ill-fated Britons are transported at the pleasure of our Indian rulers, unconvicted, untried, *unheard.*

At Bencoolen the vessel is expected to remain for a number of weeks, to take in pepper and other articles of cargo, and to receive on board Sir Stamford Raffles and suite. As I must remain a prisoner on board of this ship during the whole of her stay there, I shall, at this my first place of banishment, experience the effects of nearly the most deleterious climate in this part of the world, under the most unfavourable circumstances—confinement in a floating prison, and the depression of spirits occasioned by my summary removal from India, with the total destruction of my prospects, and without being permitted to go on shore even to take a farewell of my friends.

Should I survive the pestiferous climate of Bencoolen, I may expect to reach England some six or seven months hence, when I shall escape from the power of the Company's government, and again become a free man.

I have addressed two representations to the Chief Secretary, pointing out the sort of treatment which the law declares that a charter-party passenger ought to receive, and stating that the sum of 800 rupees, which Government has allowed to the captain of this ship on my account, being quite inadequate to procure the common comforts of a sea voyage, I have been obliged to agree to pay him 2,000 rupees additional for my passage, otherwise I should be worse off than a common sailor, living in the steerage among the servants, and on the allowance of whatever might come from the captain's table.—As neither my regard for my own comfort, or perhaps my *life*, nor for the respectability of your concern, would suffer me to submit to this while I had a farthing in the world, I have of course availed myself of the liberality of your agents, to satisfy the captain's demands.

In my representations to the Indian Government, of which a copy will probably reach you before I arrive at home myself, I have pointed out the hardship of my case; and shown that it is entirely owing to there being some limits to the captain's conscience, that he does not demand double or triple the sum required, since I have no choice but to agree to his terms. What he has demanded is deemed at present so exorbitant, that I have had various offers, if the Government would but allow me to leave this ship, of being taken to England free of any charge whatever; and the Government has been informed, that, even for the sum demanded by Capt. Young, my accommodations after we reach Bencoolen will be very indifferent, as Sir Stamford Raffles will occupy all the good cabins with his family and attendants. However, the Government has refused to take any notice whatever of my representations on this subject.

The captain or owner of each of the following vessels, and of another whose name escapes me, all about to sail for England, have offered to give me a passage to England free of any charge at all—viz. the Neptune, Capt. Edwards; the Lady Flora, Capt. Macdonnell; and the Asia, Capt. Pope, a vessel having very superior accommodations. Mr. Charles Reed, the owner of the ship Victory, who intends sailing in her for Europe in February next, also offers me a free passage, and has written a letter to my friends on the subject, representing the extreme unhealthiness of the station of Bencoolen, where I am to be sometime confined on board, as above stated, and the danger of a person, kept in the close imprisonment of a ship there, falling a victim to the jungle fever, which, even if it spares the life, generally totally ruins the constitution.

The Government, however, seems determined to send me first to that place of exile, to make up by my confinement there, perhaps, for my liberation from Fort William, and put 2,000 rupees from my pocket, and 800 rupees out of their treasury into the pocket of Capt. Young, who, by the bye, is likely to be on what the Government here no doubt consider to be the right side of the question, as during his stay in Calcutta he resided with the Editor of the JOHN BULL: he may, therefore, perhaps, have obtained custody of his profitable prisoner through the friendly influence of his Tauric Majesty. This is worse than throwing a man into what Johnson calls "a prison, with the additional chance of being drowned;"

it is putting him into a floating spunging-house, the keeper of which is there enabled, under the sanction of authority, and with all the appearance of moderation in his demands, to empty his prisoner's purse; while those, on whom the movements of this prison-house depend, direct it to float along some pestiferous shore, where happy is the prisoner who escapes without carrying with him to his grave a ruined constitution.

I may add here, that sending me in this ship bound to Bencoolen, and not for England direct, is, I am assured, illegal; in which case, if it were found to be so, I could be removed by Habeas Corpus; but I decline trying the point, lest my repeated resistance to their illegal measures should enable them to fix upon me the character of being a contentious and troublesome person. Unless it was with the very view of drawing me into this snare, sending me by Bencoolen, an *illegal* route, must have been intended as a matter of convenience, at least, to the captain, who has been very unsuccessful in getting passengers, because nobody who can help it will go to England by such a route.

SANDFORD ARNOT.

It is impossible not to be struck with the remarkable fact of the Indian Government choosing, for the reception and imprisonment of their victim, a ship, commanded by a gentleman, who, however honourable and unexceptionable in point of character, was not likely, from his residence with an inveterately hostile enemy to his unfortunate prisoner, to have much compassion for his fate. But, when to this is added, the fact of his going by the circuitous and unhealthy route of Bencoolen,—where the captain, officers, and crew, might suffer little, it being in the exercise of their habitual pursuits, from having liberty to go on shore to refresh, and from their minds being at ease, while Mr. Arnot would be kept in confinement on board during the whole time of the vessel's lying in that port, with a deep sense of the degradation and indignity to which he was exposed, perpetually preying on his mind,—we find it difficult to divest ourselves of a belief that there was some deep design in this combination of circumstances, which thousands will no doubt imagine, but, to which it might perhaps be dangerous for us to give utterance. There were ships going direct to England, on board of which he might have easily been put, and this too without expense to either party. For what possible reason then could the Government of India have persisted, even after it had been pressed on their attention by repeated remonstrances, in confining this unhappy victim of their power to this floating prison, but from the hope that it might also prove his ——.

That any man should have conducted himself with so much moderation as Mr. Arnot evidently observed, up to the last moment of his stay in India, is indeed surprising; and that he should have refrained, for the reasons avowed by him, from seeking a removal, by *habeas corpus*, from his floating dungeon, as he had before done from his less irksome and painful imprisonment in the fortress on shore, deserves to be recorded as a trait that must for ever silence all who would represent the friends of rational freedom in India as factious, turbulent, and impatient of restraint.

If the recital of these authentic and unexaggerated facts, should make no impression on the public mind, and rouse no expression of indignation from the public press of this country, we shall at least enjoy the satisfaction of having performed our duty in laying them before the world; and if neither the friends of freedom in India, nor in England, will exert themselves to procure a change in the system from which such iniquities spring, they will justly deserve the scorn of the present and the reproach of future generations in all time to come.

TO THE SETTING MOON.

Written among the Islands of the Grecian Archipelago, and suggested by the Recollection of Moore's beautiful Song "Fly not yet."

Fly not yet! thou radiant Moon,
Nor sink on Thetis' lap so soon;
Those rays that light the western skies
Still conjure up the magic ties
Of love's endearing chain:
Ties that defy e'en hoary time,
Or change of scene, or change of clime,
While round this heart, with truth still glowing,
Nature's purple tide is flowing;
Oh! stay—Oh! stay—
Nor let the web thy beams have wove
In memory's loom for her I love,
So soon be rent in twain.

Thy silver orb recalls the hour,
When, at her touch, soft music's power
Through every sense transported stole,
And o'er her song my captive soul
In silent wonder hung:
For such th' enchantment of her strain,
That bliss itself thrilled high with pain;
But, as I fled those maddening pleasures,
Soft she sighed, in Lydian measures,
Oh! stay—Oh! stay—
The hours that glide on rapid wing
Such dear delights too seldom bring;
Then fly not yet so soon!

"Fly not yet"—What spell divine
Breathes o'er the cadence of that line,
When trembling on her angel tongue,
In dulcet notes, like those which sung
Creation's dawning day!
E'en here, amid the holier balm
Of Grecian skies, in midnight calm,
While mortal sounds are sunk in slumbers,
Her sigh still breathes those melting numbers—
Oh! stay—Oh! stay—
And thus, sweet Moon, thy setting light
Prolongs the dream that hangs to-night
On that remembered lay.

B.

RECENTLY DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT OF MILTON.

The recent discovery of the original Manuscript of an unpublished work by Milton, has excited the highest interest in the literary world. It was well known to his admirers, that the author of Paradise Lost had composed a body of Theology, to which he had devoted much attention during many years of his life, but which had disappeared shortly after his decease, and seemed to be totally lost to the public. This, it appears, has now been fortunately retrieved by Mr. Leman, the Deputy Keeper of State Papers, by whom it was found in that office, enclosed in an envelope addressed to Cyriac Skinner, merchant. Yet by what means it could have been deposited in that situation, remains still shrouded in mystery. It is true, that many of Milton's papers, from his situation as Latin Secretary to the Protector, became of necessity attached to the office in which this Manuscript has been at length discovered; yet it is equally true that the contemporaries of our immortal Bard, and even his nephew, Edward Philips, believed that the original of the work in question was deposited in the hands of Milton's intimate friend, Cyriac Skinner; an opinion which the cover in which it was discovered tends to substantiate. How, after leaving the custody of Skinner, it should make its way into the State Paper Office, remains yet to be developed. This, however, is a question which we shall not discuss; but shall content ourselves with laying before the reader the testimonials by which its authenticity is supported among his contemporaries, and also some account of the Manuscript itself.

In the Life of Milton inserted in the Fasti Oxonienses, by Wood, it is stated that "About the time he had finished these things," (the Defensiones pro Populo Anglicano, &c.) "he had more leisure and time at command, and being dispensed with by having a substitute allowed him, and sometimes instructions sent home to him, from attending his office of Secretary, he began that laborious work of amassing out of all the classic authors, both in prose and verse, a Latin Thesaurus, to the emendation of that done by Stephanus; also the composing of Paradise Lost, and of the framing a body of Divinity out of the Bible. All which, notwithstanding the several troubles that befel him in his fortunes, he finished after his Majesty's restoration." And again, after enumerating all his published works, Wood says, "These, I think, are all the things that he hath yet got extant; those that are not are *The Body of Divinity*, which my friend calls 'Idea Theologiæ,' now, or at least lately, in the hands of the author's acquaintance called Cyr. Skinner, living in Mark-lane, London; and the Latin Thesaurus in those of Edw. Philipps, his Nephew."

The authority for this Life of Milton, for which Wood acknowledges himself indebted to a friend, appears not to have been "Mr. William Joyner, Fellow some time of Magdalen College," but the well-known Mr. John Aubrey, who himself made some collections for a Biography of our immortal Poet, which are now preserved in the Bodleian Library, and have been printed at the end of the Bodleian Letters; and of Godwin's Lives of Edward and John Philips. In the Catalogus Librorum, affixed to those collections, we find the following article:—"13. *Idea Theologiæ*, in MS. in the hands of Mr. Skinner [a merchant's sonne]

in Marke Lane. Mem. There was one Mr. Skinner of ye Jerker's office up 2 paire of stayres at the Custom House."

The passage, however, which introduces us more immediately to the work in question, and which affords us the fullest information as to its contents, and the mode of its composition, is found in the Life of Milton by his favourite Nephew, Edward Philips. In this, after enumerating the usual occupations of his Uncle, while engaged in superintending the education of himself and Brother, he proceeds thus:—"The Sunday's work was, for the most part, the reading each day a chapter of the Greek Testament, and hearing his learned exposition upon the same, (and how this savoured of Atheism in him, I leave to the courteous backbiter to judge.) The next work after this was the writing, from his own dictation, some part, from time to time, of a tractate which he thought fit to collect from the ablest of Divines who had written of that subject; Amesius, Wollebius, &c. *viz.* 'A Perfect System of Divinity,' of which more hereafter." Unfortunately, however, Philips seems to have forgotten this promise, and in his Life of Milton we meet with no further information on the subject.

In the whole of these notices, which we have purposely limited to those nearest to the times in which Milton wrote, it is evident that the work referred to is the same. The recently discovered Manuscript appears to differ from the above in title, as we have the authority of Mr. Peel for stating it to be 'De Dei Cultu.' This however will probably be regarded as no very essential variation, when we consider that Wood, Aubrey, and Philips, do not agree precisely in the title of the work of which they treat, and which therefore might not have been definitively settled; that this Manuscript is theological in its subject; and that it is devoted to the the truths of the Christian religion. With the existence of this, Philips must also have been of necessity acquainted, as the bulk of it is written by himself, though it possesses numerous interlineations in another hand. Neither can we regard it as probable that there should have existed two works on this subject, since, in that case, Philips would scarcely have omitted to notice them both; particularly as this Manuscript is of very considerable extent, consisting of no less than seven hundred and thirty-five pages, many of them closely written. That it is in a state sufficiently advanced for publication, is proved by the fact that it has been already placed in competent hands for that purpose; and that it is to be immediately printed under the auspices of his Majesty. The language in which it is written is Latin, and it abounds with Hebrew quotations.

With respect to the Latin Thesaurus, which Wood states him to have been engaged in preparing at the same time, Philips informs us that he "went on with it at times, even very near to his dying day; but the papers, after his death, were so discomposed and deficient, that it could not be made fit for the press; however, what there was of it was made use of for another Dictionary," which appears, from the Preface to the first edition of Ainsworth's Thesaurus, to have been that published at Cambridge in 1693, under the title of Linguæ Romanæ Dictionarium Luculentum Novum.

Of such a man as Milton, to whom poetry, learning, and the liberties of England are so much indebted, every relic ought to be most precious in the eyes of his countrymen. The mighty energies of his sublime genius, and the vast acquisitions of his elevated mind, together with the

zealous and fearless search after truth, and the earnest and sincere tone of honest conviction which characterize his writings, combine to give the deepest interest to all his productions; and the subject of the present disquisition offers an ample field for the exercise of his powers. The purity and strength of his Latin style, the classic elegance, and the uninterrupted flow of manly eloquence which reign throughout his masterly defences of the English people, also contribute to render the discovery of this new work a subject of grateful anticipation; we therefore anxiously await its publication, in the full confidence of again meeting with a production worthy of that mighty spirit which was fitted to mingle in the high communings of Angels.

ON THE DEATH OF LORD BYRON.

The Light of Song is quenched! the master-mind
That worshipped Right, and lived but for his kind!
And all those chaplets which in vain we wove
To grace him, victor, and express our love,
Must now be wreathed about his tomb, to show
Our bitter grief, our unavailing woe.

How oft will faithful mem'ry backward run,
To his bright morning, to his rising sun,
When struggling up the arduous steep of Fame,
He seemed all eager, breathless, for a name!
That day woke Envy, and her watchful eyes
Have seen his star ascend the middle skies,
Have seen his glory, blazing far away
O'er heaven's wide arch, add brightness to the day;
No time shall see its setting—this the Muse
With stainless brightness, endless youth, endues;
But, ah! there ends her power—the gloomy grave
Claimed all the man, and this she could not save.
Nor could she erst ward off the cruel sway
Of home-bred woes that cankered life away;
That followed Harold in his wandering path,
And dashed Fame's goblet with the cup of wrath;
Enough it was not that he rose above
Past faults, no power could wake departed love;
Wandering he saw not bliss;—but Wisdom came
And healed the wounds left bleeding still by Fame.

How must we, sorrowing for his loss, recall
His deep-felt sympathy for Greece in thrall;
While wandering o'er each consecrated scene,
Where wealth, fame, science, liberty had been,
Gracing each glorious ruin with a line,
Grand as her shrines, and scarcely less divine.
Unmindful of vain rank, he saw within
Slavery's dark cloud, the busy flash begin

To shoot at intervals, and heard the roar
Of Freedom's thunder shake th' Ægean shore;
Heard with delight, and like the Muse's* son
That trod the hallowed field of Marathon
Snatched the fierce sword, made sacred by the hand
Of genius struggling for a foreign land.
Ah! would to heaven our wishes could prevail,
And case desert in iron, and give the frail,
Weak, perishable, form to baser men
Who wither,—virtue cares not where or when!
Then hadst thou, Byron! yet enjoyed the light,
To see man triumph, and regain his right;
To see the mists of ignorance float off,
And tyrants tremble who were used to scoff;
And Knowledge mildly walking in the van
Of earth's vast tribes, and shedding peace on man.

But peace be with thee, in the silent breast
Of the Great Parent, and eternal rest;
Greece, though her faith forbids the pile to raise
To heroes' manes, will not forget thy praise;
Thy heart, that living burned for her, shall now
Seem to beat every where, thy blood to flow
In every vein, till all the land be free,
And seem a shrine by nature raised to thee.
Where'er th' Hellenian peasant's humble meal
Is eat in freedom, every heart shall feel,
While his warm hearth smiles bright with liberty,
It owes a portion of its bliss to thee.

Meanwhile thy loved remains approach the land
That gave thee life, and every tuneful hand,
Trembling with grief, yet strikes the mournful lyre,
Once touched by thee with more than earthly fire.
Though last of these, yet could I not refrain
This humble record, or repress the strain,
More tender made, perhaps, by viewing late
Thy schoolboy scenes, not dreaming of thy fate;
Romantic Harrow! and the tapering hill,
Where lives the brightness of thy Vision still;
At every step, at every rural stile,
I paused, looked round, and thought of thee the while.

But, ah! the dream is fled; thy genius now
Is all of thee death leaves us here below;
But this shall live, and though thy fate we mourn,
This pledge shall long outlast the funeral urn,
And place thee high amid the bards that stand
The lasting honours of thy "father-land."

BION.

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*Æschylus, who fought at Marathon.

SPECIMEN OF AN OLD EAST INDIA DIRECTOR.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

IT is amusing to observe what secular offices have been filled, for the purposes of an honourable subsistence, by eminent philosophers. Thus, Sir Isaac Newton was "Master and Worker of the Mint," and John Locke a "Commissioner of Trade and Plantations." It has not, I apprehend, been so generally remarked that Robert Boyle, probably with no view to any emolument, was an East India Director.

His biographer, Dr. Birch, says (p. 226) under the year 1676, that "he had been, for many years, a Director of the East India Company, and greatly instrumental in procuring the charter of it, (in 1661,) an abstract of which is extant among his papers." Dr. Birch thus introduces a letter from Boyle to "Robert Thompson, Esq." another Director, written March 5, 1677, when ill health prevented his attendance at the board. From this letter we learn how an East India Director, or at least how such a one as Robert Boyle, was then occupied in pursuing what he regarded among the first duties of his office.

It appears, that when his health had permitted him to attend the board, he had made "a motion, that some course might be thought on of doing some considerable thing for the propagation of the Gospel among the natives," as if resolved like "Christians, as well as merchants, to bring those countries some spiritual good things, whence we so frequently brought back temporal ones." He now proposed that, by "reasonable encouragement" from the Company, "sober and learned men should be fitted in the University to be sent into India, and furnished, not only with the Arabic tongue, but, if it were desired, with arithmetic, and other qualifications fit to recommend them," thus "speedily doing something worthy of the famous East India Company of England."

In this letter Boyle further proposed, that after the example of the New England Corporation, "the holy scripture, and some few choice practical books be translated into the chiefest language" of India; and to publish "a solid, but civilly penned, confutation of the authentic books, wherein the Bramin's religion is contained." He would also have some of the English "learn their tongue" so as "to preach to them, and to catechise them in their own language." Then he would "breed some of their hopeful forward youths to that knowledge of the English tongue and European learning, that they may afterwards be able to confute the idolatrous priests, and convert and instruct their own countrymen."

To promote these objects of his solicitude, "he was at the expense of printing five hundred copies of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Malayan tongue, under the direction of Dr. Thomas Hyde, keeper of the Bodleian Library. This work was published at Oxford in 1677, with this title—*Jang Ampat Evangelia derri tuan Kitu Jesu Christi duan Beorboutan derri jang Apostoli Borsacti Bersalin dallam Bassa Malayo.*"

Such were Robert Boyle's anticipations of what has been attempted in our times, I trust, with growing success, and such was his conviction of the duties owing to India, by the Company, when only in possession of a

few factories, upon sufferance. How high would have risen his notion of their responsibility, when lords of the soil, with the virtue and happiness of millions under their influence, I cannot presume to estimate.

And now, as the East India Proprietors, weary of expending stone and marble on Generals and Governors General, have lately voted a costly monument to the memory of a Director, very respectable, but not very considerable, I would suggest that they do honour to this their early Director, of whom Bishop Burnett remarks, that "he had none of these titles that sound high in the world; but he procured one to himself, which, without derogating from the dignity of kings, must be acknowledged to be beyond their prerogative."

Robert Boyle has erected, like the poet, his own *monumentum aere perennius*; yet his bust, placed conspicuously in the Directors' parlour, might sometimes seasonably remind those Kings of the East, that they profess "to be Christians as well as merchants."

ADJUTOR.

STANZAS TO ***.

Oh, Lady! when 'mid fashion's glare
Thou minglest with the joyous throng,
Think'st thou of one who once was there,
And loved thee hopelessly and long?
Who loved, and who adores thee still,
With all the warmth of early feeling;
Whose swelling heart endures but ill
The pang his bosom is concealing!
Oh, Lady! when thou tread'st the scene
Where first his eye thy glances met,
Does no remembrance intervene
To shade thy pleasures with regret?
Say, does no lingering thought remain
To check thy bosom's throb of gladness?
And, as thou join'st the smiling train,
Does thy heart feel no pang of sadness?
Yes, Lady! oft in scenes like these
The memory of the *past* comes o'er
Thy sinking heart; like the chill breeze
That evening wafts along the shore;
When all around are light and gay,
There comes a thought *thou* canst not banish,
That steals thy loveliest smile away,
And bids thy cheek's young roses vanish!
Lady! the thought of *him*, to whom
The world is now a place unblest,—
Who seeks the oblivion of the tomb,
To ease the pangs that rend his breast,—
Comes sadly o'er thy brightest hours,
When life's enchantment looks most blooming;
Like April blights, on opening flowers,
Their early blossoms fast consuming!

***

THE LATE LIEUT. COLONEL WILLIAM ROBISON, C. B.

The deep and general interest excited by the case of the late Colonel Robison, given in our last Number, induces us to comply with the wish of a Correspondent, in inserting the following brief but expressive memoir of that distinguished officer, from the third edition of the Royal Military Calendar, a work conducted by the Editor of the East India Military Calendar, and full of interest to that class of readers for whom it is principally intended.

Appointed Ensign, 24th Foot, in 1795, and joined at Quebec as Lieutenant in 1797. He was with his regiment at Halifax, Nova Scotia, twelve months, under the Duke of Kent; returned with it to England in 1801, and was with it at Gibraltar, Minorca, and Malta, forming a part of the Egyptian expedition. In 1803 he was promoted to a company, and the same year was admitted a student at the Royal Military College, where he remained eighteen months, and after going through the prescribed course passed his examination, and obtained the college certificate. He embarked, in 1805, with a secret expedition for the West Indies, but ultimately proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, with the forces under Sir David Baird, and was present with his regiment in the action of Blueberg, where a part of them suffered severely. On the departure of Colonel Brownrigg for South America, Sir David Baird appointed Capt. Robison to the charge of the Quartermaster-General's department at the Cape, which he held until the departure of the 24th regiment for the East Indies in 1810. On his passage to India the five ships that conveyed his regiment (three of which were taken) were for a whole day engaged with two French frigates and a corvette, off the Isle of France; and the Euphrates, in which this officer commanded, struck on a sunk wreck going out of the Cape, and narrowly escaped being lost.

In 1811 he was promoted to the Majority of his regiment, and soon after arriving in Bengal volunteered his services with the Java expedition then fitting out, and was appointed on the Staff of the Governor General, Lord Minto, with whom he went to Batavia. He was there, for the campaign, appointed an aide-de-camp to the Commander in Chief, Sir S. Auchmuty, by whom, when the army landed, he was sent with a summons into the city of Batavia, and carried back a deputation of the burghers to the Commander in Chief. The same day he was despatched with a flag of true, and a letter from Lord Minto, into the enemy's works at Cornelis, the entrenched camp, six miles from Batavia, and was blindfolded going through their lines. On the 26th of August, immediately after the storm of Cornelis, he was again sent with verbal propositions to the French general, who had galloped forty-five miles from the field before he overtook him, and after an interview of nearly two hours, returned to the British camp by night, through parties of the flying enemy, Malay troops, who were butchering their own officers on the retreat. When Sir S. Auchmuty proceeded to the eastern districts, after the capture of Batavia, Major Robison was left at Cheribon, about the centre of the island, with a large detachment and a brigade of guns, to watch the motions of the enemy retreating, and by a prompt and well-timed movement of a small party of marines and seamen, commanded by a captain of marines, he succeeded in making prisoner the

French General Jumelle, second in command on the island, who was retreating with about 2,000 straggling troops, horse and foot, to join General Jansens to the eastward. The troops, as well as the general, were taken, and surrendered prisoners of war. After this, Major Robison marched along the coast of Java, while the Commander in Chief was landing at Samarang, and took possession of the Forts of Tagal and Sakalenga, containing rich magazines of coffee and other produce. He assisted the Commander in Chief at the final capitulation of the island, and was deputed to announce the complete conquest of Java to the Emperor of Solo and the Soltha of Materam, residing in the interior of the island.

During the whole of this interesting service, and for some time after the capitulation, Major Robison was employed as agent of the Governor General on different diplomatic missions to the Dutch authorities and to the Native Princes, and received the thanks of the Governor General in council for his services. On settling the provisional government of the island he was appointed by Lord Minto to act as chief secretary to the government of Batavia, and remained for upwards of two years after the conquest in public employ in Java and its dependencies. In consequence of some difference of opinion with regard to certain political arrangements for the Malay state, called Salemberg, which drew him into an unpleasant discussion with the late Major General Gillespie, he was obliged to proceed to Bengal in 1813, and on the settlement of these affairs, the Island of Java being about to be given up again to the Dutch, he joined his regiment, then taking the field, and had the command of it in the late Nepaul Campaign, when it was sharply engaged with the Goorkas, in the attack of Haniarpoor, on the 2d March, 1816, on which occasion his name was handsomely mentioned in the despatches. After the termination of this service, being recommended a sea voyage for the benefit of his health, which had suffered, he got leave of absence and came home.

In 1816 he was promoted by purchase to the lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment, and was appointed Companion of the Bath. He has since returned to his regiment in Bengal, being the twenty-eighth sea voyage he has made since he entered the service, and the eleventh time of his crossing the Equator."

Our readers know the melancholy sequel of his history, which will never be reverted to by future writers without associations of the most painful nature, and such as his persecutors and oppressors would no doubt gladly annihilate; but, fortunately, their power does not extend to that.

CONTRAST OF PAST WITH PRESENT OPINIONS ON THE USE OF TEA AND COFFEE.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

I AM one of those "inveterate tea-drinkers," who owe some gratitude to your Correspondent (vol. I. p. 586) for his exposure of that monopoly, which enhances the price of our favourite luxury. It may, however, console us under a grievance daily felt by scantily-monied wights who, like Dr. Johnson, seldom suffer their kettle to cool, to know that, in this respect, the former times were not better than the present.

I was once examining some original letters from the celebrated Antony

Collins to Des Maizeaux. Amidst a variety of subjects gratifying to a literary taste, I found in a letter, dated "Hatfield Peverel, May 1712," the following request to his friend, who was about to visit him:—"I desire that you would call at Mr. Hulst's, in Stocks Market [now the site of the Mansion House], and take of him for me a pound of coffee, a quarter of a pound of bohea, and a quarter of a pound of green tea. Pray desire him to use me well this time; for the last bohea tea which I had of him proves very bad, and is the worst I ever drank, though I paid him fifteen shillings for half-a-pound." Thus, it seems as if tea in 1712 could be procured only in London, and was as yet reserved for great "high days and holidays" even in the family of a country gentleman of fortune and a magistrate, who appears from other circumstances, to have kept up a suitable establishment.

In the only "History of British India" worthy of the name, Mr. Mill says, (2d edit. I. 94.) that "in 1667-8 appears the first order of the Company for the importation of tea." This order was "to send home by their ships 100lb. weight of the best tea that you can get." Again, (ibid, 98.) "directions were forwarded to make attempts for opening a trade with China; and tea to the value of 100 dollars, was, in 1676-77, ordered on the Company's account."

Coffee had been introduced into England some years before, as well as chocolate. Antony à Wood, in his Autobiography (1772, p. 65, &c.) has the following notices:—"An. Dom. 1650. This yeare, Jacob, a Jew, opened a Coffey House, at the Angel, in the parish of St. Peter in the East, Oxon, and there it was by some, who delighted in noveltie, drank. When he left Oxon he sold it in Old Southampton Buildings in Holborne, neare London, and was living there 1671. An. Dom. 1654, Cirques Jobun, a Jew and Jacobite, borne near Mount Libanus, sold coffey, as also chocolate, within the east gate of Oxon. An. Dom. 1655. In this yeare, Arth. Tillyard, apothecary and great royalist, sold coffey publickly in his house against All-Soules Coll. He was encouraged so to do by som royallists, now living in Oxon. and by others, who esteemed themselves either *virtuosi* or *wits*. This coffey-house continued till his Majestie's returne and after, and then they became more frequent, and had an excise set upon coffey." One of the *wits* who patronized this *noveltie*, was Sir Christopher Wren.

Antony à Wood, who received coffee, on its introduction to Oxford, with no friendly greetings, some years after, thus complains (p. 273) of its dissipating powers:—"An. Dom. 1677. Why doth solid and serious learning decline, and few or none follow it now in the University? Answer: Because of coffee houses, where they spend all their time; and in entertainments at their chambers, where their studies and coffee houses are become places for victuallers; also great drinking at taverns and ale-houses, spending their time in common chambers, whole afternoons, and thence to the coffee house."

To this *literary* censure of the *noveltie*, by a zealot for the olden time, I beg leave to demur, as I am now writing under coffee's exhilarating influence. I will, however, fairly refer to a *medical* authority against our modern fire-side luxuries, especially indulged when "we welcome peaceful evening in," while

———the bubbling and loud hissing urn
Throws up a steamy column, and the cups
That cheer, but not inebriate, wait on each.

There was published at Rotterdam, in 1705, and soon done out of French into English, "Avis salutaire à tout le monde, contre l'abus des choses chaudes, et particulierement du Café, du Chocolat, et du Thé; par M. Duncan, Docteur en Medicine de la Faculté de Montpellier." Dr. Duncan describes "the partisans of coffee, chocolate, and tea," in their daily use of them, as "like those idolaters of Bacchus that were not contented to drink only for present thirst, but to drink also for that which is to come." He adds, to the disparagement of coffee, "Colbert, the superintendent of the finances of France, is a famous witness against it, by what he declared upon this head. The abuse of coffee kept him so much awake, that he could not sleep when he would, till death put an end to his watch." It is, however, asserted by a biographer of Colbert, in 1695, that a "disease occasioned by a stone in the kidneys put an end to his life." Such a disease, without the aid of coffee, might serve, while urging on its cruel progress, to keep awake any prime minister, though as somnolent as Lord North sometimes appeared on the Treasury Bench, of that theatre, into which I have crowded, with the politicians of my youthful days, eager

———to feed upon the breath
Of patriots bursting with heroic rage,
Or placemen, all tranquillity and smiles.

SEXAGENARIUS.

THE VINTAGER'S FEAST.

THE vintage is gather'd,
The ruddy sun now
Sets bright as the grape
That has bloomed in his glow;
O'er snowy Mount Blanc
See the Autumn-moon rest,
Then haste, my Love, haste,
To our Vintager's Feast.

The merry-toned tabor,
The sprightly guitar,
And sweet flageolet,
Resound blithe from afar;
The laugh of the dancers,
From labour released,
Invites us, my Love,
To the Vintager's Feast.

Beneath the old elm tree,
Where runs the blue stream
That sparkles and laughs
In the mellow moon-beam,
Our vassals have met;
Let their joy be increased
By thy presence, my Love,
At their Vintager's Feast.

H. M. P.

DEBATE IN THE PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH, ON THE PRESBYTERIAN ESTABLISHMENT IN INDIA.

On Wednesday, April 28, the Presbytery of Edinburgh held their usual monthly meeting.

After a speech from Dr. Inglis on the subject of provision for the poor,

Dr. Andrew Thomson rose, to call the attention of the Presbytery to the subject of which he had formerly given notice. He would endeavour in doing so to be as short as possible. He did not think it necessary to enter minutely into the subject, but would merely give an outline of the views on which he founded the motion, with which he meant to conclude. It was well known to them all that when the Presbyterian establishment was first formed in India, it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Edinburgh. But he was sorry to say, that although the authority of the Presbytery was a clear and indisputable point, it was not acknowledged as it ought to have been. The East India Directors had never acknowledged them in that capacity at all. New appointments had taken place, and additional clergymen had been sent to other Presidencies; and the Presbytery of Edinburgh, their lawful superiors, had no knowlege of these appointments. He did not say that they could in any way interfere in these appointments, the right of making which lay with the Directors; but they had certainly a title to be informed of the matter of fact. Presbyterian ministers had originally been sent to three of the Presidencies; since which time three others had been added. Of this fact they had never been officially informed; and how could they exercise jurisdiction over those of whose existence they knew nothing? He must say, however, that they had not themselves been faithful to their own trust. They had taken a fatherless charge of them, or rather no charge at all. They had made no inquiry. They had shut their eyes to the things that were passing before them. To show the necessity of some correspondence being kept up between the Presbytery and the Church Establishment, he would mention a fact that had come to his knowledge, namely, that the clergyman in the Presidency of Madras had never once in seven years dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, although repeatedly urged to do it by the elders, and others of his congregation. It was also certainly known to them that the Presbyterian clergyman in Calcutta had been absent one year from his charge, attending the General Assembly; but that he had been absent nearly three years; and it was not known to them, nor had they ever taken the trouble to inquire, whether there was any good reason for that long absence. It was high time, therefore, that they should give up this mismanagement, or rather no management at all.—He would now call the attention of the Presbytery to the circumstance of their brother in Calcutta (Dr. Bryce), having been appointed to a civil office, which he considered not more injurious to the interests of the church in that quarter than derogatory to the clerical character. He had been appointed clerk to the committee of stationery in Calcutta. We had no official information of this appointment, but there was no doubt of the fact. It was mentioned in the Calcutta newspapers as a thing that had taken place. He held in his hand a Calcutta newspaper, which contained an advertisement with the Presbyterian minister's name as clerk to the committee of stationery. This appointment had given rise to a great struggle—one of which was, that the editor of a newspaper, who had found fault with it, had been sent out of the country without a trial. This fact had been noticed in the House of Commons, and a motion, it was likely, would be made on the subject. He would not say any thing farther as to the matter of fact which gave rise to his motion. But he would now desire them to consider what was the intention of sending out Dr. Bryce to India. It would be insulting to their good sense, as well as to their conscientious feelings, if he were to expatiate on the duties of a minister of the gospel in such circumstances. He was ordained—he was sent out there to perform spiritual duties. He was bound to give himself wholly to these things. He was bound to recollect his spiritual office, which did not admit of any mixture of stated secular employments. The law of the church said that all such worldly occupations as distracted a minister from his charge, and were slanderous to the pastoral calling, were unlawful, and, if persevered in, inferred deposition; and he need not mention the grounds on which this rested. But besides this general principle, it was to be remembered that the people under Dr. Bryce's charge were of peculiar habits and character. They went to India for the purpose of making money, and returning home with handsome fortunes. An exclusive attention to this was their besetting danger. They were apt to be too much engrossed with worldly pursuits and worldly amusements; and Dr. Bryce, in entering into secular employments, sets them an exam-

ple, by which they are encouraged in that to which they have already too strong a tendency and too powerful temptations. When they saw in their minister such attachment to secular occupations, they would think themselves perfectly right in being wholly engrossed in them to the neglect of their religious and moral duties. Besides, they must recollect that a Presbyterian minister was not sent simply for the purpose of promoting the religious interests of his flock, but that, as a member of the National Church, he was to labour to uphold its dignity and character—to extend its influence; and by such instrumentality to promote the welfare and prosperity of religion in India. But what is the situation of the church, by Dr. Bryce's acceptance of secular office? He does not certainly uphold these interests; and one great object of the mission was therefore entirely frustrated. Their establishment did not meet the wishes, the ideas, and the habits of the people. Formerly the complaint was, that our people in India had not religious ordinances administered to them in the forms in which they had been accustomed. The consequence was, that they either became irreligious altogether, or attended a different church; and when they came back here, they were either indifferent to these matters, or belonged to some other communion. Now, when they sent out a Presbyterian minister to India, it was to be considered that he was the principal minister there. At home, if any clergyman engaged in secular employments, his fault was redeemed by the general character and conduct of his brethren. But in Calcutta Dr. Bryce was the only minister engaged in these things; and the people in India would readily consider him as the representative of the church here. And by acting the secular part to which his appointment necessarily led, a false idea would be formed of the National Church—a thorough dislike to it would be engendered; and our people would come home alienated in their affections from that religious communion, in which it should have been the business of our Presbyterian minister to confirm and cherish their original attachment. The Presbyterian minister, it should also be considered, was sent out to contend with the Episcopal hierarchy established in India. The persons sent out by the Church of England were of high respectability, of great learning, and most exemplary decorum. They were persons who never laid one of their fingers on any secular office. They kept entirely aloof from these things; they were given solely to the work of the ministry. He could not conceal from himself what an overpowering contrast this formed to our own establishment there. And what would be the consequence?—When the people saw that our minister was only intent on filling his pockets, and neglecting his spiritual duties, they would therefore attach themselves to the Episcopal Church. It was of incalculable importance that our ministers should devote themselves to their spiritual duties, and not pollute themselves by mixing in secular employments, which only tended to encourage the most slanderous imputations on them, and to injure their characters in the estimation of the people. He would now endeavour to give the Presbytery a short account of the situation and character of their minister in Calcutta, as clerk to the Committee of Stationery, and which he would take from an advertisement of his own, which pointed out the various articles he had to judge of, and according to their quality to receive or reject. The first article was country paper, the second country pens; and, as they might naturally expect, ink came next. There was then country sealing wax, country sand, thick country pasteboard, China foolscap paper, China consultation paper, China red lead, inkstands, country leather, and broad country tape brought up the rear.—(*A laugh.*) Our minister, sent out to preach the gospel, to instruct his people, and dispense the ordinances of religion, employed his time and his talents in exhibiting his judgment in these articles every month of the year. It must be remembered also, that this was not merely a secular employment, it went much farther, it was a secular *office* which could not, as leisure served, be taken up or laid down at pleasure. In holding an official situation, he came under a variety of engagements which he must perform as a matter of duty, and not when and where he pleased. For these duties he received a handsome salary; and this strong temptation was perpetually plying his mind to neglect his spiritual duties—as the neglect of his *stationery* avocations would forfeit a salary of 600*l.* a year. Nor did he merely hold a secular office. It was an *underling* office. He was the hewer of wood and drawer of water to the Committee. Had he been Preses, he could have called their meetings to suit himself. Had he been a member, others might have done the duty for him; but he was a mere underling—he was their clerk, bound to attend at whatever times, and in whatever places they prescribed. If his clerical duties called him to one place, he had to go to another to inspect tape or leather. If he was called to examine his flock, he might say, "I am sorry I cannot do this at present, for I have an order from the Committee to go and examine buffaloe hides." (*A laugh.*) If he were desired to measure the attainments of the young people, or to qualify them by instruction to attend the ordinances of religion, he might excuse himself, by saying that he was bound to go and measure tape. And when they looked through the range of

all the curious articles exhibited in his advertisement, they must see that it involved the utter, certain, and absolute neglect of the spiritual interests of the people. Dr. Bryce had not the smallness of his living, or domestic embarrassments (with all of which he could warmly sympathise) as an apology for his acceptance of a civil office. His allowance was handsome, amounting to twelve hundred pounds per annum. Nor had he too much time on his hands—no such thing—for he must not forget to mention that Dr. B. resigned the Secretaryship to a Bible Society for want of time. And so important was his charge, so numerous his people, so multiplied his various calls for exertion, that the East India Directors had sent out another minister to help him in his spiritual duties. No apology could therefore be made or conceived to justify his holding a civil situation.

Independent of the merits of this question, by which he (Dr. T.) was justified in saying that this was an improper union of offices, he must mention another circumstance which confirmed him in this opinion. Since he first mentioned the subject to the Presbytery, he had had put into his hands a Calcutta newspaper containing a full report of a trial, in an action brought by Dr. Bryce against the editor of a newspaper for a libel. He did not say any thing against this. Dr. Bryce had a right to vindicate his character. But the whole originated in this appointment, on which the editor laid hold, and made his remarks freely. On account of this libel, Dr. Bryce went into Court, and laid his damages at 100,000 rupees. Dr. Bryce called certain witnesses, in order to show that this office was not incompatible with the duties of a clergyman, as understood, according to the laws and usages of the Church of Scotland; but in this he was not altogether fortunate. He (Dr. T.) rejoiced to say he was not. The first witness was Dr. Halliday, an old acquaintance of his (Dr. T.'s)—a nice little fellow he was. Dr. Halliday's evidence made for his view of the question. He stated his opinion that the holding of such an office was derogatory to the clerical dignity; and he (Dr. T.) would have been glad if his testimony had stopped here; but he was farther asked if he himself would accept of such an office; "and I regret,"—(said Dr. Thomson)—"that my friend answered he would." Then comes Dr. Hare, one of Dr. Bryce's own elders. He does not think it altogether very becoming in a clergyman to hold a secular office. Thinks Dr. Bryce's character injured by accepting office. Now this was one of Dr. Bryce's own elders—one who must have been partial to him. Yet he says the appointment has injured Dr. Bryce's character among his people. But then comes the evidence to which he would principally call their attention. A Dr. Graham was examined, who sets out by telling that he was generally acquainted with the habits and usages of clergymen of the Church of Scotland. Judge how accurately!—Being asked if he knew any of them engaged in trade? he replied,—"Yes, openly." This was bad enough; but to show how far he was willing to go, he was entrapped by this question—"Did he not think to be a shoemaker or a tailor would be thought derogatory to their dignity?" he replies, "Not at all—not in the least"! Might Scottish clergymen write plays between sermons?—"Certainly," says Dr. Graham! Here this man, one of a learned profession—of respectable status in society—of good academical education—comes forward, and on his great solemn oath, in the face of the Court, tells us that it would not be derogatory to the character of a clergyman in this country to be a shoemaker or a taylor, or even to write plays between sermons! He did not like to say what he thought of the man who could utter this. Every one knew that, in point of fact, *this was not true.* Yet this man comes forward and swears, on his great oath, that it *is* true; and *if* he was acquainted with the habits and usages of the Scottish clergy, he must have *known* that he was swearing to what was not true! But let Dr. Graham alone. He (Dr. Thomson) wished to draw the attention of the Presbytery to the fact that this witness was called by our Presbyterian minister, knowing, of course, what he was to say in that Court, and that he was to represent the Church of Scotland as permitting secular employments in its ministers, and on his great oath to utter the monstrous statements now referred to. Nor was there any the slightest reason to think that our Presbyterian minister had publicly disavowed, or ever insinuated any disavowal of the correctness of Dr. Graham's evidence. Dr. Bryce brought forward, acquiesced in, and took advantage of the evidence of this witness, which represented our national Church as degraded below the lowest level to which any church could be brought. In his speech to the Jury, the Judge considers that Dr. Bryce was libelled, and concludes, in express reference to the evidence, that the secular office is not quite incompatible with the sacred functions. So that it was here believed by a Judge, that the ministers of an ecclesiastical establishment may be shoemakers or taylors, or write plays between sermons, without derogating from their clerical character! Another effect of this proceeding was, that in a pamphlet notoriously written by the temporary Governor General Adam, in which he vindicates the sending persons out of the country summarily without trial, it is also stated, that the acceptance, by a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, of a civil employment, is not at variance with any rule or

usage of that establishment, and that, in the particular appointment referred to, the duties of which are of the most quiet and unobtrusive nature, there is nothing at all incompatible with the functions or respectability of their sacred office. Here they had it under the hand of the Governor General of India, that a minister of the Church of Scotland may secularise himself as much as he pleases. The Governor General calls the employments of the Clerk to the Committee "quiet and unobtrusive." Very quiet and unobtrusive, to be sure! when it was his very first duty to put his name to a public advertisement respecting tape and sand, and proclaim himself in the newspapers, and through the whole Presidency, as ready to receive offers, and to judge of and decide upon the quality of leather, gum and foolscap! Dr. Thomson said, that, with these opinions before him of a Judge and Governor General of India, he felt degraded, and could not help speaking decidedly and warmly—perhaps he might add severely. He would not move any censure on Dr. Bryce, as he was not there to answer for himself; but he thought they ought to give such an opinion, and make such inquiry, as would enable them to come to a proper decision on the subject. He concluded with the following motion—

That whereas the Ecclesiastical Presbyterian Establishment in the three presidencies of India originated in the General Assembly of the national Church of Scotland, and when it was adopted by the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, was placed by the General Assembly under the immediate jurisdiction and superintendence of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as an integral part of the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland; and whereas this Presbytery has been informed, that the Rev. Dr. James Bryce, one of the ministers of that establishment, in the Presbyterian church of Calcutta, has lately been appointed, by the Government of India, to the civil situation of Clerk to the Committee of Stationery in that presidency, and being decidedly of opinion, that, from the nature and extent of the employments involved in such an office, it is both derogatory to the character of a minister of the gospel, and peculiarly unbecoming and mischievous in the responsible station which Dr. Bryce holds under the authority of the national Church of Scotland, did, and hereby do resolve to communicate with the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company on this very important subject, and respectfully to inquire whether Dr. Bryce's appointment as Clerk to the Committee of Stationery at Calcutta has been confirmed by them, or, if it is yet unconfirmed, whether they intend to confirm it; and generally to request information with regard to any proceedings which they may have thought it expedient to institute respecting a measure, which, in the opinion of this Presbytery, is injurious to the character of the Established Church of Scotland, and to the best interests of religion among the members of her communion in the East.

After a pause of some minutes, Dr. Davidson said, if no one else did, he had no objection to second the motion.

Dr. Inglis concurred in a great part of what he had heard stated. He heartily concurred in all Dr. Thompson's reasonings as to the discredit to our national church from the union of civil and ecclesiastical offices. It was extremely injurious to its dignity, that any clergyman, either here or in India, should hold secular offices, which must necessarily preclude the faithful and diligent discharge of his sacred duties. On this general point there could be no doubt. But he would go further. He would concur in the opinion that if a case was made out, it was their duty to interfere, and he had no doubt they would do so in an efficient manner. But was there a case made out? The motion proceeded on the supposition that there was. The Reverend Doctor moved not merely for inquiry, but for the judgment of the Presbytery in a particular case. Here he must dissent. There was no case made out—far from it. What sort of evidence was it on which he called for judgment? Nothing better than the evidence of newspapers. The Reverend Doctor had read a great deal of matter from a Calcutta Journal, which was very unpleasant to his ear. He had never seen that journal, but he should be extremely sorry if any clergyman had borne such testimony as Dr. Graham was reported in it to have given.—He would not too readily believe this on the mere evidence of a newspaper. He could not give implicit credit to what was merely contained in a newspaper. Every day that he lifted one he found it to contain falsehoods, contradictions, and inconsistencies. They could not proceed on such evidence—such evidence would not be received in any well constituted court. He would object to pronounce any immediate opinion; but he would pledge himself, that if, in the course of regular procedure, any case was made out, of any minister holding secular office, and performing secular duties inconsistent with his pastoral functions, he would show himself as zealous as the Reverend Doctor or any man could do, in putting a check to so gross an abuse. He would not be understood as condemning a clergyman for the discharge of secular duties—but let a case be made out of secular duties being performed that were inconsistent with the full discharge of his pastoral duties, or against the dignity of the clerical character, and he would go along with the Reverend Doctor in measures to prevent such glaring abuses.

But they must proceed regularly, and according to the forms of the Church. And what was the mode of procedure in the present instance? Here a complaint was brought against a minister for performing duties that were incompatible with his spiritual functions.

[Here Dr. Thomson said "No." He did not find fault with or meddle personally with Dr. Bryce. All he proposed was to inquire whether the Directors had confirmed his appointment to that secular situation.]

Dr. Inglis said he had placed the matter on a far worse footing than it was before. The Reverend Doctor would proceed to a judicial inquiry, with the hazard of doing no small injury to the usefulness of the individual among his people, by holding out his conduct as under the review of the ecclesiastical courts of this country. It was impossible that this could be done without injuring his usefulness. A case might occur in which it might be necessary to do this. It might be indispensable to submit to one evil in order to correct a greater. But the present proceeding would subject them to one great evil without the certainty of remedying another. Whatever view might be taken of this case, something wrong was alleged. The Reverend Doctor called them to make inquiry into an alleged wrong, affecting the character and duties of a clergyman. If they made such inquiry, to a certainty they would injure him in the eyes of his flock. In this case they must be guided by that form of process which has been drawn up for the guidance of the Church by intelligent, moderate, sober thinking men, which showed a just feeling and delicacy for those whom that process concerned. The rule prescribes in any such case, that the person bringing forward the charge should first confer with the individual who was the object of the complaint, and who might have it in his power to give such an account of the matter as would satisfy his brother's mind. To bring home this rule to the present case, it was quite impossible to confer personally: other modes of communication must be resorted to, and a long period of time must elapse before Dr. Thomson could obtain an answer to his doubts and scruples. This was to be lamented; but it was one of the evils inseparable from the distance between the parties. Now, if distance created such inconveniences, it was surely a reason equally strong for delicacy towards a brother who lived at such a distance—whose means of defence was difficult—and who must be injured in his usefulness before they could give him redress. He admitted there was presumptive evidence of something wrong, but there was nothing like decisive proof. The facts rested on no better evidence than that of a journal or newspaper, and which might be altogether founded on misrepresentation. He thought there had been too much made by the Reverend Doctor against Dr. Bryce from the evidence of one witness, which, if really given, was disgraceful. He could not suppose that Dr. B. had tampered with this witness, or that he knew what sort of evidence he was to give. It was most uncharitable to hold Dr. B. answerable for his testimony. He considered the motion altogether unnecessary; and he might mention, that a rumour had reached his ears, for which he could not pledge himself, yet it was on good authority, that no such office existed. That there had been such an office, and that Dr. Bryce had been appointed to it, he believed; but at this moment it did not exist. Not that Dr. B. had been put out of it; but that it was found unnecessary, and had been abolished. This might do away any necessity for the motion. They were indeed placed in circumstances of peculiar delicacy; and how they were to carry on proceedings against a person at the distance of 10,000 miles, it was not easy to conceive. Yet, without a judicial inquiry, he defied them to proceed. If it could be made out that such an office had been held by a minister connected with the Established Church, he would go as far as any to correct the evil, but he would not violate the rules of the Church. He would proceed regularly, according to the maxims of essential justice. He would recommend that the farther consideration of this matter be delayed, which would leave room to the mover to follow up his private inquiries.

Mr. Grant thought the Church had no control over Dr. Bryce. He did not hold his appointment from it. He had been three years absent from his charge, without its authority. Had the General Assembly, when he sat there as a member, ordered him home, he would have told them that he would not go; for he was not a man to allow his modesty to wrong him—(a laugh). They could not proceed according to the form of process. Thousands of pounds would not bear the expense of such a trial. Dr. Bryce might oblige them to summon witnesses from India; and such a proceeding would cost more money than the expense of all their religious establishments in India. He defied all the wisdom of the Church to take any step according to the form of process.

Dr. D. Ritchie regretted that his brother, Dr. Thomson, had spoke so much, and, as it seemed, *con amore* in this matter. He was not willing to regard him as an accuser; but he believed what he had already stated would hurt Dr. Bryce in this country, for it would necessarily go abroad in all the newspapers. He could not agree to do another injury, by departing from the form of process. It had been established to do justice. Where-

ever it had been departed from, justice had been departed from; and any one of them might need the aid of these forms for their protection hereafter. If there was any way to obtain information conformably to the form of process, he would not give any opposition to it. If his Reverend Father (Dr. Davidson), or his Reverend Brother (Dr. Thompson), had thought a moment on this proceeding, they would not have brought it forward. A moment's consideration would convince every one that they ought not to proceed on a newspaper report, for they were all bound to do to their Brother as they would wish to be done unto. If they were to acquiesce in the motion of expressing their disapprobation of the acceptance of the office, upon the presumptive proof adduced, they would be guilty of an act of great injustice—an act in direct opposition to the forms of process of the Church.

Sir H. Moncrieff said it was the object of the motion to get possession of the fact whether Dr. Bryce had accepted of the office in question. It was not a judicial inquiry, but a simple question by those who had a right to ask it. It was quite idle to talk of forms of process—they were never made for such cases; but they ought to go as near them as they could. He felt a little more on this subject than some of his brethren; for the motion in the Assembly for the establishment of a Presbyterian settlement in India was made by himself. He was quite satisfied it had not answered the purpose intended. It had done great mischief and no good. He felt strongly on the subject—more strongly perhaps than he ought to do. They proposed merely to ask if Dr. Bryce had accepted of this office; and if he had done so, they would know what to do.

Dr. Grant spoke against the motion, and characterised Dr. Thompson's speech as rash, foolish, and malicious.

Dr. Thomson rose to order. He could not submit to such language. No gentleman had a right to call his speech malicious. His conscience told him that he had no malice in his heart.

Dr. Grant explained. He meant only to say that the effects of the speech were malicious—not that that the intention was malicious.

Dr. Thomson was not satisfied with this explanation, and Dr. Inglis remarked, that Dr. Grant had only intended to say that the effect of the speech would be injurious to Dr. Bryce.

Dr. Thomson replied, that as a free member of that Court, he was entitled to express his sentiments as he felt inclined, and there had not an unguarded expression dropped from his lips. He was in the habit of expressing his sentiments without fear and with freedom, but he was incapable of harbouring malice against Dr. Bryce or any man.

Rev. H. Grey and Sir H. Moncreiff both said the language of Dr. T. had been very guarded.

Dr. Grant had also heard and believed that the rumour would turn out to be correct, that there was no such office as that said to be held by Dr. Bryce now in existence, so there was good reason for delaying the consideration of the motion. He maintained that bad effects must occur from the publication of the statements which had been made that day. He would not say that Dr. Thomson had been actuated by malice in bringing forward this motion, but he felt convinced that the effect of his speech would be most injurious.

Mr. Sommerville thought the present proceedings were calculated deeply to injure Dr. Bryce in this country—and as they had heard the accusation, he thought they should hear the defence. He knew Dr. Bryce only in his public character; and he was glad he had an opportunity of saying how much he felt indebted to him, for his manly defence of the independence of the Church, when an attempt was made in India to thrust him indirectly into holes and corners, and, through him, to level a blow at the most independent church in Christendom. Dr. B. had refused to obey this mandate, which forbade him to administer the holy sacrament, and to celebrate marriages.—And although he had been advised by his spiritual superiors to submit, he had refused to do so; he had taken the responsibility on himself. He had been supported in this by the Governor General, and by the East India Company; and they must all feel indebted to him for that manly stand. He then remarked on the language of Dr. Thomson; he did not know if he should call it ungentlemanlike, but it was very unguarded. He had said that Dr. Graham, in his evidence, had stated what he knew not to be true. It was a false insinuation that he made, when he had said that Dr. Bryce had private conversations with that witness and tutored him. [Here Dr. T. expressed his dissent.] Mr. S. insisted "private conversations" were the words used, for he had taken them down in his notes.

He was here called to order by Dr. Thomson, who complained that he had been before accused of being malicious; and the Rev. Gentleman now put words into his mouth which he had never used.

Mr. S. insisted that he had taken down the words. Dr. Thomson asked him if he had marked down that he had said Dr. Bryce had tutored the witness.

Mr. Sommerville proceeded. It was a curious problem how Dr. Thomson had not denounced that public delinquent who had omitted to dispense the sacrament for seven years, and yet the moment a *faux pas* is discovered in Dr. Bryce, he comes forward with a charge against him. He complained that Dr. Thomson dealt in

speculative reasoning—that his speech was most theoretical—and if he (Mr. S.) were as ingenious as the Reverend Doctor, he could contrive to accuse almost any member of the Presbytery. His speech was full of inconsistencies. Sometimes he called Dr. Bryce the most potent individual in India, who had power to send his opponents out of the country, and, although there were other five clergymen in India, that the whole public attention was directed to Dr. Bryce. He had applied very disgusting language to Dr. Bryce. He had called him an underling. Would he call the Reverend Doctor (Lee) an underling, because he acted as their clerk, and was obliged to receive the law at their mouth? He supposed Dr. Bryce might be taken away when he was conversing with his young communicants previous to the holy sacrament, and that he might be called before the Committee. But he was bold to say, that there was not an Episcopal bigot who would do so violent an outrage on Christianity. The office Dr. Bryce held did not occupy his time two hours a week—he did not think more than two or three hours a month. It was an office more of responsibility than labour, in which, in fact, he had the power of employing underlings. Dr. Bryce's health was rather precarious, and he was amply justified in accepting the office. The scope and tendency of Dr. Hare's evidence was not such as had been represented. He had documents in his pocket which proved Dr. Hare's opinion to be, that Dr. Bryce did not hurt his respectability by accepting the office. He concluded with expressing his opinion, that all they could do was to communicate with Dr. Bryce in order to come at the facts.

Dr. Thomson said he rose again with great reluctance; but, after the personal attacks which had been made upon him, he could not remain silent. Dr. Ritchie chose to say, in his mild tone, that he had spoken against Dr. Bryce *con amore*. He denied that he did. He was not indeed blest with the mild, sweet, gentle temper of the Reverend Doctor. He was a plain honest man, who, speaking, as he trusted he did, to plain honest men, spoke out the truth—the bold truth. He could feel regret, and he did feel regret, but he felt indignation at the same time, when he saw these gross misrepresentations set forth in India, and from that source spread through this country, and he should have expected also some others to feel indignation. He should have expected that with one soul they would have risen up to repel those calumnies against our clergy. He was sorry to say there was no such feeling. Individuals tell the world that the Scottish clergy may be shoemakers or tailors; and Gentlemen of the Presbytery of Edinburgh hear it with such indifference, that he should not wonder if some of them were to take up these trades, and give a practical demonstration of the truth of those aspersions. In coming from the Parliament-square to the place of their meeting, he should certainly take a peep into the recess in the back stairs, in the expectation of recognising some of the Reverend Doctors at their new employments in the coblers' stall—(*A laugh.*)—But, seriously, he could not help feeling strong indignation at these assertions, and he should have expected some sympathy in this, at least, if he did not receive it in any thing else. Dr. Grant had made another personal attack, and accused him of making a malicious and calumnious speech. He had afterwards, to be sure, explained, that he only meant that it would have malicious effects. Who ever heard of malicious effects?—No one acquainted with the English language (and a Reverend Doctor and *ci-devant* Moderator of the General Assembly ought to have some knowledge of it) would ever apply the word malicious to mere effects. He disclaimed any malice. He had not one particle of such a sentiment towards Dr. Bryce. In the case referred to by Mr. Sommerville, he had defended Dr. Bryce for maintaining the rights of the Church in India; he had defended him with all his might; aye, and he was the only one of those present who had come forward in his behalf; and this was his reward; he was now accused of speaking against him *con amore*, and of uttering against him malicious speeches.—But he was accustomed to speak his independent sentiments, and he disregarded those reproaches, which he could say from his own conviction had no foundation in truth.

As to the long speech of Mr. Sommerville, it was a perfect chaos. He could not see through it. He had accused him of sporting theory; but he suspected the principal fault of his speech with some gentlemen was, that he had dealt too much in facts, of which he had too many to require the support of theory. He really was not fond of theory, and dealt very little in it. But to judge by the speech of the Reverend Gentleman, he should have thought that he had been sleeping all the while he (Dr. T.) had been speaking, in place of taking notes; for he had put words in his mouth that he had never uttered—sentiments that he had never even conceived. As to what fell from Dr. Inglis, he denied having accused Dr. Bryce of tampering with his witness Dr. Graham. He denied using any such expressions. He said this, and he would say it again, that any man who, in vindication of himself, brought forward witnesses to prove a specific point, he must be an utter idiot if he did not know what they were to say. Dr. Bryce wished to prove, that holding of secular office was compatible with clerical functions. He must have told his Counsel who were to prove such and such

things. No man would call witnesses at random. He would not take them off the streets, or out of their horses, without knowing who they were and what they could say. Dr. Bryce was a clever and intelligent man. It was impossible, therefore, that he should not know what his witnesses were to prove. No man of common sense could possibly dispute this. Mr. Sommerville had accused him of not bringing forward a motion respecting the clergyman at Malray who had not dispensed the sacrament for seven years. On this point he had taken him up too cleverly. He would not have him (Dr. T.) to complain of a dead man, and it so happened that the gentleman was dead before he knew the fact. He had merely mentioned this circumstance to show that the Presbytery had not done their duty; but the Rev. Gentleman made every thing bear on one point. Mr. S. had said that the evidence of Dr. Hare, as given in the Calcutta paper, was incorrect; and he spoke of having documents in his possession to show this. He should like to see what they were. He wondered he did not produce them. [Here Mr. S. said his authority was the Edinburgh Courant, and that he never went beyond it]—*(A laugh.)*—O! The Edinburgh Courant!—Murder will out! So the gentleman takes the Edinburgh Courant for his authority.—Did he not know that the account there was a mere abridgment—a thing got up in the country?—And surely his Literary Friend (Mr. S.) would not say that abridgments were so good as the original works. He would not prefer any abridgment of Hume's to the history itself. The Calcutta newspaper contained a full report of the trial, and was surely in every respect, on the subject under consideration, a more authentic document than the Edinburgh Courant, which he thought the Rev. Gentleman was wise to keep in his pocket, and which he would advise him never to bring out of his pocket till he found a different use for it.

They would not have him to take steps upon mere newspaper statements; yet observe the consistency of these gentlemen. Up got Dr. Inglis, and said he had heard a rumour, upon pretty good authority; he thought he could depend upon it, that the office was not now in existence. Up next got Dr. Grant, who had also heard the rumour, and he also could depend upon it. These gentlemen placed great dependence on Madam Rumour, but they place no reliance on the Calcutta paper. The learned Doctor (Inglis) spoke very disparagingly of newspapers. He had formerly heard him speak otherwise of them; but then they made for him, now they made against him. He could sympathise with the Rev. Doctor in this; for he himself did not like newspapers when they made against him. He would trust, however, to those statements in newspapers which bore the ordinary aspect of probability and truth; and would have his friends on the other side to hush to silence all those rumours which they had spoken of, and in which they so implicitly confided. As ecclesiastical superintendents they ought to do their duty, and lift up their voice and their testimony against these things, supposing them to be true, when they were abroad in these wonderful things the newspapers, which the generality of people believe when they see no reason or motive for their publishing falsehood. They ought to exonerate the character of the Presbyterian Church, which was of more consequence than that of an individual. Supposing rumour mistaken in this matter, what then happened? Why, great evil would ensue from the delay of the business. The character of the church had suffered; the character of individuals had suffered by these calumnies, which originated in Calcutta, and had been circulated in this country through the medium of magazines and newspapers innumerable. The Presbytery, by taking up the matter, would give a deliverance on it; and this would not aggravate the evil. They would maintain the great principle to which all were attached, and would bear down by their testimony such abuses as the one to which he had called the attention of the Presbytery. His Rev. Friend (Dr. Inglis) had set up a man of straw, and argued as if he had really proposed commencing a judicial inquiry, or condemning an individual who was absent. He had never proposed any such thing. He merely proposed that they should inquire at the Court of Directors, whether they had confirmed the appointment conferred on Dr. Bryce. Nothing had been said condemning Dr. Bryce for *accepting* of the office. He did not pretend to judge of his motives; they might be laudable; but he thought it was an appointment inconsistent with his clerical character. He was accused of proceeding without attending to the form of process, and that the object he aimed at was inconsistent with this, as no judicial inquiry could take place without first going to Dr. Bryce. He had never proposed or meant a judicial inquiry; but the simple measure of asking the Directors, if they confirmed the appointment—nothing more. He would not go one step further.—There could not be a more simple, efficient, and delicate mode of proceeding. It did not affect Dr. Bryce. If they could not bring forward a measure like this, founded on general principles, because it remotely affected the feelings or interests of individuals, they could not move one inch. They must stand for ever still as ecclesiastical superintendents. There was no need to go to the form of process for a simple expression of opinion. And really he must notice a very odd sort of thing on the

other side. They alleged, and Dr. Inglis himself went into the idea, that it would be impossible to manage this matter even according to the form of process. So that Dr. Bryce might get that kind and that number of secular offices his friends chose to bestow upon him, and we could not prevent this secularity, even though it went to destroy his usefulness altogether. This was a sad issue to the business. But if the form of process, to which however he was constantly referred as our only guide, was so inefficient, he would have expected the thanks and applause of his brethren, instead of their opposition and their censure, for proposing to them a method of curing the evil, which violated no principle either of law or justice, and merely consisted in dealing with those who had a legal power to withdraw the obnoxious appointment, and who would probably do so, when they were assured of its inconsistency with our views of clerical character and usefulness. As to the incompatibility of the secular office with the spiritual functions, it was indeed a matter of opinion. But his opponents had rather kept out of view the measuring of tape, and the examining of quills, which were not very proper duties for a clergyman. And they had, very conveniently for themselves, blinked the most important part of his argument. He had, indeed, spoken of secular *employments*, and he was ready to confess that *all* secular employment was not inconsistent with clerical dignity and duty, though, as to the nature of Dr. Bryce's new secular employments, he still adhered to what he formerly said. But why did gentlemen forget, that he mainly insisted on these employments as attached to a secular *office?* Upon this ground he had rested the main strength of his argument; and his Reverend Friends chose to say nothing at all about that view of the case. What he urged was this, that even though they did not know all the particular occupations of the office, yet knowing that they were secular, and that in performing them Dr. Bryce was under the jurisdiction and command of others, they knew enough to satisfy them that he could not properly and legally continue to hold the two in his own person.—To this reasoning his reverend opponents had not thought it safe or expedient even to attempt any answer. Dr. Thomson here argued strongly against the compatibility of the two offices, which, he contended, afforded sufficient ground for his present motion. He had no desire to introduce this business. He would have been very happy if any body else had undertaken that duty. But he, forsooth, must be told that he did it from bad motives—that he had used such and such expressions—and no sooner was one battery closed than another opened upon him. There was, first, his mild friend Dr. Ritchie—then his less mild friend Dr. Grant —and, lastly, the attacks of his ferocious friend Mr. Sommerville—*(A laugh.)*—— But he forgave them. He was naturally keen, but he was not quite so bad as they would make him. He must say, again, that he was the very one who defended Dr. Bryce for his independent conduct in India; and he thought it hard that he should be thus rewarded—that he should be accused of malice, when he had laid such strong public grounds for his proceeding; when the interests of the Church and the interests of the Presbytery were involved in it. To use an expression of his Rev. Friend, Mr. Sommerville, he had no *response* in his breast, nothing there that *vibrated* to such accusations. The Rev. Gentleman had always rhetorical figures at his command; and whenever he should make so excellent a figure as he had done that day, in the character of an orator, he (Dr. T.) would have no objection to be the occasion of his eloquence.

It was stated by Dr. Ritchie that the Calcutta paper was in direct hostility to Dr. Bryce, and the evidence, as Mr. Sommerville had stated, could not be depended on.

This Dr. Thomson denied, and said he had accounts of the evidence from other sources, confirming the statements of the Calcutta newspaper.

After some farther conversation, it was agreed that the motion should lie on the table, and Dr. Thomson stated, that before taking it up again, he would give timely intimation to the Presbytery.

LITERARY REPORT.

Panthéon Egyptien, &c. The Egyptian Pantheon. A Collection of the Mythological Personages of Ancient Egypt, as represented on its Monuments; with an Explanatory Text: by M. J. F. Champollion, jun. The Drawings by M. L. J. J. Dubois. Livraisons 1—4. Paris, 1823-4.

The intimate connexion which subsists between the mythologies of ancient Egypt and of Greece, has for a long time attracted the particular attention of philosophers, and given rise to much profound research, and many splendid works, in reference to the antiquities of the former country. A new and additional impulse has been given to this spirit of inquiry, by the recent discoveries in hieroglyphic literature, in which M. Champollion has

borne so distinguished a part, and his present work is well calculated to keep that spirit alive. It is a highly curious collection of the ancient divinities of Egypt, the result of an attentive study and careful comparison of its religious monuments of various descriptions, its bas-reliefs, statues, funeral pillars, papyri, amulets, &c. It contains, firstly, a representation of each divinity, copied from an original monument; secondly, his name, titles, and genealogy, in hieroglyphic, and also in hieratic or sacerdotal writing; thirdly, the colours proper to his flesh, to his costume, and to his insignia, as in the original monument; and, fourthly, an Explanatory Text, accompanying each plate, and containing the reading or the sense of the hieroglyphic and hieratic legends; the various names which Greek and Roman authors have bestowed on these fabulous personages; their history, as given by authors, and also as derived from monuments; and, lastly, a variety of details relative to their worship. Each livraison contains six coloured plates, and twelve pages of letter-press.

The Wonders of Elora; or the Narrative of a Journey to the Temples and Dwellings excavated out of a Mountain of Granite, and extending upwards of a mile and a quarter at Elora, in the East Indies, &c. By John B. Seely, Captain in the Bombay Native Infantry, &c. 8vo. pp. 559: with 9 plates.

The neglect to which every thing connected with India has been doomed in England, is not confined merely to the politics of that misgoverned region, but has extended itself even to the natural and artificial productions which cover its surface. Intimately acquainted with the relics of Greece and Rome, and eagerly pursuing the study of their history and antiquities into their minutest ramifications, the people of England are contented to remain ignorant of the yet more interesting features which distinguish their own possessions. Among the numerous wonders of the East, on which volumes might be written, and which must one day assume the rank to which they are entitled in the estimation of the public, the excavated temples at Elora possess a pre-eminent claim on our attention. Differing, in every respect, in the mode of their formation, in their style of architecture, in their ornaments, and in their remote antiquity, from any thing which the western world can exhibit, they yet are merely types, though highly finished ones, of other similar productions which are to be met with in the East. The idea of a building, exceeding four hundred feet in circumference, and one hundred in height, hewn from a single block of stone, isolated from its parent mountain by an extensive area fashioned by the hand of man, its pillars, its apartments, its numerous sculptures, and its delicate ornaments, chiselled out of the same living rock, has something extremely striking in it, and we observe with pleasure the attempt to unfold these wonders to the general reader, in the anticipation that it will be succeeded by numerous others calculated to elucidate the yet hidden treasures of the eastern world.

The incidents of Captain S.'s journey from Bombay to Elora are detailed at considerable length, and are interspersed with numerous digressions, which will introduce the English reader to scenes and customs interesting from their novelty; a claim which the Ghauts, and other perilous passages "by flood and field," will also possess upon his attention. Arrived at the caves or temples, the author becomes enthusiastic in his admiration, and aims at depicting their wonders in the most vivid style of commendation. Resident on the spot for a fortnight, and devoting nearly the whole of his time to the investigation of these monuments of human ingenuity and perseverance, which seem almost to have required for their production the miraculous interposition to which they are ascribed by the natives, he had ample opportunities of collecting materials for the task he had undertaken, and appears to have been actuated by a laudable desire to avail himself of the facilities which they afforded. The descriptions which are given of the whole of the caves in succession are ample in their details, and extend to the dimensions, the ornaments, and the sculpture with scrupulous attention. On the mythology of the divinities whose images are profusely figured in every portion of the excavation, he also offers occasional notices; several of which might have been improved by referring to the excellent memoir, by Captain Sykes, on the Caves of Elora, published in the third volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay; a paper with the existence of which the author appears totally unacquainted, but from which much valuable information might have been obtained, as well on matters of minor detail, as on those general views which are of the utmost importance to the correct understanding of the subject. We regret, therefore, that Captain S. has not applied to this source, though we are not quite pleased with the mode in which he mentions such works of his predecessors as he has happened to meet with. The excellent paper by Sir Charles Mallet, in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, is treated as unsatisfactory; a paper which, although comparatively of an old date, contains, on most points, nearly as much information as the volume before us, while in others it actually exceed it; and which, moreover, is illustrated by plates, comprehending, in ad-

dition to the whole of the subjects (with the exception of a few divinities) figured by Captain S., several others of considerable importance to the explanation. To these numerous others have also been added by Captain Sykes; and it will therefore be seen, that the previously published information on the subject far exceeds that furnished by the present work, which, however, possesses the advantage of presenting to the reader, in a separate and attainable form, much interesting matter of which he might otherwise have remained ignorant.

On his return towards Bombay, Captain Seely passes the remarkable fortress of Dowlatabad, of which he gives a description and a plate, and remains for some time at Aurungabad. In the space occupied by his residence at this place, we meet with a general development of his views relative to India, into which we must refrain from entering. We are, however, bound to caution the English reader against receiving, as the opinions generally entertained by the civil and military officers in India, those which are so freely expressed by the author as to the evils which must ensue from the freedom of the Indian press, and the propagation of Christianity. To the Indian reader no such warning is required; he well knows that the almost universal sentiment is decidedly in favour of one at least, if not both, of these most important questions.

On the style in which the "Wonders" are written, we shall offer but little observation. "I have never written much," says Captain S., "nor need I inform the reader that I do not write well." So candid an avowal disarms criticism of its severity; yet it is just to remark, that a volume so replete with diffuse and desultory matter, has seldom been published. The reader may, however, thank Captain S. for having been so sparing of his digressions, which probably do not occupy more than one-half of the work. Had he, indeed, applied more freely to those copious notes, which he repeatedly informs us he is possessed of, we should have been forced to confess that a great book is a great evil. Yet, with all its faults, we feel justified in calling the attention of the English reader to this production, as the never-ending gossip to which we principally object relates chiefly to Indian affairs, which, unfortunately, still possess the interest of novelty.

The Modern Traveller. A Popular Description, Geographical, Historical, and Topographical, of the various Countries of the Globe.—Palestine, parts I. and II. pp. 372.—Syria, part III. 18mo. London, 1824.

Desirous of avoiding on the one hand the dryness of detail inseparable from mere geographical description, and on the other the endless repetitions and important omissions to which collections of voyages and travels are obviously subject, the compiler of this agreeable work has adopted a new method of conveying the necessary information in a popular and amusing form. In order to effect this object, he has combined with the geographical description of each country, a selection of the most curious and illustrative passages from the best modern travels; so that his book, in addition to a complete account of the countries which it describes, embraces also an accurate and copious analysis of numerous valuable and expensive works, arranged in such a manner as to throw, by comparison and contrast, the best light upon the various topics of which they treat. The advantages of such a plan are obvious, and the selection is made with a great deal of care and judgment. We doubt not that these elegant little volumes will become exceedingly popular, and meet with that favourable reception which is justly due, not only to the plan and style of the work itself, but also to the peculiar neatness of its typographical execution.

Extracts from a Journal, written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the years 1820, 1821, 1822. By Captain Basil Hall, R. N., Author of a Voyage to Loo Choo. 2 vols. small 8vo. pp. 372, 288, and 65. *Second Edition*, 1824.

We trust that the high degree of popularity which these entertaining volumes are rapidly acquiring, and which does honour to the national taste, will operate as a stimulus to other naval officers who may be placed in similar circumstances with Captain Hall, and excite them to follow the excellent example which he has set them, and to present us, on their return home, with the result of their observations in an equally agreeable form. It is indeed matter both of surprise and regret, considering the peculiar opportunities which they enjoy, and how well calculated many of them are for the fulfilment of such a task, that we so rarely meet with the journal of a naval officer, unless connected with an express voyage of discovery, although so many of our vessels are stationed at places possessing the greatest interest, and very imperfectly known to us. The pretext of want of leisure can no longer be allowed in excuse; for in the midst of the multifarious and momentous duties attendant on a mission for the protection of British commerce, along a vast extent of coast, and in countries to which no consuls had at that time been accredited by our government, Captain Hall found leisure to make observations on the character, manners, state of society, commerce, politics, &c. of the inhabitants of the western coast of America, a selection from which he has here given to the public. The official character with which he was invested af-

forded him the most favourable opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with all classes of society in these interesting regions, and his active and inquiring mind led him to cultivate and improve these advantages to the utmost. Although he made no lengthened stay at any one place, he was thus enabled, not merely to sketch the most prominent and characteristic features of each, but also to gain such an insight into the character and feelings of its inhabitants, as, under ordinary circumstances, could only have been acquired by a protracted residence among them.

Another advantage resulting from the peculiar nature of the service was this, that by the frequent change of place which it necessitated, it furnished the means of comparing various places together, and even the same place with itself at different times, and under altered circumstances. The following extract, which is the only one that our limits will allow us to make, will show the use that Captain Hall has made of these opportunities, at the same time that it exhibits the contrast between monopoly and free trade, in other words, between Spanish subjection and South American independence, in the clearest point of view. It is impossible that any set of men, who have seen and experienced the effects of the two systems, should for a moment balance in the choice between them.

'The contrast between a country in a state of war and one in a state of peace, was, perhaps, never more strikingly displayed than on this occasion: but, besides the interest arising out of such contrast, as applicable to the states of peace and war, the view was curious and instructive, as displaying the rapid effect produced by a change in the government of one of the two countries. As long as both were similarly administered, Peru had an infinite advantage over Chili in wealth and importance; but as soon as Chili became independent, she at once assumed the superiority.

'We left Valparaiso harbour filled with shipping; its custom-house wharfs filled high with goods, too numerous and too bulky for the old warehouses; the road between the port and the capital was always crowded with convoys of mules, loaded with every kind of foreign manufacture; while numerous ships were busy taking in cargoes of the wines, corn, and other articles, the growth of the country; and large sums of treasure were daily embarked for Europe, in return for goods already distributed over the interior. A spirit of intelligence and inquiry animated the whole society; schools were multiplied in every town; libraries established, and every encouragement given to literature and the arts; and as travelling was free, passports were unnecessary. In the manners, and even in the step, of every man, might be traced the air of conscious freedom and independence. In dress, also, a total change had very recently taken place, and from the same causes. The former uncouth and almost savage costume of the ladies, and the slovenly cloaks invariably worn by the men, had given way to the fashions of Europe; and, although these may be deemed circumstances almost too minute to mention, they are not unimportant when connected with feelings of national pride heretofore unknown. It is by these, and a multitude of other small changes, that the people are constantly reminded of their past, compared with their present situation; and it is of essential use to their cause, that they should take delight in assimilating themselves, even in trifles, with other independent nations of the world.

'No such changes, and no such sentiments, were to be found as yet in Peru. In the harbour of Callao the shipping were crowded into a corner, encircled by gunboats, close under the fort, and with a strong boom drawn round them. The custom-house was empty, and the door locked; no bales of goods rose in pyramids on the quays; no loaded mules covered the road from Callao to Lima; nor during the whole ascent was an individual to be seen, except perhaps a solitary express galloping towards the fortress. In Lima itself the difference was striking; jealousy and distrust of one another filled every breast; disappointment and fear, aggravated by personal inconvenience and privation, broke up all agreeable society; rendering this once great, luxurious, and happy city, one of the most wretched places on earth.'

Compare this melancholy picture with the following, drawn after an interval of four months, during which the Patriots had taken possession of the capital of Peru. When Captain Hall revisited Lima,

'The flag of Spain had been struck on the Castle of Callao, and in its place was displayed the standard of independence; the harbour, which we had left blockaded by an enemy, was now open and free to all the world; and, instead of containing merely a few dismantled ships of war, and half a dozen empty merchant vessels, was crowded with ships unloading rich cargoes; while the bay, to the distance of a mile from the harbour, was covered with others waiting for room to land their merchandise. On shore all was bustle and activity. The people had no longer leisure for jealousy; and so far from eyeing us with hatred or distrust, hailed us as friends; and, for the first time, we landed at Callao without apprehension of insult. As the population of Callao depend for subsistence entirely on the port being open, their anger had formerly been strongly excited against the Chilians who had shut it up, and thereby brought want of employment, and conse-

quent distress on the people. But now the independent party had not only restored the business of the place, but augmented it much beyond its former extent. The inhabitants of Callao, therefore, whose interest alone, quite independent of any speculative opinions, regulated their political feelings, were in raptures with the new order of things.

'In the capital, also, a great change was visible. The times, indeed, were still far too unsettled to admit of ease or of confidence in the society. The ancient masters of the city were gone; its old government overturned; its institutions, and many of its customs, were changed; but, as yet, nothing lasting had been substituted; and, as circumstances were varying every hour, no new habits had as yet become confirmed. In appearance, also, every thing was different; instead of the formal dilatory style of doing business that prevailed in former days, all was decision and activity; even the stir in the streets looked to our eyes quite out of Peruvian character; the shops were filled with British manufactured goods; the pavement was thronged with busy merchants of all nations, to the exclusion of those groupes of indolent Spaniards, who, with their segars in their mouths, and wrapped in their cloaks, were wont, in by-gone days, to let the world move on at its own pleasure, careless what turned up, so that it cost them no trouble. The population appeared, to our eyes, increased in a wonderful degree, and the loaded carts and mules actually blocked up the thoroughfare.'

As we have already encroached upon the space which ought to be devoted to other matter, and as it would require a lengthened article to give an idea of the variety of topics of which the author treats, and of the spirit with which he treats of them, we must refrain, however unwillingly, from entering into the detail of his work, and content ourselves with strongly recommending its perusal to the reader, assuring him that he will find in it a vast fund of information, discussed in a very entertaining manner. In fact, the only fault that we are disposed to find in it, is, that it is not long enough; and we confess that we felt not a little disappointed, when we thought that we had yet sixty or seventy pages of such amusing and interesting matter before us, to find ourselves on a sudden at the termination of the Journal, and to discover that those pages were dedicated to an Appendix, containing a Nautical Memoir on the Navigation of the South American Station; a Table of Latitudes, Longitudes, and Variations of the Compass, for the different ports; and a list of Minerals collected during the voyage on the shores of South America and Mexico, and named by Dr. Brewster. Doubtless these additions, though so uninteresting to us, will be found highly useful to those whom they more particularly concern, and, however we may grudge them the space which they usurp in this work, we cannot close it otherwise than in good humour with its author, and without offering him the tribute of our cordial thanks for having presented us with these extracts from a Journal, which, in the novelty and variety of its details, in lively and picturesque description, and in the sound sense and manly tone of its observations, has seldom been surpassed.

Memoirs of India: comprising a brief Geographical Account of the East Indies; a Succinct History of Hindostan, from the most early ages to the end of the Marquess of Hastings's Administration in 1823. Designed for the Use of Young Men going out to India. By R. G. Wallace, Esq. author of 'Fifteen Years in India.' London, 1824. 8vo. pp. 504.

This useful volume is divided into three sections. The first of these contains a Geographical Description of India and the neighbouring countries, the principal and distinguishing features of each of which are well depicted. The second consists of a brief Outline of Indian History, treating successively of the Native Governments, of the rise, progress, and decline of the various European Settlements, previous to the time when the increasing power of Great Britain compelled them all to yield to her predominating influence, and lastly of the administration of the several British Governors General down to the present time. On the warlike administration of the last of these he is somewhat more diffuse, and several of the destructive conflicts which took place during the Nepaul and Mahratta wars are portrayed with the warm colouring of a soldier, who has earned his share of the laurels, the acquisition of which he commemorates. The third division presents a series of miscellaneous remarks, addressed to young adventurers, containing much observation and instruction, which they may hereafter turn to good account. These are followed by an Appendix and Addenda, containing matter illustrative of various parts of the work, inserted on a revision of the text. Much of the volume is necessarily compiled from previous works, but there are interspersed throughout its pages a variety of original observations, which prove the author to be a man of cultivated understanding and enlarged ideas, who will not blindly submit to the decisions of those who have gone before him, but is resolved to exercise his own judgment in the investigation of the subjects of which he treats. We would recommend his work to the attentive perusal of those for whom it is principally intended, as well calculated to

give them that general knowledge of India, its history, and its inhabitants, which, whatever situation in life they may be called upon to fill, it is most essential that they should possess.

A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Hall, of Leicester, in answer to his Attack upon West India Proprietors; with some Observations on the General Question as to the Abolition of Negro Slavery. By James Barstow, Esq. 8vo.

Trial of John Smith, Missionary, (as copied verbatim from the Report ordered to be printed by the House of Commons); with an Appendix, containing Mrs. Smith's Affidavit, the Petition from the Directors of the London Missionary Society to the House of Commons, and other Documents. 8vo.

Journal of a Residence in Chile, and Voyage from the Pacific, in the years 1822 and 23; preceded by an Account of the Revolution in Chile since the year 1810, and particularly of Transactions of the Squadron of Chile under Lord Cochrane. By Maria Graham, Author of 'Residence in India,' &c. &c. 4to. Plates.

Travels in Brazil, in the years 1817, 18, 19, and 20, undertaken by the command of his Majesty the King of Bavaria, and published under his special Patronage. By Dr. John Von Spix and Dr. Charles Von Martius, Members of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Translated from the German. Vols. 1 and 2. Plates.

Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, with comparative Remarks on the Ancient and Modern Geography of that Country. By William Martin Leake, F. R. S., &c. 8vo. With a Map.

The Cross and the Crescent: a Poem, partially founded on Madame Cottin's 'Mathilde.' By the Rev. J. Beresford, M. A. Rector of Kibworth, Leicestershire, late Fellow of Merton College. 8vo.

A new and accurate Map of Syria, by W. Arrowsmith, in two sheets; showing the very great Additions lately made to its Geography; on which the ancient as well as the modern Names are pointed out, and the Routes of the most scientific Travellers inserted.

Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and in Italy. By the Author of 'Recollections of the Peninsula.' 8vo.

The Greek Revolution; its Origin and Progress, together with some Remarks on the Religion, National Character, &c. in Greece. By Edward Blaquiere, Esq. 8vo. With a large Map.

A Reply to the Letters of the Abbé Du Bois, on the state of Christianity in India. By the Rev. James Hough, Chaplain of the Hon. E. I. C. on the Madras Establishment.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

The Three Brothers, or the Travels and Adventures of the Three Sherleys, in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, &c. Printed from original MSS., with additions and illustrations from very rare contemporary works, and Portraits of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert, and Lady Sherley. 8vo.

A Flora of Nepaul, by Mr. D. Don, Associate and Librarian of the Linnean Society, is in the press.

A Narrative of Four Voyages of Survey in the intertropical and western Coast of Australia, between the years 1817 and 1822; undertaken by order of his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his Majesty's Surveying Vessels, Mermaid and Bathurst. By Philip Parker King, R. N. Commander of the Expedition. With Maps, Charts, Views, &c. 4to.

A Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery in the Interior of Africa, from its western Coast to the River Niger, in 1818, 19, 20, and 21. With an account of the proceedings of the Expedition under the Command of the late Major Peddie and Captain Campbell. By Brevet Major Gray, of the late Royal African Corps, and Staff Surgeon Dochard. Undertaken by order of the Right Hon. Earl Bathurst. With a Map and Views. 8vo.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Expedition despatched by his Majesty's Government to explore the Northern Coast of Africa, in 1821 and 22; comprehending an account of the Syrtis and Cyrenaica, the ancient Cities composing the Pentapolis, and of other various existing remains. By Capt. F. W. Beechey, R. N. and H. W. Beechey, Esq. With Plates, Maps, &c. 4to.

A History of the Regeneration of Greece, comprising a sketch of the events from 1740 to 1824. By Mons. F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, author of Travels in Greece. 4 vols. 8vo. With five Maps and seven Portraits.

The French Minister of the Interior has ordered the Publication of the official Narrative of Freycinet's Voyage round the World. It is to form 8 vols. 4to. With four Atlasses of 348 Plates, 117 of which are coloured.

A new Map of India on six large Sheets, exhibiting its natural and political divisions, constructed from original materials, principally supplied by Lieut. Col. Blacker, C. B. Surveyor General of India.

Capt. Southey is about to publish a Chronological History of the West Indies; the value of which, as a literary composition, will be considerably enhanced by the Introductions to the History of each Century, which will be from the pen of the Author's Brother, the Poet Laureate.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

During the past month, there have been no arrivals from any part of India, of a later date than the 1st of January last; and as the intelligence in our preceding Number reached nearly to the end of December, we have little of interest from these quarters to communicate. The news from Africa and the Mediterranean, is, however, more copious than usual; and, with the information from other settlements included in our view, comprises much that is important and interesting.

EAST INDIES, CHINA, AND NEW HOLLAND.

Bengal.—Our intelligence from Bengal, up to the date of going to press, is confined to the accounts brought by the Florentia, which reach to the 25th December. By these we learn that Lord Amherst had materially recovered his health, and that there was not any present probability of his quitting India on that account. Lady Amherst had been unfortunately thrown from her horse on the 13th of December, while riding from Calcutta to Barrackpore, but though severely bruised by the fall, her Ladyship had nearly recovered from its effects.

By these accounts we also learn that the expedition against the Burmese had arrived at Shuparee, which place they occupied without any opposition, but it was stated that attempts at negotiation had commenced on the part of the Burmese. Shuparee is described as having apparently been once united to the main; the south entrance of the Naff, by which the expedition went, is said to be very intricate and obstructed by a bar, over which the surf rolls nearly the whole breadth during the flood tides. Within, however, the navigation is unimpeded, the soundings regular, and the shores on both sides bold, the river being from one to two miles broad. Shuparee itself is covered with wood, chiefly the cypress trees, which grow to a considerable height, and not being the weight of teak, would answer much better for topmasts and yards of ships. Very good water was found four feet beneath the surface of the beach. The island abounds with game of various kinds, and peacocks, while the river supplies most excellent fish. The climate is delightful, with a regular land and sea breeze, the thermometer never being below 68, nor higher than 74.

Lieutenant Colonel Paton, Commissary General, in India, had been allowed to retire from that situation and had been appointed an Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Governor General, and to a seat at the Military Board.

R. McClintock, Esq. had been sworn in High Sheriff of Calcutta for the year 1824, and C. G. Strettel, Esq. Deputy Sheriff.

The accounts from Agra received at Calcutta, stated that his Highness the Peishwa arrived there on the 23d November, and was received with the customary honours. On the following day Brigadier Shuldham arrived under the customary salute, as Commander of the Frontier, and the Commander in Chief was expected on the 26th; as a very great concourse of strangers had assembled, much gaiety was expected.

Madras.—By accounts received from this Presidency, we learn that great distress had been felt in the Carnatic for want of rain, and there was every appearance of famine among the inferior classes. In the line of country between Nellore and Ganjam, the scarcity of grain had been so great, that many families in the vicinity of Injeram had gone without food for two or three days.

This dreadful visitation had been the cause of creating a very serious riot, a body of natives, amounting to about 40,000, having on the night of the 22d December assembled together before the fort at Vellore, for the purpose of plundering the buildings which were supposed to contain grain. The police did every thing in their power to put down the disturbance, but from the increasing numbers of the populace they were at last obliged to apply for assistance to the military, before the arrival of whom, the rioters had succeeded in plundering five or six buildings. The appearance of the soldiers, however, prevented the greater part of the grain from being carried off, and it was hoped their arrival would have caused the population to disperse. Apparently confident in their superior numbers, the rioters, however, did not retire when the sepoys came up, but, on the contrary, assailed them with stones, and in this state the whole of the night was passed. On the 23d, it being found that the rioters would not disperse, orders were given to the military to endeavour to frighten them by firing blank cartridges, but this being ineffectual, they were ordered to fire

with ball over the heads of the people, which was obeyed, but, by accident, a poor native who was standing on the ramparts, near Lord Clive's battery, was wounded, and shortly after died. Another individual was also wounded, but not dangerously, and after this measure the mob dispersed without further violence. The military are stated to have behaved with great forbearance, notwithstanding the insulting and opprobrious language and behaviour used towards them. It is gratifying to learn that the government had adopted every measure in their power to lessen this visitation, by taking up ships to convey corn to Coringa, the arrival of which it was hoped would remove the existing misery, until other measures could be adopted.

Bombay.—By accounts from this quarter, we learn the arrival there of his Majesty's ship Leven, from the African coast. She was destined for Muscat, for the purpose of surveying the coasts of Arabia and Africa. No intelligence of public interest has reached us from this presidency during the past month, of a later date than that given in our preceding Number; but from every part of India ships are hourly expected.

China.—By accounts from China we learn that the Canton market for Bengal cotton had considerably improved, owing to a partial failure of the crop in China, and as high a price as ten to eleven tales per pecul had been obtained. The demand for this article in the Chinese market is stated, however, to be very uncertain. From the western part of the city of Saigon, in Cochin China, a river or canal has recently been cut, twenty-three English miles long, connecting with a branch of the Cambodia River, by which a free water communication is opened with Cambodia. The canal is twelve feet deep throughout, about eighty feet wide, and was cut through immense forests and morasses in the short space of six weeks. Twenty-six thousand men were employed by night and day alternately, in this stupendous undertaking, and seven thousand lives were sacrificed by fatigue and consequent disease. The banks of this canal are already planted with the palmyr tree, which is a great favourite with the people of the country.

Penang.—Advices from Penang inform us that the same regulations were in force at Malacca, as at Java, since the 1st of August, by which all goods imported into Malacca from all parts and places East of the Cape, are liable to an import duty of 24 per cent. The same duty it was believed was levied at Padang. An attack was expected at Penang the latter end of October by the natives of Queda, who demanded their king, then with the English government, and it was said the sovereign of Siam was the instigator of this demand. The government of Penang had refused to give up his majesty, and the natives were gathering in haste upon the shores opposite. The force of Penang did not amount to a regiment, but they had sent to Bengal for reinforcements. It was thought if the natives ventured on Penang the buildings would be destroyed, but that the fort would protect the Europeans. From Queda to Polo Penang, across the straits, was not more than two miles.

Batavia.—By accounts received from Batavia, we learn that letters had reached there from Palambang, giving a statement of an attempt having been made by several of the officers in the king's service, assisted by the half-caste natives, to overturn the government of Manilla. The Revolutionists took possession of the place during the absence of the governor, (who had gone up the country with part of the European troops) declared a captain of the king's troops sovereign of the Phillipines, and concluded that their designs were accomplished; but with a promptitude entirely unforeseen by the insurgents, the governor with some faithful troops marched against the city, recovered the principal fortress, and before the new-made sovereign and his adherents could recover from their surprise, they were taken prisoners; and by a summary process, the principal ringleaders ordered to be shot. The *ci-devant* emperor, with several subalterns and sergeants, to the number of 19, suffered death, by which tranquillity was restored. Sugars were quoted at Manilla at 4 dollars per pecul, with a stock of 60,000 peculs on hand.

By other letters we learn that spices are allowed to be exported from Batavia to any part of the world in vessels of every nation. If taken to the Netherlands, no importation duty is demanded, if accompanied with proper certificates of their shipment from Batavia. No spices are allowed in *entrepot*, or to be landed from any other than a Dutch vessel.

Sandwich Islands.—Great Britain has been honoured by a visit from the

King and Queen of these Islands, who arrived at Portsmouth, on the 17th of May, in the Eagle, South Sea Whaler. The object of this long voyage, is said to be the surrender of the eleven islands composing the groupe, called the Sandwish Islands, to the protection of His Britannic Majesty, it being apprehended that the Emperor of Russia intended to possess himself of them, a design which, considering their convenience for the Phillipine Islands, may not be entirely void of foundation. The King's name is Riho Riho, but his assumed regal name is Tamehameho; and Whahoo, one of the central Islands, is his residence. The King and Queen are attended by the Governor, his Lady, and an Interpreter.

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS.

Cape of Good Hope.—The recent accounts from the Cape have not been of any material interest. All the letters repeat that the principal grain which had succeeded, particularly in the Albany district, was the Colonial Bengal, or strong stemmed wheat. The common Bengal wheat was also stated to be a most excellent kind for the Colony, from its rapid growth, which was as quick as barley. The rye crops in Albany had been destroyed by rust and vermin. Of the short Bengal wheat, it was thought that generally throughout the cultivated districts, the crop averaged about half a fair one. The cultivation of flax, as an article of exportation, is recommended; as in most situations, three crops in the year might be depended upon, and the oil obtained from the seed would be valuable for the Colonial consumption. The elder bush was also spoken of as well adapted for fences, particularly in exposed situations; its growth was rapid, beyond any thing else in the Colony, and it was generally thought, no animal would eat of it. A decoction from its roots formed an excellent purgative, when other drugs could not be procured. The following is an extract of a letter from Delagoa Bay.

'This Fort is a miserable place, and a perfect hell for wickedness. There is a Portuguese Governor and three officers, with about fifty Mosambique black soldiers. It is much like old Theopolis in appearance, and stands on a low part of the banks of the English River, on the northern side.

'The country in the neighbourhood of Delagoa Bay, taking it as a whole, I believe will be found, on examination, to be a most interesting one. It is beautiful, and fertile in native productions beyond description; but for the last two or three years there has been but little rain, which together with the devastation of the Botwahs (a warlike and powerful tribe to the S. W.) has produced a famine in most of the states. The rivers are wide and deep, and navigable a long way from the mouth. I have been up once in a boat upwards of 30 miles, and found it still broad and deep, with many feet rise of tide. The country is very woody, and produces fine timber in abundance. On a clear day three or four ridges of mountains are seen, the furthest of which is exceedingly high, and appears to be about 100 miles distant. It would be a great and dangerous undertaking to cross, and see you in Albany by way of Lattakoo. Such a communication would, however, be very desirable.'

Sierra Leone.—In our former Numbers we have noticed with expressions of pleasure, the rapid improvements made in this Colony, by the indefatigable exertions of the Governor, Sir C. McCarthy. In our last we mentioned his having taken the field against the Ashantees, and we regret to add that it has now become our painful duty to announce a catastrophe, which has not only caused some of the most eminent of the Colonists to fall victims to the brutal vengeance of their savage opponents, but it is feared has cost the valuable life of the Governor, and placed the very existence of the Colony itself in jeopardy. A degree of mystery still clouds this unfortunate event, no particulars of an official nature having been received, but we fear the particulars are alone wanting, and that the fact itself is established by too strong a body of evidence for the most sanguine well-wisher of the infant Colony to doubt it. In the absence of official details, and on account of the general interest it has excited, we have thought fit to give the various letters descriptive of this event, in their original form, in order that the friends of those whose names stand recorded therein, may judge for themselves, as to the degree of hope or fear to be deduced from them. The following is an extract of a letter from Accra, dated January 31.

'The Ashantees have long threatened us with an attack; and on the 25th of last month, intelligence was brought to Sir Charles McCarthy, that they were approaching the coast; but contrary to what is usual, their forces were

by report diminished as to their real numbers; the consequence was, that Sir Charles divided his forces in four divisions, and marched into the interior. The enemy instead of dividing theirs, collected a force of 10,000 men, and attacked the division commanded by Sir Charles himself (who did not muster 1,000 muskets), and I regret to say, totally defeated and dispersed it. The whole of the whites are either killed or missing, except Major Ricketts and Ensign Erskine, who after many hardships, have succeeded in getting to Cape Coast. Among the killed and missing, are Sir Charles himself, Messrs. Buckle and Wetherell, from Sierra Leone; also Robertson, Dr. Tedlie, Jones, Brandon, J. P. Williams, and Heddle, of Cape Coast, all of whom you have seen, and several others with whom you are not acquainted. H—— and I were with the Accra division, commanded by Captain Blenkarne, and at least 150 miles to the eastward of Sir Charles, when this afflicting intelligence was brought to us; and by the same messenger we were ordered to fall back on Accra, and put the town and fort in the best state of defence. It will now be seen that the Ashantees are a people not to be utterly despised. In short, it has come to this—if Government do not instantly send out 2 or 3,000 troops to put down this power, they must withdraw the British flag from the coast, and leave the field to the cunning Dutchmen to reap the harvest of their intrigue. The moment the issue of the battle was known, the people of Elmina commenced seizing our people; and those of Shamah (another Dutch settlement) had the temerity to fire on one of the boats of the Owen Glendower. The divisions commanded by Majors Chisholm and Laing have returned to Cape Coast and Annamaboe.

'It is but justice to say that the Danish Governor Richlieu has acted the part of a man of honour towards us. He has spared neither expense nor personal exertion to assist us in putting down the Ashantees; and if the Dutch had acted the same part, matters would ere this have been settled in our favour. To secure the favour and trade of the Ashantees, the Dutch have been so mean as to instil into the minds of these people, that our object is to bring their nation under our yoke, and that if we are driven from the coast, they (the Ashantees), will again have the opportunity of disposing of their slaves to the Portuguese and Spanish vessels.

'P. S. A report hast just reached us that Sir Charles is safe among the Dinqueras, a country situated about 65 miles N. W. of Cape Coast, and in our alliance. I sincerely hope this report may be confirmed, but for my part I much doubt it.'

The following is another letter from the same place and of a similar date.

'The last disastrous events have brought us into a very critical situation. On the 29th ult. Sir Charles directed Captain Blenkarne, the commandant of James's Fort, Accra, to proceed to Akim, and there to form an encampment. The object of this was (I have some reason to think) to menace and divide the forces of the Ashantees. We left this on the 4th inst. for that purpose; but in consequence of some dissatisfaction among those on whom we relied for aid, our forces were but slender; and after having remained in the Aguassim territory three weeks, our forces having refused to proceed, we were obliged to fall back on this place. In the meantime our good Governor hoped by his own presence to infuse confidence into the dastardly Fantees, among whom he had trusted himself, was attacked on the 21st inst. by 10,000 Shantees, who had been near him for some days. It was unfortunate that at this time a force under Major Chisholm, another under Captain Lestrange, and a third under Captain Laing, were all at distinct camps, and knew nothing of what was going on until all was over. The action took place behind Secundee, almost ten miles inland. The wounded (100) made their way to that settlement, and afterwards to the Cape, in canoes. On the 28th Major Chisholm returned to Cape Coast, but had not heard of Sir Charles. He mustered all the forces he could, and Captain Laing was sent with him to search for Sir Charles. The amount of their forces I cannot state, not having heard; but the blacks are, I fear, panic struck.

'Government will see the necessity of now doing what ought to have been done long ago. Unless three or four thousand men are sent out to beat these savages out of hand, they will keep the country agitated until they effect the total subjugation of the coasts.'

The annexed is a third letter bearing a corresponding date.

'In several of my former letters I mentioned the Ashantee palaver, and that we only waited the arrival of Sir Charles McCarthy, at Cape Coast Castle, to commence offensive operations. He arrived about two months ago, and after putting things in order, took the field at the head of one party; Major Chis-

holm at the head of another; and Captain Blenkarne was ordered to proceed with the Accra troops, and to form an encampment in the Akine country. Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee, is nearly equidistant from Cape Coast and Accra (about 180 miles), and I believe it was the intention that all the forces should have joined upon the borders of the Ashantee country. We expected that the Accra party would have consisted of about 4000 or 5000 men. Capt. Blenkarne took with him forty regulars, and two companies of militia, commanded by Captains Hansen and Dannerman; the only other force he took with him from Accra was about 300 natives, expecting to be overtaken by the others. Lieutenant Mc Carthy and myself also accompanied them. In consequence of expecting to be joined by so many more of the natives, we proceeded very slowly, and at the end of a week were only forty miles distant. We remained fourteen days at a village called Mampong, during which time we were joined by several parties, who, seeing our small numbers, soon deserted. As it was thought we would have entered the Akine country with four or five thousand men, and as our force did not exceed so many hundreds, it was recommended to Captain Blenkarne, that as the Akines were not very friendly, and as Sir Charles could not be aware of our small force, to wait his orders, which arrived, and were to advance through the Fantee country to his support. In consequence of which, we had to return by Accra, being the nearest practicable route, where we received news which we thought rendered it prudent to remain. Sir Charles and Major Chisholm, whose parties were separate from one another, were in pursuit of some Ashantees, and on the 21st Sir Charles, with his small party, fell in with a large body of them. The opposite parties met. The Ashantees suffered severely, but our force was dreadfully cut up; out of eleven officers, one is dead, eight missing, and two returned wounded. Amongst the missing are Sir Charles, and my good friend Dr. Tedlie. Sir Charles was known to have received two wounds, and Tedlie was reported killed. One of the soldiers took two watches from an Ashantee, which were known to have belonged to Mr. Buckle, civil engineer, Sierra Leone, and to Mr. Wetherell, Ensign, 2nd West India regiment. Major Chisholm not falling in with the Ashantees, and not hearing of Sir Charles, returned to Cape Coast; one of his officers, Captain L'Estrange, had died from fatigue. Upon Major Chisholm's return, Captain Laing was dispatched with 3 or 4,000 men, to look after the missing, and has not returned. The Ashantees having made their way to the water side will probably attack our forts. For ourselves we have no fear, but I am much afraid the natives will suffer greatly, the forts not being able to afford them all protection. I am sorry to say, the natives have not shown the spirit in fighting that was expected. From the spirit they have shown on the present occasion, it is my opinion that, unless a large regular force is sent out to cope with the Ashantees, the sooner we evacuate the forts on the Gold Coast the better. If a force is sent out, the sacrifice of lives must be dreadful, from the climate, the havoc amongst new comers being very great. If the troops arrived about the end of September, they might go to Ashantee and be again embarked before the commencement of the rains.

'Killed: James Heddle, from the Orkneys.—Missing: Sir C. Mc Carthy, Dr. Tedlie, John Tasker Williams, Mr. Buckle, Mr. G. A. Robertson, from Dumfriesshire; Ensign Wetherell, Mr. Jones, Mr. Rigdon, and Mr. Brandon.—Wounded: And at Cape Coast, Brigadier Major Ricketts, 2d West India Regiment; Ensign Erskine, Royal African Corps.'

The subjoined is a letter from an officer of rank, dated Cape Coast, February 8th:—

'All is confusion here. The Ashantees have beaten the Governor: he is a prisoner or killed, so are all the white men of the party, about seven or eight, and more than two-thirds of his force. Our marines garrison Cape Coast Castle. We have been at duty night and day of the severest nature.—I almost thought the other day that my jaw-bone would have ornamented an Ashantee drum; fate would have it otherwise. We have had two marines and one Krooman killed, and two marines and five seamen wounded. We are all ready for harder work, and as the Ashantees show no quarter, but torture those they take, if our lads are obliged to land (which is more than probable), I land too; no prisoner will any of us be, that is determined. The country, over-run by the Ashantees, is in a horrible condition, every male old person, and child, is put to death; the girls just arrived at a proper age are saved. A captain L'Estrange was so affected by the dreadful sights which he saw on the march, that on seeing two children hung up by

the neck, and two with their bellies cut open, he dropped down and died."

The above are all the accounts that have reached England from Sierra Leone, to the date of our going to press, and though they certainly leave the ultimate fate of Sir Charles involved in mystery, there is too much reason to fear he has fallen a victim to the revenge of his uncivilized enemies, supposing him to have escaped the more enviable death on the field of battle. That his captivity would only be the prelude to his murder, the knowledge of the enmity felt against him by the Ashantees, would lead us much to fear; and when it is known that they looked upon him as the chief cause of the active measures adopted on the African coast for the suppression of the Slave Trade, (a traffic in which they were large dealers) and as such, the cause of the decrease of their revenue, and the main check to their acquisition of plunder, little mercy can be hoped for.

We cannot close this melancholy picture better than by giving what we believe to be an accurate account of the state of our settlements in that part of the African coast to which attention has been latterly more immediately drawn, by the termination of this ill-fated expedition.—

The Gold Coast extends from about 3 degrees W. long. to as many degrees E. and lies in 5 or 6 degrees N. latitude. In the year 1821, the African Company (which, under various modifications, had existed from the time of King Charles II.) was abolished, and all its forts and possessions on the Gold Coast were annexed to the colony of Sierra Leone, of which Sir Charles Mc Carthy was governor.

This arrangement was, no doubt, owing, in great measure, to the official reports of the late Sir George Collier, who had it in command from the Lords of the Admiralty to report the general state and condition of the settlements on the Western Coast of Africa.

The forts and settlements under the African Company were eight, viz.—Cape Coast Castle, Annamaboe, Accra, Tantumquerry, Dixcove, Apollonia, Succondee, Commenda, and Prampran; the whole White Establishment included only 45 persons; the black and coloured people in the Company's pay were 450. Apollonia, the western boundary of the Company's settlements, was a small and perfectly useless fort; Sir George recommended its abandonment. Dixcove, the next to the eastward, was better situated (particularly for supplying timber and lime to Cape Coast Castle,) and Sir George recommended its being strengthened. Succondee and Commenda he considered to be useless. Next to these came the Dutch fort of Almina, one of the very strongest along the whole line of coast. Cape Coast Castle, the principal English station, lies to the eastward of Elmina. The fort had been for some time declining, but was afterwards strengthened. It had a garrison of 100 negroes, well trained and disciplined, and officered by the white servants of the Company. Sir George Collier recommended several additions to the defence of the place. Annamaboe was the next British fort upon the Coast. It was of no great value as a place of trade; but Sir George advised its being retained, were it only to prevent its being occupied by other nations. The African Company paid a sort of rent or tribute for Annamaboe to the Ashantee Chief, who some years previously had attacked that fort, but was repulsed. Tantamquerry was only of utility as keeping open the communication with Accra. The last-mentioned settlement was divided into British Accra and Dutch Accra, the British flag flying at one end of the town, and the Dutch flag at the other. British Accra possessed a fort second only to Cape Coast Castle, and a number of the native chiefs were attached to and paid by the English. The Dutch had no fort, but they possessed great influence in the vicinity by encouraging the Slave Trade. Near to Accra was also a Danish settlement called Christianburg. Prampran, the most easterly of the British settlements, was of small account.

At some distance in the interior is situated the town of Comassie, the residence of Sai Tootoo Quamina, the Chief or King of the Ashantees. His dominions are of great extent, the population considerable, and the dispositions both of king and people extremely prone to war. "The Ashantee Army," says Sir George Collier, "is numerous beyond belief; and though quite an irregular mass, yet more than 60,000 can be collected, acquainted with the use of fire arms, ready to sacrifice their lives to the nod or caprice of their chief or king, who is known to be savage and cruel in the extreme."

In 1807 an Ashantee army reached the coast for the first time. In 1811 they invaded the Fantee country near our establishment, and again in 1816. The African Company sent a Mission in 1817 (of which the late Mr. Bowdich

formed a part) to Comassie. The Ashantee King having asserted a claim of sovereignty over the Fantee country, that claim was admitted and guaranteed on the part of England by the British consul, Mr. Dupuis, a measure which Sir George Collier deeply lamented.

Thus stood the affairs of the Gold Coast in 1821, when all the British settlements there were added to the colony of Sierra Leone, and placed under the command of that most able and active Governor, Sir Charles Mc Carthy. Sir Charles shortly afterwards went thither in person, and has ever since been incessantly moving from one part of his government to another, promoting improvements of all kinds, and personally directing their execution. The new energy thus displayed by the English on the Gold Coast imposed a salutary check on the savage chief of Ashantee; and at the same time held out to the neighbouring States a hope of protection against his oppressions. He was therefore for some time quiet; but having in a fit of passion seized on a negro sergeant in our service, and put him to death, Sir Charles Mc Carthy felt himself bound to avenge the insult. A new corps had been formed on the Gold Coast, under the title of the Royal African Light Infantry, and had attained a high degree of discipline. A detachment of this corps took the field under Captain Laing, an officer peculiarly well qualified for this service, inasmuch as he had a year or two before penetrated very far into the interior of an exploratory mission from Sierra Leone. The tribes which had previously suffered from the tyranny of Sai Tootoo Quamina now seized the opportunity of shaking off his yoke, and many of them spontaneously swore allegiance to the English government. In May last all the districts on the sea coast, west of the Volta were in arms, to the amount of thirty thousand warriors; whilst in the interior the inhabitants unanimously refused to pay the tributary exactions. Captain Laing took the Fantee country under his especial care. This officer, in August last, with a detachment of the 2d West India regiment, and a body of the Annamaboe militia, supported by several native chiefs, totally defeated the Ashantees at Assecuma. On the 19th of last November Sir Charles Mc Carthy arrived from Sierra Leone at Cape Coast, where he remained on the 13th of December, the date of the last Gold Coast Gazettes which have reached this country. At that time the Ashantees had not ventured to approach the coast; a camp had been formed by the British troops; and great numbers of the native chiefs had joined them, and sworn allegiance to the British government.

We lament to add to the calamity above recorded, that of the death of Mr. Belzoni, the celebrated and persevering African traveller, who has added one other to the list of victims who have fallen in the perilous attempt to penetrate the interior of Africa. The particulars of this event are contained in the following extract of a letter, dated from on board the brig Castor, at Accra, January 7th :—

'I wrote to you some time since, almost at a venture, mentioning the arrival in Benin river of Mr. G. Belzoni, the celebrated traveller, who was attempting to reach Houssa and Timbuctoo, by way of Benin. I am sorry to inform you that, like all others who have made this trial, he has perished. He died at Gato, the 3d of December, 1823.

'As I think it will interest you, I will give you an idea of his prospects of succeeding in this perilous expedition, when they were closed by his death. He had been a considerable time a very welcome guest on board this brig, waiting for the time a Mr. J. Houtson could accompany him to Benin, whose interest with the King of that place he considered would be serviceable to him. On the night of the 24th of November he left us, with Mr. Houtson, for Gato. On parting with us, he seemed a little agitated, particularly when the crew, to each of whom he had made a present, gave him three loud cheers on leaving the vessel. 'God bless you, my fine fellows, and send you a happy sight of your country and friends,' was his answer. On the 3d of December, I received a letter from Mr. Houtson, requesting me to come to Benin, as Mr. B. was lying dangerously ill, and, in case of death, wishing a second person to be present. I was prevented going, not only by business, but a severe fever, which had then hold of me. On the 5th, I had a second letter from Mr. H. with the particulars of Mr. B.'s end, and one from himself, almost illegible, dated Dec. 2, requesting me to assist in the disposal of his effects, and to remit the proceeds home to his agents, Messrs. Briggs, Brothers, and Co., America Square, London, together with a beautiful amethyst ring he wore, which he seemed particularly anxious should be delivered to his wife, with the assurance he died in the fullest affection for her,

as he found himself too weak to write his last wishes and adieus. He was interred at Gato next day, with all the respect possible; and I furnished a large board, with the following inscription, and which was placed over his grave:

'Here lie the remains of
G. BELZONI,
Who was attacked with dysentery at
Benin
(On his way to Houssa and Timbuctoo),
On the 26th of November, and died
at this place,
December 3, 1823.

'The gentlemen who placed this inscription over the grave of this intrepid and enterprising traveller, hope that every European visiting this spot will cause the ground to be cleared, and the fence round the grave repaired, if necessary.'

'At the time of Mr. Belzoni's death, Mr. Houtson had every thing arranged with the King of Benin for his departure, and had his health continued, there is no doubt would have succeeded. Mr. Belzoni passed at Benin as an inhabitant or rather native of the interior, who had come to England when a youth, and was now trying to return to his country. The King and Emegrands (or nobles) gave credit to this, Mr. Belzoni being in a Moorish dress, with his beard nearly a foot in length. There was, however, some little jealousy amongst them, which was removed by a present or two, well applied; and the King of Benin's messenger was to accompany Mr. Belzoni with the King's cane, and as many men as were considered necessary for a guard and baggage carriers. The King's name is respected as far as Houssa, and he has a messenger, or ambassador, stationary there. On Mr. B.'s arrival at Houssa, he was to leave his guard there, and proceed to Timbuctoo, the King not guaranteeing his safety further than Houssa, and Timbuctoo not being known at Benin. On his return to Houssa, he would make the necessary preparations for going down the Niger, and despatch his messenger and guard back with letters to his agents and to Mr. John Houtson. The messenger to be rewarded according to the accounts the letters gave of his behaviour, and the King to receive a valuable stated present. This was the plan, and I think it would have proved fortunate had Mr. B. lived.

'The distance from Benin to Houssa is not so great. The King gave the following account of the route: from Benin to Jaboo six days' journey; Jaboo to Eyoo three; Eyoo to Tappa nine; Tappa to Nyffoo four; and Nyffoo to Houssa three. I am sorry I cannot find the memorandum I made of this, but I think I am correct. Between Nyffoo and Houssa the 'Big Water' is to be crossed, considerably above Tangara, at which place it is tremendously rapid and wide; further down, the natives of Benin know nothing of it, except that it runs to the southward. I wish it was a settled point. Mr. B. began to waver in his opinion of the Niger being a branch of the Nile, after having seen one or two of these rivers in the bight of Benin. I will give you my idea on the subject: if the Niger does not empty itself into the bights of Beapa and Benin, there must be some other immense course of water in the interior to supply these seven rivers, viz. Benin, Dos Escravos, Dos Ramos, Bonny, New Calabar, Old Calabar, and Rio del Rey, with the numerous intersecting creeks, and which any person, I think, only need to see, to know they run from one great stream. Add to this, the land to the westward of river Lagos, though not high, is perfectly dry, and free from marsh; from Lagos to the west side of Rio del Rey, there is scarcely a spot of land that is not overflowed at high tides. The east side of Del Rey is the contrary, being high and mountainous, viz. the high land of Cameroons and Reconly Land. The intervening marsh between Lagos and Del Rey has evidently been formed by the soil and mud washed down these rivers. That the coast here has been carried further out, in my opinion cannot be doubted, as in a conversation I had with the King of Wanu, he informed me 'six or seven of his fathers back, was when white men first came to Wanu; that then they came to the town in their ships, as they could then soon catch the sea; but now the river had gone a long way further out:' of course he meant the land further out. I suppose Wanu is forty miles from the sea now. At the same time he showed me some of the guns brought out by the first ship that came there, with matchlocks and stands. The old gentleman was very communicative. He related the history of his family being made kings, which would please you, but I have no time for it here; I hope I may relate it to you in Liverpool. Of course, you know the various opinions against the Niger terminating here or in the Congo. I may add another. None of the natives of the interior having come down the river, nor none of the river people gone up to look for trade more than two days' journey in a canoe. Yet

they describe it at that distance as large as at the entrance. I may also remark, that I never could find any of the natives who had been at Houssa, that had crossed or seen those mountains, which are considered an insuperable obstacle to the Niger running south, viz. "the Mountains of the Moon.' But their heads here are so thick, it is difficult to get correct information out of them. There are several natives of Houssa slaves in the river. You will perceive, by what I have said, the opinion I have formed, that the Niger empties itself by a great Delta, of which Rio Formoso, or Benin, is the western, and Rio del Rey the eastern branch, with several rivers between them from the same source.'

MEDITERRANEAN.

Constantinople. — Accounts received from the Turkish capital continue to speak of perfect tranquillity existing there. The Divan was wholly engaged in the preparations for the fourth campaign against the Greeks, and the assistance of the Pasha of Egypt was much relied on to enable the Turks to take the field in force.

Smyrna.—By advices from this port we learn that nothing of any political importance had occurred there. The utmost tranquillity prevailed at the date of the last letters.

Egypt.—The letters received from Alexandria convey intelligence of very great importance to the Greeks, and which will in all probability cripple the Turkish power sufficiently to render their force in the ensuing campaign comparatively feeble. It has been known that for some time past the Pasha of Egypt has been forming large magazines of gunpowder and of all descriptions of military stores at Grand Cairo avowedly for the purpose of equipping an army to act against the Morea. Letters received of the 5th of April state that these magazines had been destroyed by fire, and that three thousand Egyptian soldiers had perished in the explosion. The value of the property destroyed was estimated at not less than ten millions of Spanish dollars; and one of the effects of this event will probably be the abandonment of the expedition against Greece, if it were ever seriously contemplated. The destruction of the magazines at Grand Cairo will prevent the Pasha of Egypt from furnishing the expedition with warlike stores, and thus render the Turkish armament very incomplete. At the date of the last accounts the British merchants were in a state of great alarm, on account of the arrival there of several Algerine frigates and corvettes, who took a list of the English ships in the harbour, and part of the squadron were cruising in the neighbourhood when the letters came away.

Greece.—We have to record in this place, the death of Lord Byron, an event by no means looked for, as indeed we had hoped for far other tidings. We shall confine ourselves at present to the simple mention of the circumstance, which, as might have been expected, has given rise in Greece to an universal sorrow, as honourable to the mourners as to the mourned. How great he was, and how much to be regretted, we shall not here attempt to say, that must be reserved for another time, but the most striking circumstances attending the honourable sorrow of the Greeks it is our duty to give. Lord Byron may be misrepresented by Malice and Envy as much as they please—it is the nature of most men to hate superior merit—the source of the general grief his death has excited is not to be mistaken. Nations never offer up sincere prayers for living, or real regrets for departed vice—general society is not to be swayed by partial views. It is our opinion that the sorrow of the Greeks for Lord Byron is not less real or less extensive than that of the Roman people for Germanicus. There is no Agrippina it is true to consecrate his urn or weep over his ashes; and from one signal act of treachery to his memory which has already occurred, we fear he has left few friends in England who will emulate ancient virtue in their pious regard for the stability of his renown. We know there are some—and it is probably sufficient that there are a few—but we have seen that near ties can easily be dissolved by vanity, or a narrow view of human things. The following letter, announcing his Lordship's death, was addressed to J. Bowring, Esq. by Prince Mavrocordato:

Missolonghi, April 8 (20), 1824.

Sir, and my very dear Friend—It is with the greatest affliction that I fulfil the duty of giving you the sad news of the death of Lord Byron, after an illness of ten days. Our loss is irreparable, and it is with justice that we abandon ourselves to inconsolable sorrow. Notwithstanding the difficult circumstances in which I am placed, I shall attempt to perform my duty towards this great man; the eternal gratitude of my country will perhaps be the only true tribute to his memory. The Deputies will communicate to you the details of this melancholy event, on which the grief which I feel will not allow me to

dwell longer. You will excuse—you will justify, my being overwhelmed with sorrow, and accept the assurances of my devotion, &c. A. MAVROCORDATO.

On the 9th of April Lord Byron, who had been living very low, exposed himself in a violent rain; the consequence of which was a severe cold, and he was immediately confined to his bed. The low state to which he had been reduced by his abstinence, and probably by some of the remaining effects of his previous illness, made him unwilling, at any rate he refused to submit, to be bled. It is to be lamented that no one was near his Lordship who had sufficient influence over his mind, or who was himself sufficiently aware of the necessity of the case, to induce him to submit to that remedy, which in all human probability would have saved a life so valuable to Greece. The inflammatory action, unchecked, terminated fatally on the 19th of April.

There are no letters of his Lordship's of a date subsequent to the commencement of his illness. The friends who were near him at the time of his decease, in addition to Prince Mavrocordato, were Mr. Parry, who had organized the artillery and engineer corps for the Greeks at Missolonghi, Mr. Bourke and Count Gamba. The letters from the last-named gentleman first communicated the intelligence to Lord Sidney Osborne, who forwarded it with the kindest attention to the friends of Lord Byron in England, and proceeded from Corfu to Zante to make whatever arrangements might be necessary respecting his remains.

Lord Byron had succeeded, his friends are informed, in stirring up among the people of the part of Greece in which he had resided an almost inconceivable enthusiasm. His exertions were incessant in their cause, and the gratitude of the people was proportioned to them. His influence was not lessened by being employed often to procure humane and even kind treatment towards the Turkish captives.

On the day of Lord Byron's death, and when he appeared in imminent danger, the Prince Mavrocordato wrote to his Lordship's friend and companion, Count Gamba, requesting that a Committee might be immediately appointed to take the necessary measures for the security of his property. In consequence of which four gentlemen have been nominated to act until other arrangements can be made.

One of the letters from Corfu, and dated April 23, states, that Lord Byron died possessed of considerable property in Greece, having for some time resolved to pass his life there, and received considerable sums from England, for the purpose of investment.

The following is a translation of the Proclamation which was issued by the Greek authorities at Missolonghi, in consequence of this event:—

Provisional Government of Greece.

The present days of festivity are converted into days of bitter lamentation for all—Lord Byron departed this life to-day, about eleven o'clock in the evening, in consequence of a rheumatic inflammatory fever, which had lasted for ten days. During the time of his illness your general anxiety evinced the profound sorrow that pervaded your hearts. All classes, without distinction of sex or age, oppressed by grief, entirely forgot the days of Easter. The death of this illustrious personage is certainly a most calamitous event for all Greece, and still more lamentable for this city, to which he was eminently partial, of which he became a citizen, and of the dangers of which he was determined personally to partake when circumstances should require it. His munificent donations to this community are before the eyes of every one, and no one amongst us ever ceased, or ever will cease, to consider him, with the purest and most grateful sentiments, our benefactor. Until the dispositions of the National Government regarding this most calamitous event be known, by virtue of the Decree of the Legislature, No. 314, of date the 15th of October,

It is Ordained,—1. To-morrow, by sun-rise, thirty-seven minute guns shall be fired from the batteries of this town, equal to the number of years of the deceased personage.

2. All public offices, including all Courts of Justice, shall be shut for three following days.

3. All shops, except those for provisions and medicines, shall also be kept shut; and all sorts of musical instruments, all dances customary in these days, all sorts of festivities and merriment in the public taverns, and every other sort of public amusement, shall cease during the above-named period.

4. A general mourning shall take place for twenty-one days.

5. Funeral ceremonies shall be performed in all the churches.

A. MAVROCORDATO.
GIORGIO PRAIDI, Secretary.

Missolonghi, 19th April, 1824.

We understand that at Missolonghi the grief that pervaded the inhabitants did not require this notification from the Government. Mourning was deep and universal.

The Greeks have requested and ob-

tained the heart of Lord Byron, which will be placed in a Mausoleum in the country, the liberation of which was his last wish. His body will be brought to England. His Lordship leaves one daughter, a minor.

Malta.—The accounts from Malta relative to the health of Mr. Justice Richardson, are by no means encouraging, and the bench there is threatened with the loss of one of its most able members. The salubrity of the air we regret to learn has not had the favourable effect anticipated by the learned gentleman's medical advisers.

The following is an extract of a letter from Malta, dated April 9:—'A court-martial, of a most extraordinary complexion, has just been held on two Officers of Artillery, on a charge of disobedience of an order which required them to fire a salute and toll a bell, in conjunction and communication with the Priests of an adjoining Church; it being the anniversary of one of the tutelar saints of this island. As the proceedings of the court are now under consideration of the higher Authorities at home, I shall abstain from giving any opinion on so extraordinary a case, which will, when known, I doubt not, excite much interest.'

Tunis.—By advices from Tunis we learn that the Pasha Bey of Tunis breathed his last at the Royal Palace, on the 27th of March; he is succeeded by his eldest son Sidi Hassan Bey, without opposition. His brother Sidi Mustapha Bey, was at the time of the Pasha's decease collecting the revenue in the interior, which was reckoned unfavourable for the new Pasha, as they were by no means on amicable terms.

Algiers.—The dispute with Algiers remains much in the same state as we last noticed. The ports of Algiers, Bona, and Oran, with the whole of the Algerine coast, remains strictly blockaded, but no actual hostilities have commenced. On the 8th inst. his Majesty's bomb Terror, Captain A. D. Y. Arbuthnott, sailed for Algiers, taking despatches for Vice-Admiral Sir Harry Neale (whom she expects to find in that Bay), informing him, it is presumed, what has been the final determination of Ministers with respect to the Dey of Algiers. It would appear from the nature of the preparations made, and ordered, that it is not intended to make an attack on Algiers by a united force of ships; but if the Dey should still refuse to accede to necessary, but what may be deemed coercive terms, attacks will be nightly made upon the town and defences of Algiers, by the employment of bombs and mortar vessels. To announce this intention, we believe, the Terror has now proceeded; and it appears probable that Captain Arbuthnott will, in the first place, land at Algiers, and endeavour to bring the Dey to a sense of what is due to the offended Government of our King, from his past conduct in violating the Exmouth Treaty, and of the situation in which his capital will become, by a pertinacious rejection of all amicable means of reparation. The same terms of reconciliation, and of security for the future, will probably be proposed to the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli; but there is scarcely a doubt of their acquiescence.—The four Bombs to be employed are—the Terror, Captain A. D. Y. Arbuthnott; the Infernal, Captain R. H. Barclay (who so greatly distinguished himself in the flotilla, on the Lakes of Canada); the Ætna, Captain Sandom; the Meteor, Captain James Scott; and three mortar vessels, to one of which (the Falmouth, at Deptford), Lieut. John M. Laws is appointed the command.—The last accounts from Algiers state, that the Algerine cruisers had all returned to that port, where they had been stripped of their rigging, their masts taken out, and they sunk in port, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English. The Infernal, Captain Barclay, will be the next ready to sail.

The following is an account of the present appearance of Algiers:—

'The country round the warlike city of Algiers is very mountainous, having snow on the tops and sides in the higher regions; but the hills and valleys are beautifully ornamented with trees, and all the flats are in high cultivation. The city stands on the point of the Mole Head; the buildings are chiefly of white stone, angular shaped; there are batteries, with heavy brass guns, all round towards the sea, and a light-house, nearly as high as the Monument in London, with an immense luminary on its summit; a half-moon battery of one hundred and twenty guns protects the entrance into the Mole.'

WEST INDIES.

Our intelligence from the West Indies, during the month, has been very limited, and, generally speaking, has been of little interest.

Demerara.—The slave population of the United Colony of Demerara and Essequibo, up to the 31st of May, 1823, amounted to 40,880 males, and 33,538 females, forming a total of 74,418. The number of male births, since the last

Registration, amounted to 4,482, and the total of births from the same period, to 7,146, making a decrease in the slave population of 2,664 in the three years. The Registrar informs us that the slave population, as it stood on the 19th July, 1821, when the last books of registration were closed, was 77,376, and slaves have been registered since, chiefly imported from the Bahamas, Dominica, and Berbice, which make the total names absolutely registered 78,669. By comparison of the births and deaths since last registration, a gross result is left of 76,005, so that 1584 names remain unaccounted for.

Dominica.—The advices from this Colony state, that in consequence of very serious differences between the House of Assembly and the Governor, the Earl of Huntingdon, the latter had dissolved the House, and had refused to issue writs for a new election. This having only fanned the flame of discord, and the temper of the inhabitants being decidedly against his administration, the Earl had subsequently resigned, and Major General W. Nicolay had been appointed his successor.

Bermuda.—At this Colony, also, the conduct of the Governor had become the subject of much animadversion, and the whole population of the Colony were unanimous in their opinion, that his acts were in contradiction to the laws and usages of the Island. Indeed, according to what appears to us stubborn facts, the Governor's ideas seem of the most despotic character, and by no means adapted to support the dignity of a free government. In a series of Resolutions moved in the House of Assembly, and carried unanimously, the principal accusation against him is, that from the commencement of his administration the inhabitants of the Island have been kept in constant disquietude, by the repeated instances of the invasion of individual liberty, the encroachment on the rights of public bodies, and of measures of general misrule and oppression. That he has closed the courts of justice to an application from the House of Assembly, made for the purpose of trying the validity of a legislative act, affecting the disposal of one of the most considerable funds of the country. That he has illegally joined with a bench of Magistrates, in taking cognizance of a complaint in which he himself was a party, and acted during its inquiry with a tone of intemperance derogatory to the dignity of a Governor. That he has suspended the Chief Justice of the Colony without justifiable cause. That he has suspended three members of His Majesty's Counsel from their seats unjustifiably. That he has illegally imprisoned Messrs. Till and Basham, Churchwardens of St. George, for having refused to deliver up their parochial accounts, except to the vestry of the parish, to whom they were by law accountable, and detained them in gaol sixteen days, under a warrant of his own; and that he has illegally imprisoned, without a hearing, J. Till, Esq. Mayor of St. George's, under a warrant of his own, for an alleged breach of the peace, charged on hearsay evidence, as committed in the execution of his office. The above are merely a few of the numerous and serious charges against Sir W. Lumley, and the case is about to be brought, we believe, before the British Parliament. In the case of the Messrs. Till and Basham, actions are now pending in England, at their suit against the Governor, for false imprisonment. From our other West India possessions, no intelligence of public interest has reached us during the past month.

British Subjects in Jamaica.—In the House of Commons, Friday May 21, Dr. Lushington presented petitions from two free men of colour, natives of Kingston, who stated that they were married, engaged in business, and possessed property in the island; that in Sept. last they were arrested and thrown into prison on a general charge of being aliens and dangerous persons; that their case came before the Supreme Court, which, after the production of documents proving them to be British-born subjects, declared them so, and discharged them; that in the meanwhile (to prove their respectability) bail had been offered by six freeholders, and a memorial presented in their behalf by the most eminent merchants and public functionaries; that nevertheless, on Nov. 29, last, while peaceably engaged at home, they were torn from their families by the Governor's order (Duke of Manchester), on the same charge, hurried on ship-board, kept in solitary confinement, transported next day to St. Domingo, and turned on shore destitute. Certain British merchants fortunately took compassion and saved them from a Haytian prison; and they are come to England to get redress, after demanding from the Governor a statement of their alleged offence, and receiving no answer. They protested their innocence of any act which could have subjected them to the law, and prayed for inquiry, and the means of returning home. Dr. L. said that unless the most satisfactory explanation were given, he would not rest until he had rescued the character of the British nation from the foul disgrace of having participated in an act of such odious oppression.—Ordered to be printed.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, May 26, a Special General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock was held.

LATE RAJAH OF TANJORE.

The Chairman (W. Astell, Esq.) stated, that the Court was made special for the purpose of laying before the Proprietors the draught of a bill now pending in Parliament, entitled " A Bill for enabling the Commissioners acting in execution of an agreement made between the East India Company and the private creditors of his late Highness Ameer Sing, formerly Rajah of Tanjore, deceased, the better to carry the same into effect."

The bill was then read short.

The Chairman said, the next matter which he had to introduce to the notice of the Court was a question of money, which would be explained by the resolution of the Court of Directors of the 28th of January last.

The resolution was then read. It set forth, that in the event of the proposed arrangement between the creditors of the late Rajah of Tanjore and the Company being carried into effect, Sir Benjamin Hobhouse and the other Carnatic Commissioners should be appointed Commissioners to investigate the claims of the creditors; and it granted to the said Carnatic Commissioners, so long as they should be employed in the double duty of investigating claims upon the Carnatic and claims upon Tanjore, a special allowance of 300*l.* per annum each, from the Company, in addition to the allowance of 1,500*l.* per annum at present enjoyed by them under the Carnatic deed; and fixed their allowance from the period when either commission should cease, at 1,500*l.* per annum, to continue so long as they might be employed under the remaining commission, and to be paid, should the remaining commission be the Carnatic Commission, as at present; and should it be the Tanjore Commission, from the Company's cash.

The Chairman then moved, " That the Court approve of the said resolution, subject to the confirmation of another General Court."

Mr. Crawford said, that the Carnatic deed had been signed by a great number of creditors; but the Tanjore deed of agreement, on which this bill was founded, was signed by no more than five creditors. He had no interest whatever in the matter; but, as the administrator of a deceased general officer, and actuated by a sense of public duty, he could not avoid expressing his disapprobation of the present deed. He had heard that the Tanjore deed was to proceed, pari passu, with the Carnatic deed. But he had yesterday examined the latter, and he found that those parts of the Tanjore deed which were most objectionable were those in which alterations had been made from the Carnatic deed. The honourable Proprietor then proceeded to point out the different alterations, which were, he contended, of such a nature as interposed very considerable difficulties in the way of parties who might endeavour to prove their debts. It was, in fact, a mockery of justice; and, as such, he took that opportunity to state his opinion of it.

The Chairman said, the object of the honourable proprietor seemed to be, to state his reason for not signing this deed as administrator to one of the creditors. Now the honourable Proprietor must be aware that those who did not sign the deed would not be in a worse situation after the bill was passed, than they were at present. It would be still open to him and others who objected to the deed, to adopt any other mode of arrangement they might think fit. The honourable Proprietor complained that the deed was only signed by five creditors; but that was a fair proportion, as the European creditors were no more than thirty-eight.

Mr. Lowndes expressed his surprise at the Carnatic Commission being still kept up, Sir Benjamin Hobhouse having demanded of the Directors, some years ago, through the medium of a friend in that Court, when they meant to put an end to it. One would think, from the manner in which the business was protracted, that the commissioners were running a race with the Court of Chancery in slowness. (A laugh.) He objected to giving commissioners such very large salaries. It was the sure way of causing business to be delayed.

Mr. Rigby said the difference between the situation of the Carnatic and Tanjore creditors probably rendered necessary the alterations in the deed of which the hon. Proprietor complained. With respect to the addition which was about to be made to the salary of the commissioners, he wished to know whether their labours were as great in settling the debts of the Nabob of the Carnatic as they formerly were? If

such was the fact, it certainly was proper, when an additional burden was imposed on them, that they should receive additional remuneration.

Mr. TRANT defended the manner in which the agreement deed was drawn up. With respect to the salary of the Carnatic Commissioners, it had been fixed by Act of Parliament, and they could not be called on to perform an additional duty for nothing.

In answer to the question from Mr. LOWNDES,

The CHAIRMAN said the European creditors were thirty-eight; the native creditors, fifty-four. The principal demand on the Revenue of Tanjore amounted to 370,000*l*. The gross sum which might be awarded, including all demands, was about 1,000,000*l*. The Carnatic Commissioners had been employed most beneficially for the public. The claims made by the creditors of the Nabob amounted to 29,000,000*l*., of which the Commissioners had rejected 27,000,000*l*. (Hear) The commission had, from peculiar circumstances, lasted for eighteen or nineteen years; but by a summary process which had been adopted by Parliament, that commission would terminate in a short time.

The resolution was then agreed to.

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that in conformity with the resolution of that Court of the 3d of March last, calling for the production of certain papers illustrative of the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, the Court of Directors had selected and arranged all the documents which appeared to them to be necessary to elucidate the subject. Those documents had been sent to the printer's. A list of them was now placed in the reading-room for the use of the Proprietors; and if, on looking over that list, the mover or seconder of the original proposition, or any of the friends of the noble Marquess, perceived any omission, or that any paper was produced which was unnecessary, and would state the fact, the Court of Directors would give due weight to the suggestion, and announce at the next General Court the decision they had come to. The list was rather voluminous, as the papers referred to a period of nine or ten years. They were classed under the following heads:—1. The Nepaul and Pindarree war. 2. The Mahratta war. 3. The transactions between the house of Palmer and Co., and the Nizam of Hyderabad; and 4. Respecting the Finance of India. To these were added, the proceedings of the Directors of the 3d of July and 4th of October last, relative to a proposition for granting a pension to the Marquess of Hastings. Some papers relative to the Nepaul and Mahratta wars had been laid before the Proprietors, when thanks were voted to the Marquess of Hastings in 1819, but these were considerably enlarged by the addition of papers which had since reached the Directors. With respect to the proceedings between the Nizam of Hyderabad and the house of Palmer and Co., all the documents would be forthcoming. That matter the Directors considered as now closed, the Government of India having transmitted the papers respecting it to this country. No delay had taken place in arranging the papers, which, as he before observed, were very voluminous, amounting to no less than 2000 pages. It would therefore require a good deal of attention on the part of the Proprietors to make themselves masters of the subject. At present, he could not say when they would be laid before the Court.

OBTAINING A COMMISSION CORRUPTLY.

The CHAIRMAN said, a trial had lately taken place in the Court of King's Bench, in which two persons of the names of Taggart and Bascombe were prosecuted for taking the sum of 100*l*. from an individual named Bennett, on condition that they would procure him a commission in the Company's forces. The commission was procured, and Bennett was now an ensign on the Bengal establishment. On the facts being examined, Taggart was acquitted, and Bascombe found guilty. The appointment, it appeared, was conferred through the nomination of an hon. Director, on whose conduct, however, no imputation could be cast. He was, notwithstanding, most anxious that the matter should be investigated by the Proprietors. In consequence of his wish, the trial would be laid before them, and a motion would be made on the subject at the next General Court.

The resolution of the Court of Directors of the 25th of May, relative to the transaction, was then read. The chief point it contained was a declaration, that, as Mr. Bennett, to whom the commission had been given, was ignorant of the manner in which it had been obtained, the order which subjected persons procuring situations improperly to removal and prosecution, should be suspended in his favour, he not being a fit subject for penalties.—Adjourned.

HOME INTELLIGENCE.

Sir Robert Farquhar.—We hear that this gentleman has been declared by the Attorney General to be eligible by law to a seat in the Direction, and by Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet to be ineligible. This is one of the advantages of a system of law in which the sense is perpetually obscured by the multiplicity of words. The authority of the last legal gentleman is, however, in higher esteem with the East India Proprietors than that of the Crown Officer; and it is therefore probable, we should think, that Sir Robert will not persevere, till he has resided the prescribed term of two years in England,—or that if he perseveres before this, he will risk a failure.

Mr. Charles Buller.—To the list of Candidates for the Direction, already including nine or ten individuals, we hear that Mr. Charles Buller, lately one of the Board of Commissioners for the Interior, on the Bengal Civil Service, will be added: and it is believed that the legitimate influence of his fascinating and accomplished lady will produce a powerful rivalry in that personal solicitation for votes, which has often before been engaged in by some of the fairest and most exalted women in England, and to which few of the other candidates can perhaps oppose an equally powerful charm.

Mr. James Stuart.—This gentleman, late a Member of Council in Bengal, has been returned a Member of Parliament for the Borough of Huntingdon, on the ground of his being well acquainted with India, and connected with the house of Hinchinbrook. We doubt, however, whether Mr. Stuart's knowledge of India was the real cause of his return for the Borough named: the family connexion was, no doubt, the strongest recommendation. It remains to be seen whether he will give the Parliament of the Country the benefit of his Indian information—we sincerely hope he may.

Debate in the Commons.—On the 25th of May, when the debate on the Indian Press, and Petition presented to the Commons, took place, the House was extremely full, as much so as it has been observed on any question discussed in the present session. The attendance of strangers was also very numerous. Nearly the whole of the East India Directors were present, either in the body of the House, or on the cross benches under the gallery. The ladies of some of these, and of other gentlemen connected with India, were in the apartment above, where only they are permitted to be. Some of the candidates for the Direction as well as Officers of the Company's service, were also present; and great interest was evidently felt by all in the issue of the debate. The absence of all denial or argument on the part of the Board of Control, of Ministers, and of the Directors, left the facts and opinions of the petition entirely unanswered; and the impression created by the statements it disclosed was evinced in every part of the House, by the alternate expressions of surprise and indignation, which these called forth.

Oriental Club.—This new Institution proceeds rapidly towards completion. There are already, we hear, more than 500 members entered, and the number to be admitted is said to be extended to 800.—Their regular meetings will therefore soon commence. If care be taken in guarding against the admission of objectionable members, we see no good reason why there should be any limitation in point of numbers. More of this hereafter.

Exchange of Territory in India.—By advices from the Hague, May 17, we have received a copy of the Treaty concluded between the Dutch and British Governments relative to the exchange of territory in the Indian Seas to which we before alluded. This Treaty is as follows:—

In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity, his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, desiring to place their respective possessions, and the commerce of their subjects in the East Indies, on a footing reciprocally advantageous to both parties, so that the welfare and prosperity of both nations may be henceforth at all times promoted without the differences and rivalry which at former periods have disturbed the good understanding which ought to subsist between them; and being willing, as far as possible, to prevent all grounds of misunderstanding between their respective agents, and at the same time to regulate certain differences which have occurred in the execution of the convention concluded in London on the 13th August, 1814, as far as it relates to the possessions of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands in the East Indies, have

appointed for their Plenipotentiaries, namely, his Majesty the King of the Netherlands—Baron Hendrick Fagel, Member of the Equestrian Order of the Province of Holland, &c. &c., at present his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of London; and M. Anton Reinbard Falck, Minister of Public Instruction, &c. &c. And his Majesty the King of Great Britain—George Canning, Esq. Member of his Majesty's Privy Council, and of the Parliament, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and Charles Watkins Williams Wynn, Esq. Member of his Majesty's Privy Council, &c. &c. Who, after exchanging their full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed on the following articles:—

Art. 1. The high contracting parties engage to place the trade of the subjects of each other, in their respective possessions in the Indian Archipelago, and on the Continent of India and Ceylon, on the same footing as the most favoured nations; it being understood that the subjects of both parties shall conform to the local regulation of each settlement.

Art. 2. The subjects and ships of one nation shall pay no duties of importation and exportation to and from the ports of the other in the Eastern Seas, higher than double the amount of those imposed on the subjects and ships of the nation to whom the Port belongs.

The duties on importation and exportation on Netherland Ships in a British Port of the Continent of India, or in Ceylon, being paid, shall be settled in such a manner, that in no case more shall be charged for them than double the duties paid by British subjects and for British bottoms.

With respect to articles on which no duty is laid when they are imported and exported by the subjects or in the vessels of the nation to which the Port belongs, the duties to be imposed on the subjects of the other shall in no case exceed six per cent.

Art. 3. The high contracting parties engage that no treaty shall henceforward be concluded by either of them with any State in the Eastern Seas, tending either directly, or by the imposition of unequal duties, to exclude the commerce of the other party from the Ports of such native State; and that in case, in any of the treaties now subsisting on either side, such an article should have been adopted with this view, such article shall be null and void from the conclusion of the present step. It is further understood that in the conclusion of the present treaty communication has been made by each of the contracting powers, of all treaties and conventions respectively subsisting between them and any native Governments in the Eastern Seas, and that similar communication shall be made of all such conventions which may be respectively concluded by them in future.

Art. 4. Their Majesties, the Kings of the Netherlands and of Great Britain, engage to give strict orders, as well to their civil and military authorities, as to their ships, to respect the freedom of trade fixed by Articles 1, 2, and 3, and in no case to impede the intercourse of the nations of the Eastern Archipelago with the ports of the two Governments respectively, nor that of their respective subjects with the ports belonging to native Governments.

Art. 5. Their Majesties engage in like manner, effectually to contribute to the suppression of piracy in those seas. They will afford no asylum or protection to vessels employed in piracy, nor in any case allow vessels or goods taken by such piratical vessels, to be introduced, preserved, or sold in any of their possessions.

Art. 6. It is agreed that orders shall be given by both Governments to their officers and agents in the East Indies, not to establish any new factory on any of the Eastern Islands, without the previous permission of their respective Governments in Europe.

Art. 7. From the stipulations in Articles 1, 2, 3, and 4, the Malacca Islands, and especially Amboyna, Banda, and Ternate, with their immediate dependencies, are excepted, till such time as the Government of the Netherlands shall think fit to desist from the monopoly of the spice trade; but if before such a renunciation of the monopoly, that Government should think fit to allow the subjects of any Power, not a native Asiatic State, to have any commercial intercourse with the said Islands, the subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall be admitted to have such an intercourse on the same footing.

Art. 8. His Majesty the King of the Netherlands cedes to his Majesty the King of Great Britain all his settlements on the Continent of India, and renounces all rights and privileges which have been enjoyed or claimed on account of these settlements.

Art. 9. The factory of Fort Marlborough, and all the possessions of Great Britain in the Island of Sumatra, are hereby ceded to his Majesty the King of the Netherlands; and the King of Great Britain engages that no British factory shall be established in that island, nor any treaty concluded under the British authority with any of the native Princes, Chiefs, or States, in the said island.

Art. 10. The town and fortress of Malacca are hereby ceded to his Majesty the King of Great Britain; and his Majesty the King of the Netherlands engages, for himself and his subjects, never to establish a factory in any part of the Peninsula of Malacca, or to conclude treaties with any of the native Princes or States in that Peninsula.

Art. 11. His Majesty the King of Great Britain desists from all representations against the occupation of the island of Billiton and its dependencies by the agents of the Netherlands Government.

Art. 12. His Majesty the King of the Netherlands desists from all remonstrances against the occupation of the Island of Singapore by the agents of His Britannic Majesty. On the other hand his Britannic Majesty engages that no British factory shall be established in the Carimon Islands, in the Islands of Battam, Bintag, Lingin, or any of the other islands lying to the south of the Strait of Singapore; and that no treaties with their Chiefs shall be concluded under British authority.

Art. 13. All colonies, possessions, and establishments ceded by the preceding articles, shall be delivered up to the officers of the respective Governments on the 1st of March, 1825. The fortresses shall remain in the condition in which they may be when this present treaty shall be made known in India; but no demand shall be made on either side on account of either artillery or necessaries of any kind left behind or taken away by the ceding Power, or arrears of revenue, or taxes of any description whatsoever.

Art. 14. All the inhabitants of the countries hereby ceded shall have the liberty, for the space of six years' delay from the ratification of the present treaty, to dispose of their property at their pleasure, and to remove to whatever place they may think fit.

Art. 15. The high contracting parties agree that none of the countries and establishments mentioned in Arts. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, shall be given up to any other power. In case any one of these possessions should be abandoned by one of the parties now contracting, its rights shall immediately devolve to the other party.

Art. 16. It is agreed that all accounts or demands which have arisen from the restoration of Java and other establishments, to officers of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, in the East Indies, as well as those which made the subject of a convention concluded in Java, on the 24th of June, 1817, between the Commissioners of both nations, as all others, of what description soever, shall be finally and fully liquidated by the payment, on the part of the Netherlands, of the sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be made in London before the end of the year 1825.

Art. 17. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London, three months after the date of these presents, or sooner, if possible.

Done at London, the 17th of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four.

(Signed) H. Fagel, (L. S.)
A. R. Falck, (L. S.)

Palembang Prize Money.—In the House of Commons, on the 18th May, Mr. Hume presented a petition from certain persons interested in the prize money due from the capture of Palembang, in the East Indies, complaining of delay in the payment of the said prize money. The place was taken by the combined land and sea forces in 1812. But the applicants had ever since been referred from one office to another—from the Treasury to the India House—and from the India House to the Treasury, without having been able to obtain satisfaction for their claims. It was highly disgraceful to the Public Departments that such matters should be left so long unarranged. It was only three years ago, that the army of Egypt had been paid their prize money for what they had done in 1800; and there were many other instances of similar delay. The present was a case of between twelve and thirteen years standing. He (Mr. Hume) knew that such questions were better settled by private application respecting it, and had fully expected that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have stated in the House in the present session that it would be paid. Having been disappointed in that expectation, he now begged leave to present the petition to the House.

On the motion that it should lie on the table,

Lord Stanley hoped some satisfactory answer would be given on the subject. He had been circumstanced similarly to the honourable Member for Aberdeen, having made a similar application respecting some prize money due in consequence of the war in the Deccan, but without effect.

Mr. Herries observed that the petition mis-stated the nature of the case. It was not at all intended to delay the payment of the prize money in question, but there was some doubt and litigation respecting its amount. There were many points which it was necessary to investigate.

Mr. Hume was persuaded, that if the right honourable gentleman would state, not generally but pointedly, the nature of the information required, the petitioners, as they were bound to do, would immediately furnish it.

Mr. Herries replied, that the information required, had been specifically stated in the official answer to the petitioners' memorial.

After a few words from Lord STANLEY, the petition was ordered to be printed.

The Duke of Wellington and another Member of Government have since been formed into a Commission by the Treasury, to examine into this much-disputed question between the Government and the East India Company, which was the subject of the foregoing debate. The question is, which party ought to pay the prize money.

Mauritius Sugar.—On the bringing up of the Customs and Excise Acts in the House of Commons, on the 17th of May, previous to the reading of the resolution on the Mauritius Sugar Duties.

Mr. HUSKISSON rose to explain the principle on which the change of the duties proceeded. At present, Sugar imported from the Mauritius paid the same duties as the sugar from the East India Continent. Now there was every reason why the sugar coming from the Mauritius should be subject to the same duties as the sugar imported from our West India Colonies. The Mauritius was cultivated in the same manner by Slaves, and there was besides the greater distance from which the sugar raised there had to be brought to market, and the expense consequent thereon. What, however, was the more positive argument in this case, was the question of good faith on the Cession of Mauritius to England, it was stipulated that the Island should be placed on the footing of the most favoured of his Majesty's Colonies [hear!]. The only reason for delaying the fulfilment of this pledge was the doubt that existed whether Slaves were not clandestinely imported into the Island; but as there was now no reason to apprehend that there was any introduction of Slaves, the country was called on to perform the stipulation. The resolution was agreed to.

Lieut. Colonel Farquhar.—By late accounts from Vienna, we learn that his Imperial Majesty has been pleased to grant various marks of favour to several persons belonging to the Austrian frigate, the Caroline, which, on its return from Canton and China, stopped in Java, where the cholera morbus broke out among the crew; these persons had distinguished themselves by their unremitting care and attention to the sick. His Majesty has also given to Lieutenant Colonel Farquhar, Governor of the British settlement of Singapore, the cross of the Austrian Order of Leopold, and to Mr. Montgomery, Physician to the Garrison of that place, a diamond ring, with his Majesty's cipher, as an acknowledgment of the services they rendered the Caroline, when she put into Singapore, with the cholera morbus on board.

New South Wales.—In the House of Commons, on the 6th May, Mr. J. SMITH presented a petition from the Australian Company, which was founded for the purpose of cultivating lands in New South Wales, praying that they might be incorporated.

General GASCOYNE said that this Society came within the rule which had been applied to all the others.

Mr. HUSKISSON said it appeared to him that there was great difference between a petition and a subsequent proceeding founded upon it. This was not a trading company, but was founded for the most benevolent purposes—that of cultivating and improving the Colony of New South Wales. However the question was, should not their incorporation proceed from the Crown.

Sir ISAAC COFFIN said that the King in Council had the exclusive right of incorporation.

The petition was ordered to be referred to a Committee.

Sierra Leone.—In consequence of the disastrous accounts which have been received of the defeat of our troops under Sir C. M'Carthy, orders have been issued from the Horse Guards for the officers and men of the Royal African Corps, now in England, to hold themselves in readiness to embark for the Gold Coast. The following officers of that corps, with about 100 men, will embark on board the Thetis, which ship is arrived at Spithead:—Lieut. Colonel Grant, Captains Drewe, Dawson, and Campbell; Lieutenants Clement, and Cartwright; Ensigns Godwin, White, Foss, O'Halloran, Lizar, Uniacke, and Ring. Seven officers of the 2d West India Regiment will also embark on board the Thetis for the same destination, viz. Majors Jolly and Nicholls, Captain Winter, Ensign Kittlewell, Dickenson, Sutherland, and Macpherson.

Government has also issued orders for immediately forwarding 130 tons of provisions and 40 tons of ordnance stores.

Greece.—It is already known that the change which has taken place in the executive body in Greece, has been very beneficial to the interests of that country. They are indefatigable in every thing that may lead to a triumphant conclusion of their honourable struggle, and have directed much of

their attention to the loan recently contracted in England. They have transmitted to Messrs. ORLANDO and LURIOTTIS, deputies of the Provincial Government of Greece, a confirmation, and extension of the powers already vested in them; so that their transactions with Messrs. Loughnan, Son, and O'Brien, cannot be affected by the change above mentioned.

West Indies.—In the House of Commons on the 10th instant, Mr. Manning moved the second reading of the West India Company Bill. Mr. HUSKISSON rose to set the hon. mover right in one point. There might be strong reasons for incorporating this proposed Company; but as it was one of those cases to which the rule he had recently stated of the necessity of obtaining the consent of the Crown to the charter of incorporation was applicable, without at all prejudging the question as to the merits of the case, he must express his dissent to any further proceeding with the Bill. Messrs. Ellice and P. Grenfell supported the Bill, which was opposed by Mr. Sykes, on many grounds, he considering it a most injudicious and injurious plan,—a plan by which the Company, if the Bill passed in its present form, could not be compelled to pay their debts; at least, they would be accountable to the amount of joint stock proposed to be subscribed, but not individually. Those who dealt with them would imagine that they were liable, but they would find the contrary. Besides, such a Company would possess an overwhelming influence over the general trade. What private individual, however extensive his business, could pretend to compete with such a Company? But he would take it in another point of view. This sum of 4,000,000*l.* was to be raised in shares of 100*l.* each: thus there would be 40,000 additional supporters of the slave trade distributed over the country. (Hear, hear!) Now, when they knew the struggles that were daily making to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in our Colonies, he begged the House to pause before they gave to an additional portion of the population grounds to wish the continuance of the present system. Then what, he would ask, was the necessity for such a measure? If the owner of property in the Colonies possessed proper securities, what was to prevent him from borrowing now? God knows, there was no want of capital in the market at present, it was flowing abundantly upon every side. This was of itself sufficient to open their eyes as to the real intentions with which this Company was framed. He feared their object was not to lend money for the advantage of the planter, (because the market was at this moment open to him,) but with a view to enlist a large proportion of the community in support of the present Colonial system. Mr. T. Wilson strongly supported the Bill, which was opposed at some length by Messrs. W. Williams and Whitmore. Messrs. W. Smith, Huskisson, F. Buxton, Horton, Evans, also opposed the measure at considerable length, but the second reading was ultimately carried by a majority of 102 to 30.

Sugars.—On May 12, Mr. Whitmore rose, in pursuance of his notice, to call the attention of the house to the drawbacks or bounties on sugar. He intended to move for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into those bounties. It was necessary for him to remind them, that there was in existence a complete monopoly as respected the sugar produced in the West Indian colonies. He must also call to their recollection, that the produce of those colonies had been, for some years, greater than the consumption of this country, but this surplus was constantly diminishing. The bounties allowed were 30*s.* upon sugars of the value of 47*s.* per cwt. and upwards, and 27*s.* upon all of a lower value. He described the effect of the bounties to be to advance the price of sugar at home, and diminish it to the consumers abroad. He desired that they should grant them a committee to inquire into the merits of the case. He calculated, taking the quantities of sugar consumed in England in 1823 (3,130,000 cwt.) into consideration, and all other circumsances, that the total charge thrown on the country by these bounties had amounted in that year to 1,107,000*l.* When other bounties were given up, he had yet to learn what was the justice or the policy of keeping up these, at least in the shape of bounties. But when it was stated, and apparently correctly stated, that the West India interest was depressed, he had no objection to a like sum continuing to be advanced by the country, in connexion with West Indian affairs, if directed to a proper object. He thought it right, while on this subject, to inquire whether the distress complained of was permanent or temporary in its character, and whether it would be likely to pass away if things were left to themselves—whether palliatives were proper to meet the evil, or whether the whole question ought to be considered. He was afraid the evil

might be regarded as permanent in its character, and in support of this opinion he referred to Bryan Edwards, to reports of the colonial assemblies at different periods, and to other authorities. He showed that the planters had generally been represented as being in embarrassed circumstances, that many estates had been thrown up, and that property amounting to no less than 22,563,766*l.* had been lodged in the Provost's office in the course of twenty years. Every thing proved that the distress was the rule, and prosperity the exception; such being the case in any other part of the globe would cause the place in which it was witnessed to be depopulated. This would have happened to the West Indies but for the supplies of capital furnished from time to time by this country. It was desirable to look at the cause which made distress the rule, and prosperity the exception. These were collaterally the absence of the proprietors, the mortgages on estates, the consignments made to mortgagees, and the system of placing the management of West India estates in the hands of overseers; but that which he viewed as more than all the rest the cause of the evil was the present system of slave la- in the West Indies. He proceeded to argue that it was proved by experience that slave labour was of all descriptions of labour the most costly. Before going into this subject, he would show that compulsory labour in this country was the least productive. In proof of this, he appealed to gentlemen connected with agriculture, as to the comparison to be made between the quantity of work done by the job and by the day, and also between the quantity performed in a given time by men labouring for themselves and by others employed by the parish overseers. Another instance which had been alluded to in that house before, was, in his mind, conclusive. The hon. Josiah Steel, a West India proprietor, finding his affairs embarrassed, went over to Barbadoes to superintend his estates himself. His estates consisted of 1,050 acres, on which there were 288 slaves. The deaths in the preceding year had been fifty-seven, the births but fifteen. He changed the system of management; had the negroes who offended tried by negroes, and in various respects improved their condition. The result was most gratifying in all respects. It was found within a given period that the births were forty-one, and the deaths but forty-one, of which ten were superannuated, and the annual produce of the estate was more than trebled. That free labour was more beneficial than slavery he proceeded to show from reference to the flourishing state of Sierra Leone. There the progress of commerce and of civilization was such as had scarcely been paralleled in any part of the world, and at the same time internal works were going on, churches and public buildings were rapidly rising, and a profitable trade was carried on in the interior of Africa. The natives came down even from the Niger, bringing in gold and ebony, and other productions, to exchange for the manufactures of Europe. What he could wish for with respect to the bounties to which he had called the attention of the House was, that the sums now expended on them should be applied to the emancipation of slaves. He could recommend that the slaves should have one day granted to them in each week, to labour for themselves, in order to raise a fund for their emancipation. The honourable gentleman concluded by moving—"For the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the operation of the bounties paid on the exportation of sugar."

Mr. Huskisson said, that so large a portion of the able dissertation of his honourable friend who had just sat down had been addressed to the question of Slavery, and so small a portion of it to the very narrow question of which he had given notice (Hear, hear!) namely, the Drawbacks on the Exportation of Sugar, that he thought the House would agree with him, it would have been much more properly addressed to the House, when the great question was under their consideration. His Honourable Friend had stated at large his abstract views, founded upon moral considerations, as to the relative value of compulsory labour and free labour. In the general principle it was impossible not to agree; but for the reasons he had stated, and in which the House seemed to concur, he must repeat that this is not the proper time nor the proper mode for such discussions.

Mr. Whitmore replied, when the question was put and negatived without a division.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S PETITION AGAINST THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, the humble Petition of James Silk Buckingham

SHOWETH,

1. THAT your Petitioner left England in the year 1813, for the Mediterranean, and that after remaining a short period at several of the ports in that sea, he went from Egypt to India, in the prosecution of commercial views between those countries.

2. That your Petitioner, finding employment of a beneficial nature in Bombay, continued there for some time, peaceably following his pursuits, when he was forcibly sent away from that Island by order of the then existing Governor, the late Sir Evan Nepean, Baronet, on the plea of his not having the License of the East India Company to visit their territories.

3. That no other cause was ever assigned for this banishment; and that your Petitioner was so free from any imputation, or even suspicion, of crime or fault, that the Governor himself acknowledged in writing, under his own hand, in a letter subsequently forwarded to the East India Company, the honourable and useful nature of the occupations in which your Petitioner was engaged; and expressed his decided opinion that they were especially favourable to the interests of that settlement.

4. That your Petitioner being thus driven, without even alleged blame, from his acknowledged laudable pursuits in India, was compelled to return to Egypt, from whence he came, at the sacrifice of his well-founded prospects, and at a considerable expense, as well as great loss of time.

5. That being desirous, however, of again returning to India, your Petitioner took the necessary steps for procuring the License of the East India Company, which was obtained for him in England, and sent out to Bombay, where your Petitioner went again in 1816; and, under the countenance and protection of the Government there, continued to be engaged in commerce and navigation from that port until the year 1818.

6. That your Petitioner, in the course of these his commercial voyages, went from Bombay to Bengal, where he at length resigned the situation he then held, as Commander of a ship in the Indian Seas: the vessel then under his charge being ordered to proceed on a Slave expedition to the coast of Africa, in which he would not engage, as he held it to be equally repugnant to law and to humanity.

7. That your Petitioner, finding himself in Calcutta, without immediate employment, and being deemed by many English merchants residing there to be competent to the task, undertook the establishment of a Newspaper, to be printed in the English language, and published in that city; which paper, under the title of "The Calcutta Journal," he continued to conduct from the 1st of October 1818 to the 15th of February 1823, so much to the satisfaction of the civil and military officers of the Indian Government, except the few who denounced all public discussion of affairs in which they themselves were actors, and so much to the approbation of the British community of India at large, that it was patronized and supported by all classes of English readers.

8. That in addition to the reputation thus honourably enjoyed by your Petitioner, the value of his property was greatly augmented; his Journal, from the extensive and steady circulation it commanded throughout the first circles in that country, yielding him a clear profit of 8,000*l.* and upwards per annum, having had since its first purchase, an expenditure on the augmentation of its stock and materials of more than 20,000*l.* sterling, and being worth, in January 1823, at a fair and just estimate, the sum of 40,000*l.* sterling, at which rate, shares equal to one fourth of the whole were actually sold, to persons residing in Calcutta, and well acquainted with the character and value of the publication.

9. That throughout the interval included between the periods named, 1818 and 1823, your Petitioner also received the countenance of the Supreme Government of Bengal, who repeatedly acknowledged the lawfulness of his residence in that country, though holding only the license of a Free Mariner, under which many of the first merchants continue to reside in India, as well as the lawfulness of his pursuits, in conducting a Public Journal under the powers of such license; and even entered into a contract with him, in his capacity of Editor and Publisher, for the payment on his part of about 4,000*l.* sterling per annum, to defray the postage of his Journal, especially, throughout all the territories subject to British rule; no other Newspaper in India being able to offer such terms, or to yield one fourth of the same amount of revenue to the Post-office in that country.

10. That, during the whole of this period, no censorship on the press existed in Bengal, this restraint having been abolished by the Marquis of Hastings, as odious and illegal, before your Petitioner's arrival in

the country, when other restrictions were substituted by him in its stead.

11. That soon after this, his Lordship made a public declaration of his having removed all restrictions from the press in India, on the occasion of his accepting an Address from the British inhabitants of Madras, which contained the highest praise of his Lordship's policy on that account: and that in his reply thereto he not only admitted the fact, but gave in detail his reasons for granting this freedom of discussion; adding his firm conviction that the Liberty of the Press must always be a blessing under a good government, and allowing its applicability to the existing state of India, as having nothing to fear from its exercise.

12. That accordingly, the Indian press was generally considered in that country to be subject only to the due restraint of the laws of England, and the Trial by Jury; which opinion was strengthened and confirmed by the fact of the Indian Government instituting proceedings at law against the publishers of supposed libellous writings, thus giving them the full benefit of that protection which a legal trial ensures.

13. That your Petitioner, throughout the whole course of his labours as Editor of the Calcutta Journal, though prosecuted by information and indictment, was never once convicted of publishing any libellous matter against the Government or against private individuals; nor of disseminating or entertaining sentiments hostile to the safety and welfare of the country; and that up to the period of the Marquess of Hastings leaving India, he had not been deemed by that nobleman to have forfeited his claim to the protection of the Indian Government; as his Lordship left your Petitioner in the full possession of his property, and unmolested in his pursuits, when he resigned the office of Governor General in the beginning of the year 1823.

14. That the Marquess of Hastings was temporarily succeeded in his government by the Hon. John Adam, then Senior Member of Council in Bengal, until a new Governor General should arrive from England; and that one of the first acts of Mr. Adam's temporary administration was the revival, without any new cause, of a Criminal Information, which had been filed against your Petitioner a year before, but which was considered so unwarrantable by the Judge then sitting on the bench, Sir Francis Macnaghten, Knt., that on its being first moved, he declared the whole proceeding to be cruel, oppressive, and illegal; and on its being revived, refused to try it.

15. That besides this proceeding pending over the head of your Petitioner, he was also a suitor in the Supreme Court of Justice in India as plaintiff in a civil action for damages against certain persons who had published libels on his character, and who have been subsequently found guilty, and condemned to pay the damages awarded by the Court.

16. That at this period, when his continued stay in India was of such importance to the management of his affairs,—when he stood before a Court of Law as Plaintiff in one action, and as Defendant in another,—after Mr. Adam, the acting Governor General, had himself had recourse to that Court as the proper tribunal for all legal offences,—your Petitioner was most cruelly and unjustly shut out from all hope of that protection which is considered the birth-right of every Englishman—the Trial by Jury; being summarily punished without conviction, and before either of these trials were at an end, by a decree of the Governor General annulling his License to remain in India, and ordering him to quit the country within the short space of two months from the date of the order, on pain of being seized, if found therein after that period, and sent as a prisoner on board the first ship that might be ready to convey him to England.

17. That the only cause alleged for this banishment of your Petitioner from the country, was his having published in his Journal some remarks on the nature of an official appointment, by which the Reverend Doctor Bryce, the head of the Presbyterian church in India, had been constituted clerk of a committee for supplying all the Government offices in Bengal with stationery, at the same time that he had more than enough to engage all his attention, in several other pursuits, besides the duties of his holy calling; such an employment being contrary to the usages of the Scotch ministry, which forbid its members to engage in secular and subordinate affairs; contrary to the regulations of the East India Company, which enjoin that such offices should be filled by their covenanted servants only; and contrary to the interests of the public, as its labours could not be adequately performed without a neglect of other and higher duties.

18. That your Petitioner, so far from deserving punishment for this act, ought rather, as he humbly conceives, to have been encouraged; as subsequent events have shown that his objections to the union of these conflicting duties were founded in justice and in truth; the East India Company, on hearing of the appointment in question, having sent out orders to annul it, and to remove the Reverend Doctor Bryce from his office as clerk to the committee of stationery; and the matter having been more recently brought before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in which the Reverend Doctor's conduct in accepting such an office has been severely censured; it being admitted that such duties were unsuited to his holy calling, and that he had been compelled on this account to re-

linquish them by an order from the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

19. That in consequence of the sudden and arbitrary transportation, from his friends, his connexions, and his lawful pursuits in India, to which, without trial, your Petitioner was condemned for this expression of an honest opinion, since proved to be well-founded and correct, he has been most undeservedly subjected to the utter destruction of all his well-founded hopes of honestly-acquired affluence, and cut off from a property which, under his superintendence, yielded him a profit of 8,000*l.* sterling, and upwards, per annum, just before the period of his banishment: but which, by his removal from the country, and the unavoidable delegation of the management of his affairs to other hands, has since fallen into ruin and disorder, and may be totally annihilated before he can return to India to retrieve it.

20. That had your Petitioner been subjected to this heavy punishment after a trial and conviction of some offence deserving such a visitation, he could only have lamented the evil, and would not have presumed to complain; but that this ruinous and altogether unmerited punishment has been inflicted on him, without his being even accused of any breach of the laws of his country, without having violated any Rule or Regulation of the East India Company, without having committed any act which the Legislature of England has pronounced to be unlawful, or to which a British Court of Justice would award the slightest penalty whatever.

21. That on your Petitioner's arrival in England, he addressed a letter, dated on the 3d of September last, to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, reciting the injury done to him by their temporary Governor General in Bengal, and applying to them for a license to return to the superintendence and management of his affairs in that country, which, by a letter in reply, bearing date the 17th of the same month, they refused to grant.

22. That your Petitioner then addressed the President and Members of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India, in a letter dated on the 20th of September last, enclosing his correspondence with the East India Company, and praying that the said Board would exercise the power vested in them by Act of Parliament, to grant a license of residence in Bengal, which the East India Company had refused; but that this request, for reasons not declared, and to your Petitioner still unknown, was, by their official reply, dated on the 27th of the same month, also rejected.

23. That your Petitioner then instituted proceedings at law against Mr. John Adam, late Governor General, pro tempore, in India; having, before he left that country, given certain bonds required by the Court to be executed before he could obtain the necessary documents and evidence for proceeding; but that in consequence of the death of your Petitioner's solicitor in India, the inaction of his counsel, and the terror spread through all ranks by the late proceedings of the Indian Government causing every man to dread even the appearance of opposition to their wishes, as well as the prolonged stay of the said late temporary Governor General, Mr. Adam, in India, your Petitioner has been unable to proceed a single step in this affair beyond the retaining counsel, and incurring certain expenses attendant on the preliminary proceedings: and that being now without hope of legal redress, he has been compelled to abandon all attempts to obtain it through the ordinary channels.

24. That when your Petitioner was thus driven from Calcutta, he placed the property of his Journal under the charge of an Indo-British Editor, who, being born in the country, of an English father, and Indian mother, could not be banished without trial, as it is assumed by those in power there, that every person of purely English birth may be.

25. That shortly after this, however, and as your Petitioner sincerely believes, with a view to destroy entirely all freedom of inquiry into public affairs in India, the said late temporary Governor General, Mr. Adam, caused a Regulation to be drawn up, subjecting the Indian Press, whether in the hands of British or Native Editors, to a License, to be granted or withheld at the pleasure of the Governor, for the time being; and even when granted, rendering it liable to be withdrawn whenever he should think fit: thus annihilating at once that freedom of discussion which the people of India had then for several years enjoyed, without a single public evil resulting from its exercise, as your Honourable House upon inquiry will duly find: and removing the only means of expressing the wishes and sentiments of the community throughout an empire, our strongest hold on which has always been considered to be that "Public Opinion" which, as your Honourable House will not fail to perceive, this act thus trampled on and destroyed.

26. That remonstrances against the passing this Regulation were presented to the Supreme Court of Justice in Bengal, on behalf of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, as well as of the Natives; but without effect: as it was declared by Sir Francis Macnaghten, the acting Chief Justice, who on that occasion sat alone on the bench—the two other Judges being at that period absent from Bengal, and he, the said Sir F. Macnaghten, forming in himself the whole of the Judicial power of the Court—that a Regulation which placed every press in India at the mercy of its Government, to tolerate or destroy, as

they might think best, was *not* repugnant to the laws of England.

27. That after this extraordinary decision, which thus gave encouragement to further acts of unlawful restraint on the freedom of publication, another Regulation was passed, not only to prohibit the issue of any writings which the Indian Government might wish to suppress, but empowering the acting Governor General, during his temporary administration, and those who might succeed him, to prevent British subjects, as well as the Natives of India, from selling, circulating, delivering out, lending for perusal, or distributing in any manner any printed book or paper of any description which the Governor, for the time being, might think fit to denounce (whether printed in Calcutta or elsewhere) on pain of a heavy fine in default of payment, an imprisonment in the common jail of the country.

28. That this severe and summary punishment is not intended to be reserved for convicted libellers, but is to be awarded against men innocent of any legal crime, on a proof of the mere fact of lending or distributing any book which the Governor General, for the time being, may dislike, made before a Magistrate, holding his place at the pleasure of the offended party, and paid by the Government itself: and all this without any form of trial, or other legal protection for the unhappy individuals who may be selected as the victims of this extraordinary power.

29. That your Petitioner humbly conceives it to be impossible that such a law as this should receive the sanction of the Legislature in England; though in the mean time he laments to say that the British and Native inhabitants of India are now subject to its operation, and must unfortunately remain so, unless and until some adequate remedy is applied by the wisdom of your Honourable House.

30. That your Petitioner will not enumerate all the abuses of power which have taken place in India since the passing of this law, and under favour of its protection; but that there are some of them which are so injurious to his own interests, and so fatal to the well-being of the inhabitants of India generally, that he hopes for the indulgence of your Honourable House while he details them.

31. That in consequence of the dread and apprehension created among all ranks of society by the determination of the Indian Government to oppose all inquiry into public affairs, and the repeated instances of favour being extended to men who were avowed enemies of free discussion, and of displeasure shown to those who were friendly to the enjoyment of this privilege, the value of the Calcutta Journal progressively decreased; many of its former contributors declining to run the hazard of bringing ruin on its conductor, and many of its subscribers being deterred, by fear of offending the Government, from continuing to purchase the Paper as before.

32. That with a view to remedy this evil, to a certain extent, another additional source of benefit to the Indian Public, in promoting the spread of useful information among them, was attempted to be opened, and that success would have attended this attempt, but for the declared opposition of the Government, which again put a stop to all hope from that quarter.

33. That during your Petitioner's residence in India, he had, with much labour and at considerable expense, formed a valuable Library, containing books of a higher character and greater cost than those usually existing in other collections in India; and that as he indulged a hope of being permitted to return again to his property and pursuits, he had left this Library behind him untouched; but had consented, in the event of its appearing practicable to his successor, that still further sums of money from his own funds should be expended on it, and that it should be opened as a Circulating Library on such easy terms as should make it a great accommodation to the Indian public, and at the same time afford some hope of ultimate compensation for the recent losses sustained by its Proprietor.

34. That the mere announcement of this intention in the pages of the Calcutta Journal, was so offensive to the Indian Government, who seemed determined to suppress every hope which your Petitioner or his friends might indulge, that an official letter from the Chief Secretary (dated on the 18th of July 1823) enumerated this announcement among one of the articles which had excited the new Governor General's (Lord Amherst's) displeasure, and that accordingly the advertisement respecting this Library was taken out of the Paper, and never afterwards permitted to be inserted; so that the additional sums expended on it were all lost, and great prejudice created generally against your Petitioner's affairs, from this indication of continued hostility to every thing that might contribute to their progressive improvement.

35. That in the letter which led to the immediate suppression of the advertisement above referred to, a demand was made by the Chief Secretary, of the names of all the British-born subjects employed at the office of the Calcutta Journal; and that soon after these were furnished, one of them, Mr. Arnot, the most valuable individual left in charge of your Petitioner's property, was forcibly seized, and imprisoned in a military fortress, with the design of keeping him in close confinement until some ship should be ready to sail for England, when it was intended to put him on board, and banish him from the country, to the great suffering and unmerited de-

gradation of this gentleman himself, as well as to the great injury of your Petitioner's affairs, as this individual was known to be the most useful assistant attached to your Petitioner's establishment, and one on whom the good management of its business-department almost entirely depended.

36. That by a writ of habeas corpus, Mr. Arnot was brought up before the Judges of the Supreme Court, of whom two were then present, and after solemn argument at the bar and on the bench, he was declared to have been illegally imprisoned, and was accordingly set at liberty by order of the presiding Judge; but that after this, however, when he, the said Mr. Arnot, your Petitioner's most valuable agent, had, to his great injury, retired from all connexion with the Calcutta Journal, had quitted the British territories, and was residing peaceably in the French settlement of Chandernagore, he was again forcibly seized by a military officer, under a second warrant signed by Lord Amherst, dragged from the presence of the French Governor, in violation of the national faith and protection, and placed as a prisoner on board a ship in the river Hooghly, not bound direct to the United Kingdom, as the law in such cases had ordained, but going first to the notoriously unhealthy port of Bencoolen, where he would have to remain on board a close prisoner during her stay there; and, should he happily survive this cruel treatment and close imprisonment in a peculiarly unhealthy climate, and under the most aggravated circumstances, he would be many months performing this circuitous voyage to his native country; being obliged also, from being forced against his will to go in this particular ship, to pay whatever sum the commander might ask for any accommodation that his health might require, as the Government would not allow of his removing into another vessel; and, although from the generous spirit of British seamen sympathising with this oppressed and injured individual, a passage free of cost was offered him by the commanders of three or four ships, going direct from Calcutta to London, the names of which your Petitioner is ready to furnish if required, he was not permitted to accept the proffered kindness of either, but kept a prisoner on board the ship in which he was first lodged, to go to and remain for many weeks in confinement at the sickly station of Bencoolen, the place of exile for convicted felons from India. Under all which circumstances it is humbly suggested to your Honourable House, whether there might not be considered to exist strong grounds for inquiry, as to the possibility of some conspiracy to prevent this unhappy individual from ever reaching England to tell his story, or to lay the statement of his case before the tribunals of the land.

37. That the only ground alleged as the cause of this extreme severity of punishment, so unparalleled as to be deemed excessive if applied even to a convicted criminal, was the publication in the Calcutta Journal of an editorial paragraph incidentally alluding to your Petitioner's recent banishment from India, for the purpose of illustrating a subject then under discussion: the Editor at the same time professing the greatest respect for the constituted authorities by whom this act had been ordered, and not presuming even to call its legality or propriety in question. That no evidence existed of the paragraph being written by the said Mr. Arnot; and that no inquiries were even made as to the real author of it. That the only responsible Editor of the Journal in which it appeared was a gentleman named Sandys, with whom the Chief Secretary had always hitherto corresponded by name, when he addressed the Editor of this Paper, Mr. Arnot never having consented even to share the Editorial responsibility with the gentleman in question. But that the Indian Government, finding they could not banish Mr. Sandys, the real Editor of the Paper, without trial, he being a native of India by birth, determined to banish his Assistant, who was a native of Britain, but by whom no part of the responsibility was ever understood to be participated in; and that the Chief Secretary, in his letter, dated Sept. 3, 1823, announcing the determination of Lord Amherst, the then Governor General in Council, to remove Mr. Arnot from the country, avows this as the reason; stating, undisguisedly, that as Mr. Sandys, whose act it was, could not be punished for this offence, he being a native of India, it was resolved that Mr. Arnot, whose act it was not, should suffer in his stead, he being a native of Great Britain, and subject to banishment at their will and pleasure.

38. That the persons remaining in charge of your Petitioner's property after Mr. Arnot's removal, proceeded, with the utmost caution, in the management of the Paper, and for some time gave no further known cause of dissatisfaction to the Government, until the month of November last, on the 6th day of which, the Editor, Mr. Sandys, received an order from the Chief Secretary, commanding the immediate and total suppression of the Calcutta Journal, and forbidding its further publication; thus completing the ruin of your Petitioner, and finally crushing at one blow those prospects, which it had apparently so long been the object of the Indian Government progressively to destroy.

39. That the ground alleged in the Chief Secretary's letter for this suppression of the paper, was the republication in its pages of a pamphlet written by the Hon. Leicester Stanhope, which had been published in England some months before, and

which had been already sold and distributed widely throughout every part of India.

40. That this pamphlet consisted almost entirely of the reports of certain speeches delivered by King's judges, servants of the East India Company, and military officers at Madras in 1819, on drawing up a complimentary address to the Marquess of Hastings, as Governor General of India; of that address itself, and his Lordship's reply to it, with his opinions on the benefits of a free press to India, delivered in the Government House at Calcutta; to which was added a report of certain proceedings in the Court of Proprietors at the East India House in London, on the same subject, in 1821; so that it contained little more than a record of what had been said and done by some of the principal servants of his Majesty and the Honourable East India Company; and thus what these distinguished personages had received the highest honour and applause for originally uttering, it was made criminal in a Journal published several years afterwards, and in the same country, to repeat.

41. That, moreover, the contents of this pamphlet were published, section by section, and occupied several days before it had been issued to the Indian public in the successive numbers of the paper; and that during the whole progress of this republication no intimation had been given by the Government of its being offensive or objectionable; though, in other cases, their prohibitive injunctions had been delivered within a day or two after the appearance of any thing of which they disapproved: and that it was not until nearly a month after the republication of the first, and a week after the very last section had gone through the press, and was distributed throughout all India, that the Calcutta Journal was suppressed, though this was the only reason alleged for so harsh and ruinous a measure.

42. That after this suppression had taken place, your Petitioner's agents in India had resolved to make a sale of the materials of his concern, in order to realize what little might be produced by the wreck of this once productive but now unemployed and finally ruined property; but that the terror infused into all ranks of society by the above-mentioned proceedings of the Indian Government was sufficient to deter persons from coming forward to appropriate these materials to the still profitable use that might have been made of them, if any independent editor could have dared to venture on the establishment of some other public channel of useful information.

43. That still, however, something might have been realized from their sale, if only the intrinsic value of the materials themselves; but that, as if the Government of India were unwilling that even this remnant should be saved, they caused it to be made known to some of the parties interested; that a license would be granted for the renewal of the Journal, but only on condition that its future editor should be some servant of their own.

44. That Dr. Abel, who accompanied Lord Amherst to India as his surgeon, was proposed; but the objection made was, that he was not sufficiently under their control; and that the only condition on which they would assent to the appointment of an editor would be that of his being a person in the pay and service of the local Government, as most of the Indian editors already are, and therefore subject to their entire will and pleasure, and under their immediate superintendence and command.

45. That such a person was at length found in Dr. Muston, the son-in-law of one of the members of the very Government by which the license of the Journal was annulled; and as the agents on the spot could not venture to oppose the will of the ruling power without incurring their displeasure, this arrangement was yielded to, and the whole of your Petitioner's property put under the management of a servant of the East India Company; a person who had already other duties to perform as a presidency surgeon, and who therefore could not do it justice; but who, though liberally paid by the East India Company for the performance of his medical duties, was, in addition to this, to draw from the funds of your Petitioner's concern—already reduced to the brink of ruin—a salary, for himself and an assistant, of 1000*l*. per annum; and to take possession (free of rent or cost) of your Petitioner's residence, which during his absence had been profitably occupied by Mr. John Palmer, one of the first merchants in India, at a certain rent of 500*l*. per annum, and who, in consequence of this, was obliged to vacate the premises for this new tenant.

46. That the Indian Government were thus not only parties to the suppression of your Petitioner's paper, and the almost entire destruction of his property; but that after this suppression had lasted long enough to make its former circulation irrecoverable, they refused to suffer its renewal except only under a condition which placed one of their own servants as a pensioner on your Petitioner's purse to the amount of 1500*l*. a year; thus rendering your Petitioner's property and materials liable to be consumed in the propagation of opinions at variance with every act and thought of his life, and in praise of men who have distinguished themselves only by their unrelenting endeavours first to drive him from the country, and then to cut off all hope of his finding any of his property left, should he ever return to it.

47. That the necessary steps having been taken, and the required securities given for the renewal of the license, the pub-

lisher was informed by the Chief Secretary to Government, that he might resume the publication; and that accordingly all the expensive establishment necessary for a daily paper was again put in motion, and the whole of the impression of the Journal for the next day printed off; when, to the astonishment of all the parties concerned, a mandate was received from the Government, late on the night of Sunday the 30th of November, forbidding the appearance of whatever might be printed, thus suppressing the paper a second time without so much as even the possibility of their being acquainted with the nature of its contents.

48. That the reason assigned for this second suppression was, that the then Governor General, Lord Amherst, was offended at an allusion, in the notice which preceded the appearance of the paper, to the increased difficulty of obtaining information suited to a public journal since the passing of the new laws for the press, as they had materially damped the spirit of inquiry and research: his Lordship being thus unwilling to permit any mention of those laws, though he had already shown his determination to punish any infraction of them with the utmost severity; while the whole impression of the paper printed off was by this step rendered useless, and all the heavy expenses which had been renewed on the faith of the Government pledge that the paper might appear, were dissipated and lost.

49. That an explanation was offered to the Chief Secretary on this subject: but that although no final answer was given by the Government, as to whether they would or would not grant the promised license, they still encouraged the hope of its being ultimately obtained: and that accordingly, up to the last advices received by your Petitioner from India (in December 1823) the whole of his establishment was maintained on full pay in hourly expectation of a decision thus cruelly protracted and withheld, while his property was daily going to waste under the charge of a servant of the East India Company, who was the only person that would suffer no disadvantage from the delay, and under whom it would appear that the Government intended to permit it thus to remain till it was entirely eaten up and destroyed.

50. That your Petitioner, during his voyage from India to England, devoted his attention to the best means of rendering the intercourse between these countries more speedy, and agreeable, to the great number of British subjects constantly going from one to the other, than at present; and, by the aid of his professional knowledge and experience as a Commander, succeeded in completing a plan for the construction of a Frigate, on a new principle, especially adapted to this service. That this plan was so highly approved of by the most competent judges, including divers distinguished officers in His Majesty's Navy, experienced ship-builders, and merchants of high respectability in Calcutta, at the Cape of Good Hope, and in England, that the capital of 50,000*l.* required for the undertaking was subscribed for by persons in each of these places, and, by consent of all the parties, your Petitioner was nominated to the principal management of the building, outfit, and command, of the Frigate in question. But that after this association, including gentlemen in the civil and military service of India, and merchants of the first eminence in the East India trade in London, had been formed, the model of the ship decided on, and all the preparations for entering on the enterprise completed, the recent proceedings towards your Petitioner's property in India having transpired, appeared to the parties engaged in this undertaking to evince so rooted and irresistible a hostility towards his personal interests, that it was deemed unsafe to pursue a scheme, however meritorious, against which the direct opposition or indirect influence of the Indian Government was sure to be exercised, if your Petitioner remained at its head; and as it was their opinion that it would not be so advantageously directed under the management of any other person, the undertaking was, on this account alone, entirely abandoned, to the great regret of all the parties concerned, and to the great injury of your Petitioner's prospects of honourable wealth, from again returning to the exercise of his earliest pursuits, in a service which he was especially qualified by long experience to perform.

51. That your Petitioner, actuated by a sincere desire to fulfil the benevolent intentions of the Legislature, as expressed in their own Act, "to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and introduce among them useful knowledge and moral improvement;" has of late applied the gains formerly produced by his Daily Paper, now suppressed in India, to the establishment, in England, of a Monthly Publication, entitled The Oriental Herald, the principal object of which is, to interest the people of Great Britain in the fate of the millions subject to our rule in the distant dependencies of the East and West, to advocate their cause, and to establish a reciprocity of feeling and interchange of information between the most remote corners of the globe. But that though this Work contains nothing which has yet been complained of in England, or made subject to any proceeding for its illegality or evil tendency, your Petitioner is informed, from authority he cannot doubt, that the Indian Government have determined to prevent its sale or circulation in India, without waiting to ascertain what may be the nature of the writings

contained in it; but merely because it is avowedly published under your Petitioner's direction, and bears his name as its responsible conductor. That by this step your Petitioner will be grievously injured, as more than a thousand copies of the Work in question have been sent to India, every month, by order of English gentlemen residing there: on the faith of whose support, considerable sums have been already expended to establish the publication; which this threatened proceeding will entirely annihilate and destroy: and your Petitioner's friends and countrymen will thus, under cover of the Regulation before referred to, which empowers the local Government to prevent the sale or circulation of any book in India, under pain of fine and imprisonment, be not only deprived of a rational enjoyment, which they feel the more important from the distance by which they are separated from their homes, but be kept in such entire ignorance of all that is passing in England, touching their own immediate interests, as not to know even of the fact of this Petition being presented to your honourable House, or of the proceedings to which it may give rise; by which unjust seclusion from free access to the literature and records of their native land, their feelings may be not only alienated from their country, but gradually worked into direct hostility to laws and institutions, which, when depriving them of the protection and happiness heretofore enjoyed by them, they can no longer honour or revere.

52. That your Petitioner is aware that the extraordinary and dangerous power of forcibly banishing Englishmen from India, without trial, is assumed by those who exercise it, to be consonant with the strict letter of a clause in the East India Company's Charter; and that it is also contended that British subjects going to India consent to hold their Licenses on certain conditions.—That he would humbly suggest, however, that as no mention of offences through the press is ever made in the Charter, such a power never could have been intended for the use made of it in the present instance: and that the conditions on which he held *his* License were no other than that he should observe all the Rules and Regulations of the Government, and do nothing contrary to law: while his License has been annulled without these engagements having been once forfeited on his part.

53. That your Petitioner, unwilling to do anything which might appear factious, turbulent, or inflammatory, has abstained from any adverse measure, from the commencement of this persecution to its close;—that when ordered by the Indian Government to quit the country, he yielded immediate obedience to its commands;—that when he first landed in England he sought redress through the proper channels of the Court of Directors and Board of Control;—that being denied the remedy he asked in these quarters, he endeavoured to avail himself of the protection of the law;—but that after expending considerable sums of money, and suffering all the vexation and anxiety attendant on these repeated disappointments and delays, he has been obliged, from the reasons before stated, to abandon all hope of redress from any other quarter, and to lay the statement of his unhappy case before your Honourable House, imploring them to take the whole of the facts into their serious consideration, and grant him such redress as they may think suited thereto.

54. That if your Petitioner regards his own case as one of peculiar hardship, and personally laments the sufferings of the past to which he as an individual has been subject, he is still more deeply impressed with its importance in a general and public point of view, as establishing, if not remedied, a precedent for the future oppression of others;—but that even this sinks into nothing, compared with the magnitude of the evil which must result to millions from the continuation of such a system as that established by the late Laws for the Press in India, by the operation of which every channel of useful communication is either entirely shut up, or compelled to lend itself to the alternate suppression of truth and propagation of error, taking the caprice of existing Rulers for its ever-varying standard, and never daring to deviate from that but at the hazard of its own immediate destruction.

55. That the abuses of power which must take place under such a system as this cannot be accurately known, as there is now no press to make them public;—but, in the hope that some relief will be granted for the past, and some remedy devised for the future, your Petitioner further humbly prays, on behalf of himself and the British inhabitants of India, that your Honourable House will direct an early inquiry to be made into the state of the existing Laws for the Press in that country; so as to establish, by evidence, either that they are favourable to good government, and ought to be confirmed; or that they are calculated to retard the improvement and happiness of the millions subject to her rule in Asia, and therefore ought to be ameliorated or repealed; as your Honourable House in its wisdom may see fit to determine and command.

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON PRESENTING MR. BUCKINGHAM'S PETITION, MAY 25, 1824.

MR. LAMBTON.—I rise, Sir, in pursuance of the notice which I gave, to present to the House a Petition from Mr. Buckingham, late Proprietor and Editor of The Calcutta Journal, complaining of a series of aggressions on the Press in India, by the Government of that country—a Petition which, as it appears to me, deserves the most serious consideration of this House. I consider this petition to be one of great importance, because it involves a question of the deepest interest—I mean the Liberty of the Press; a question which in every country is intimately interwoven with the best interests and well being of society, and which in no country is of more vital importance than in India, where, as I contend, the safety of our empire, and the happiness of the almost countless millions committed to our charge, depend, not on the continuance of ignorance, and, consequently, of slavery, but on the diffusion of knowledge and education, the surest—nay, the only mode of convincing the native population of the benefits which they derive from our Government. It is not my intention to discuss this question at the present moment, with a view to its more general bearings. I shall confine myself, on the present occasion, to the condition of Mr. Buckingham's case; I shall lay separately before the House the statement of his particular complaint, on which I shall subsequently ground the necessity of entertaining the more general question. This petition is of very considerable length, and I shall endeavour, therefore, for the convenience of the House, to state as shortly and distinctly as I can, the leading facts of the case.—In the year 1813, Mr. Buckingham left England on a commercial voyage to the Mediterranean, and after remaining some time at several of the ports in that sea, he went from Egypt to Bombay, where he was appointed to the command of a large ship engaged in the China trade. While in the prosecution of those commercial pursuits, he was ordered to quit Bombay by Sir Evan Nepean, the Governor of that Island, on the ground of his having obtained no license from the East India Company. He returned to Egypt, and took the necessary steps to procure a license from the Court of Directors, which was obtained for him in England, and forwarded to Bombay, where he went again in the year 1816, and continued engaged in commercial pursuits until the year 1818. The vessel under his charge was ordered to proceed on a slave voyage to the coast of Africa, when Mr. Buckingham resigned his situation as commander, not being disposed to engage in a traffic which was alike repugnant to law and to humanity. Some time after, Mr. Buckingham being resident at Calcutta, established at that place an English Newspaper, called the Calcutta Journal, having purchased the stock and printing materials of two other Newspapers at an expense of 3,000*l.* This paper Mr. Buckingham conducted with so much ability, and so much to the satisfaction of all classes of the British community of India, that its circulation gradually increased, until it became a property of the value of 40,000*l.*, and brought him an annual income of 8,000*l.* He had expended on this paper since the original purchase a sum amounting to not less than 20,000*l.* During the whole of that period included between the years 1818 and 1823, the Supreme Government had repeatedly acknowledged the legality of his residence and pursuits in India, and even entered into a contract with him, in his capacity of Editor and Publisher of the Calcutta Journal, for the payment on his part of 4,000*l.* to defray the expenses of the postage of his journal. At this period no censorship of the press existed in Bengal, the restraints which had been imposed on the press by the Marquess Wellesley having been abolished by the Marquess of Hastings. The Marquess of Hastings made a public declaration of his having removed all restrictions from the press in India, in answer to an address signed by the Chief Justice, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Law Officers, the Company's Civil Servants, and 500 of the British inhabitants of Madras. This document I consider of so much importance that I shall, with the permission of the House, proceed to read it.

'You have observed my exertions to diffuse instruction through the extensive region with which we had become thus suddenly intimate. I cannot take credit for more than the having followed the impulse communicated by every British voice around me. Yes! we all similarly

confessed the sacred obligation towards a bounteous Providence, of striving to impart to the immense population under our protection, that improvement of intellect, which we felt to be our own most valuable and dignified possession. One topic remains—my removal of Restrictions from the press has been mentioned in laudatory language. I might easily have adopted that procedure without any length of cautious consideration, from my habit of regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned. The seeing no direct necessity for those invidious shackles, might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself, however, to have been guided in the step by a positive and well-weighed policy. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion.—Further, it is salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment. On the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force. That government which has nothing to disguise, wields the most powerful instrument that can appertain to sovereign rule. It carries with it the united reliance and effort of the whole mass of the governed; and let the triumph of our beloved country in its awful contest with tyrant-ridden France, speak the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments.'

After such a declaration from the Governor General, it was naturally considered that the press of India was subject only to the due restraint of the laws, and trial by jury; especially as many proceedings at law had been instituted by the Indian Government against the publishers of alleged libels. It is no slight argument in favour of Mr. Buckingham, that, during the whole period in which he was engaged as Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, he was never once convicted of publishing any libel against the Government, or against private individuals. The Marquess of Hastings resigned the office of Governor General in the beginning of the year 1823, and was temporarily succeeded in the Government by Mr. John Adam, then Senior Member of the Council, and formerly Censor of the Press, until the arrival of the new Governor General, who was at that time expected to be the present Right Honourable Secretary for Foreign Affairs. One of the first acts of Mr. Adam's temporary administration, was the revival of a criminal information against Mr. Buckingham which had been filed a short time before, which revival was considered so unjustifiable by Sir Francis Macnaghten, the judge then sitting on the bench, that, on its being moved, he declared the whole proceeding to be cruel, illegal, and oppressive. Mr. Buckingham was at this time plaintiff in an action which he had brought against certain individuals who had published gross libels on his character. While he was thus plaintiff in one case, and defendant in another, Mr. Adam, the acting Governor General, took an opportunity of doing what the Marquess of Hatings, in the plenitude of his permanent authority, had never ventured to do. He annulled Mr. Buckingham's license to remain in India, and ordered him to quit the country within the space of two months, on pain of being seized if found in it after that period, and sent as a prisoner to England. The reason assigned for this proceeding was, Mr. Buckingham's having published some remarks in his journal on the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Bryce, the head of the Presbyterian Church in India, to the office of Clerk of a Committee for supplying the Government Offices in Bengal, with pens, paper, ink, gum, pounce, and other articles. This traffic Mr. Buckingham considered, and as I conceive very justly considered, to be quite incompatible with the holy calling of this Rev. Gentleman, as well as contrary to the regulations of the East India Company. He thought it impossible for this Rev. Gentleman to serve the Government offices with stationery, without neglecting his more sacred and important functions. It is remarkable that this very appointment, for commenting on which Mr. Buckingham was banished from India, was subsequently cancelled by the Court of Directors; and the Rev. Doctor's conduct, in accepting such an office, had been severely animadverted upon in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as tending to degrade and disgrace his holy calling. By this arbitrary proceeding on the part of Mr. Adam, Mr. Buckingham was transported from India without any trial, separated from his friends and connexions, and removed from the superintendence of a property at that time worth 40,000*l.*, but which was immediately deteriorated in value,

and which was eventually totally annihilated. This unmerited punishment had been inflicted on him without his being accused of any breach of the laws, and solely at the arbitrary caprice of Mr. Adam. On the arrival of Mr. Buckingham in England, he applied to the Court of Directors, and subsequently to the Board of Control, for a license to return to India, to retrieve his affairs, which was refused. Mr. Buckingham then instituted legal proceedings against Mr. Adam; but partly from the death of his solicitor in India, partly from the difficulty in obtaining the necessary documents, and partly from the terror which had spread through all ranks in consequence of the late proceedings of the Indian Government, as well as the protracted stay of Mr. Adam in India, he had been compelled to abandon this attempt. It might be imagined that the hostility which was entertained against the press would have been satiated by the unwarranted punishment inflicted on Mr. Buckingham. The contrary, however, was the fact. Mr. Buckingham, having consigned the management of his Journal to an Indo-British Editor, who could not be banished from the country without trial, Mr. Adam shortly after promulgated a regulation, subjecting the Indian press, whether in the hands of British or Native editors, to a license, to be granted or withheld at the pleasure of the Governor; thus annihilating at once the freedom of discussion, which had been extended to the Indian press by the Marquess of Hastings. Remonstrances against this regulation were presented to the Supreme Court of Justice in Bengal, on the part of the British inhabitants, as well as of the Natives; and it was declared by Sir F. Macnaghten, who assumed the whole judicial authority of the Court in the absence of the other Judges, that this regulation—on what authority he (Mr. Lambton) knew not, for he could neither find it in the theory, the practice, nor the principles of the British constitution—was not repugnant to the laws of England! The attack on the freedom of the Indian press did not stop here. Mr. Adam, emboldened by success, followed it up by a still stronger measure, prohibiting British subjects, as well as Natives, to sell, circulate, or even to lend any publication which the Governor might think proper to denounce, on pain of a heavy fine, and in default of payment, imprisonment in the common gaol. Such is the law, or such rather is the despotism which exists in India at this moment, and such it must remain, unless measures are taken by Parliament, or by the Government of the country, to prevent the evils which must necessarily arise from it. The Petitioner complains of other instances of persecution, so mean and vexatious in their character, that it seems hardly credible that any Government should have condescended to resort to them. It appears that the Petitioner's successor was prevented by the Government from advertizing certain arrangements for opening a circulating library on an extensive scale, which he had formed at a great expense for the accommodation of the Indian public. Immediately after the arrival of Lord Amherst, fresh operations were commenced against Mr. Buckingham. The first attack was made upon a person of the name of Arnot, a British-born subject, who was forcibly seized, and imprisoned in a military fortress, where it was intended he should have been confined until some ship should be ready to sail for England, and thus banish him from the country. However, Mr. Arnot was determined not to submit, and accordingly he applied to the Supreme Court, and obtained a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and at length, after an able and solemn argument at the Bar by Mr. Turton, a gentleman whose talents and character have made him in that country what he was in this, a most distinguished ornament of his profession, (Cheers); his imprisonment was declared to be illegal, and he was consequently liberated by order of the Presiding Judge. Mr. Arnot then determined to take advantage of his liberty, and betook himself to Chandernagore; and here again he was forcibly seized by a military officer, under a second warrant signed by Lord Amherst (Hear, hear!), and placed as a prisoner on board a ship in the River Hooghly, not bound direct to the United Kingdom, but was made to come round by the unhealthy station of Bencoolen (Hear, hear, hear!), and all his applications to be allowed to go in any other ship treated with silent neglect. Now, it appears that the next step taken was the total destruction of the Calcutta Journal, and on grounds just as barefaced as those upon which the treatment of Mr. Buckingham himself was founded. This was done in the following November, in consequence of an order from the Chief Secretary for the suppression of the Paper. The ground alleged for its suppression was the publication in its pages of a pamphlet

written by an hon. Friend of mine (Mr. Leicester Stanhope), who is now gloriously employed in advancing the cause of freedom and of Greece. (Cheers.) The main object of this pamphlet was to record the speeches of some of the King's Judges and Officers in 1819, delivered on the very occasion of voting the address to which I have alluded; and yet it was made criminal to republish in this Journal those same speeches which had appeared long before in other Papers. (Hear, hear!) However, the matter did not stop here; for, some time after, the Government caused it to be made known that a license would be granted for the renewal of the Journal but on one condition, and no length of time that I could give the House would enable them to guess what that condition was—It was this: that its future Editor should be one of their own servants. (Hear, hear!) Lord Amherst's surgeon was accordingly proposed, but he was objected to, on the ground that he was not sufficiently under their control; and at length a person was found, considered to be unexceptionable in every respect, Dr. Muston, the son-in-law of one of the Members of the Government, and he was appointed to the situation of Editor, with a salary for himself and assistant, of 1,000*l.* a year, together with Mr. Buckingham's house, which had been let to an English merchant for 500*l.* a year. (Hear, hear!) Thus we find that it is impossible not to admire the ingenuity with which Mr. Buckingham was made to drink the cup of persecution and humiliation to its very dregs. First we find that he was lured by an appearance of liberality to embark his property in this Journal, then a criminal proceeding is taken against him; next he is banished, and finally his property is expended in support of principles which he detested and abhorred, and in the exposure of which this treatment had arisen. The last accounts received from India state that Dr. Muston is in possession of the Journal; no final answer had been given by the Government as to whether they would or would not renew the license, and the whole of the establishment were maintained on full pay in expectation of a decision.

I have thus, as I conceive, confined myself to a clear and distinct narrative of this case, and I trust I have succeeded in making it intelligible without encumbering it with details. (Hear!) I shall refrain on the present occasion from making any remarks on the general question as to the advantage of a free press in India, and the more particularly, because it is my intention, early in the ensuing Session, to call the attention of the House to the subject. (Hear, hear!) I mean to move for the appointment of a Committee to inquire how far the existence of a free press is an advantage or injury to our Indian possessions. (Hear, hear!) At present I shall confine myself strictly to the case of the Petitioner, who has been the victim of the most cruel oppression, not warranted by sound policy or expediency, but arising from a wanton and aggravated spirit of despotism. (Hear, hear, hear!) If such things are allowed to go unredressed, it is idle to talk of the responsibility of the Indian Government. I do maintain that this Petitioner has suffered from the grossest tyranny; and that to suffer the repetition of such practices is to endanger the very existence of the empire. (Loud cheers.) I now move, Sir, for leave to bring up this Petition.

The Petition was accordingly brought up and read.

Mr. WYNN began by complimenting the honourable member for Durham, on the clearness, temper, and ability, with which he had stated his case, making it even more intelligible to the House, than if the Petition, which was of extreme length, had been read throughout. He said, that in discussing this question, he meant to follow the judicious example of the hon. member, and to abstain from entering upon the larger topic of a free press in India. That topic was too important and extensive in its bearings to be dealt with in a discussion thus incidentally introduced, and when the House was unprepared for such a question. He should only state now, that whenever that question was brought forward, he should be prepared to meet the hon. member, and to contend, that the very principles upon which he valued a free press as the essential safeguard of our Government here, made him consider it prejudicial to the Government of India. With respect to the circumstance stated by the hon. member, he felt great embarrassment on account of the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed with respect to the situation in which Mr. Adam stood, and the measures adopted by Mr. Buckingham. He apprehended that the House of Commons acted upon certain rules in cases of this description from which they never departed, and one of them was this, that whenever a party complaining had the

means of applying for redress to the other tribunals of the country, this House would feel very reluctant to interfere. (Hear, hear.) Upon that ground he thought it would be improper to entertain the subject in that House whilst there were other sources of relief. But how stood the case? Had Mr. Buckingham not applied to other tribunals? Was it not known that he had entered into recognizances to the amount of 12,000 rupees, equivalent to 1,200*l.* of our money, to prosecute this case in an English court of justice? Was it not clear, then, that the matter could not be discussed in that House without the greatest possible injustice? The 21st of Geo. III. provided, "that in case any person found fault with, or felt himself aggrieved by, any act or measure of the Governor General, or of any member of Council, he should enter into a bond effectually to prosecute the said complaint, in some competent Court in Great Britain;" and having done so, he was entitled to call for copies of all orders or regulations connected with his case, and also to examine witnesses. These steps Mr. Buckingham had taken. The last communication on this subject took place on the 24th of January last, when his solicitor wrote to the Court of Directors, stating that Mr. Buckingham had instructed him to commence legal proceedings against the hon. J. Adam, pursuant to a bond which he had entered into for that purpose, and inquiring whether that body would defend him. The Court of Directors immediately intimated their readiness to receive process. When this course had been taken, what, he asked, could stop Mr. Buckingham from procuring legal redress, if he were entitled to it? This being the state of the case, was it fair to call on Mr. Adam to enter into his defence, when that defence might be made use of hereafter as a further ground to support the pending prosecution. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Wynn) could only state, that upon this case Mr. Adam was perfectly ready to defend any action that might be brought against him; and he was convinced, from Mr. Adam's general character, and from what he (Mr. Wynn) knew of these transactions, that that defence would be found completely satisfactory. (Hear.) The hon. gentleman had stated, that up to the time of the departure of the Marquess of Hastings from India, there was no appearance of any measures having been taken against Mr. Buckingham.—

Mr. Lambton.—I said that no conviction had been obtained against him for any public or private libel.

Mr. W. Wynn.—The hon. gentleman stated, that Mr. Buckingham had not, at that period, forfeited his claim to the protection of the Indian Government; and that their displeasure then came upon him by surprise. Now, would it be believed, that he had been warned, no less than five times, in consequence of different publications, of his danger? In the last letter which was sent to him by the Secretary of the Government, and which was written by order of Lord Hastings, it was distinctly stated, "if you persist in pursuing the same line of conduct, your license will be immediately cancelled, and you will be ordered to depart from India." Yet this was a measure which was now represented as having been first thought of by Mr. Adam, and which, it was said, no Governor General had ever before contemplated. By the act of 1813, this power of deportation was allowed. It was there provided, "that if any person residing in India shall so conduct himself as, in the judgment of the Governor General, to forfeit his claim of protection, his license shall be revoked, and he forthwith ordered to quit the country." It was not Mr. Adam alone who caused the removal of Mr. Buckingham; the whole Council concurred in the propriety of that proceeding. As to the regulation which Mr. Adam issued, he would not now enter into any discussion on that point; not because he was not prepared to consider the subject, but because it was a matter pending before the Privy Council. It had not yet been heard, as Mr. Buckingham had delayed sending in his papers, after he had made a regular appeal to that tribunal. He was sure the House would feel, that while the question was pending—a question involving such important interests, not only as respected the freedom of the press in India, but what was of far more consequence, the power of the Government to make regulations which were not conformable with the law of England—it was desirable that the subject should not be discussed. Hereafter, when it had undergone a judicial investigation, it might be made matter of discussion. The last part of this case referred to the proceedings of Lord Amherst towards Mr. Arnot. With respect to that circumstance, he had no information, except what he derived through Mr. Buckingham's publication, and the hearing before the Supreme Court on Mr. Arnot's application. The hon. member had not referred to the more material part of that case. The fact was, that Mr. Arnot was residing in India

without any license or authority whatever; and therefore, under the existing law, it became the duty of the Governor General to put an end to his continuance there. The act gave the Governor General the power to cause to be arrested and put on ship-board, any person thus residing without authority; and the question before the Court was, whether it also gave the power to keep the individual in custody, for any time, between the period of arresting him, and putting him on ship-board? The judge in Mr. Arnot's case decided that it did not. As to the ship, on board of which Mr. Arnot was placed, going round by Bencoolen, it was an allegation which he could neither affirm nor deny, as he had no information on the subject. But from the character of Lord Amherst, who was remarkable for his mildness, he could conceive nothing more improbable, or which required stronger proof, than an accusation charging that nobleman with having been guilty of harshness or severity towards any individual, beyond what he conceived to be necessary in the just performance of his duty. (Hear.)

Sir W. De Crespigny, as we understood, bore testimony to the humane character of Mr. Adam. From his knowledge of that gentleman, he believed him to be incapable of behaving harshly towards any one.

Mr. Hume was sorry the right hon. gent. opposite, and the hon. bart. below him had taken the course they had done on this occasion. There was no necessity to adduce testimony to private character, since no private character was assailed. No one had attacked the character of the individual in his private station; but complaint was made of public acts immediately proceeding from him, and the only question for that House was—whether the facts alleged were true or not. After a lapse of two years, during which this transaction had been known, no answer was given to the charge. All the right honourable gentleman said was, that when the trial at law was settled, when a court of justice had decided, then he would be ready to discuss the question. In his opinion, the interests of the whole population of India called upon that house to pronounce an opinion on the great question now brought before them, without waiting till those legal proceedings were finished. The petitioner denied that he had that redress in his power which the right honourable gentleman contended he had. The agent, the person who was to have sent over evidence from India, was dead. He knew, from information which he had received from Mr. Buckingham, that that individual wished to procure various documents, to follow up with effect the action which he had given security to prosecute. It was impossible for any person to imagine the effect which the exercise of arbitrary power, as now complained of, produced in a settlement. In this instance, every person dreaded to attach himself to Mr. Buckingham's fortunes, or to espouse his cause. He hoped most sincerely, that the extraordinary power which was now vested in the Company's servants would never be renewed. Why should not the same principles by which Englishmen were governed when they proceeded to other colonies, be extended to India? [Hear.] Was it an answer to the injustice of the existing system, to say, that the Governor General had the power to send any person he pleased out of the country? He denied that he had the power to the extent now contended for. Whatever power he had, was granted to him under the responsibility of not exercising it harshly, or without showing ample grounds for using it. But it was said that Mr. Adam's case had not been heard. He maintained that it had been heard. It had been drawn up by himself, and sent home to every member of the Court of Directors. He (Mr. Hume) had read it, and he must say, after all Mr. Adam's colouring, he had made out no case whatever. Mr. Adam's conduct, he would assert, proceeded from premeditated malice against this individual. Mr. Buckingham had been ruined in his prospects, and a property of 40,000*l.* had been destroyed. It could be proved before a committee of that house, that Mr. Adam had declared, if ever he had the power, he would send Mr. Buckingham out of India. He would ask, were the Government to act in one way towards one paper, and to adopt a different course towards another? Were they to allow a particular paper to malign and abuse every person the editors thought proper; and when, on the other hand, an individual stood forward, and stated the truth, was he to be sent out of the country? He had resided long enough in India to know what good might be produced by the liberty of the press, and he had no hesitation in saying, that from the time Mr. Buckingham set up this paper, his proceedings operated beneficially for India. It taught the English people in that country to state their opinion on passing events, when

they saw that those events were contrary to the interests of the public. When Government misconducted itself, gentle hints were given, which produced very salutary results. He challenged the enemies of Mr. Buckingham to look over the file of the Calcutta Journal, during the four years when it had been under the control of that gentleman, and to find a single article half so scurrilous as those which constantly appeared in the Indian John Bull, a paper which was absolutely set up by the servants of the Government. The Secretary of the Government and other persons in office were connected with it. The John Bull in England, bad as it was, did not equal its namesake in scurrility. The Government always disclaimed any connexion with the John Bull in England; but the connexion between the Indian Government and the John Bull there, was well known. It was set up by the Secretaries of the Bengal Government, assisted, he believed, by Mr. Adam himself, for the purpose of writing Mr. Buckingham down; but the moment he attempted to rescue his character from the gross abuse that was heaped on it, he was treated as a criminal. Mr. Buckingham claimed no exemption. All he said was, "If I have erred, bring me to trial. Let the criterion of my conduct be the verdict of my countrymen." [Hear.] Mr. Buckingham was prosecuted, and he was acquitted. What did he then do? He brought an action against the editors of the John Bull, and the moment he had taken that step means were devised to send him out of the country. [Hear.] Such was the impartiality of the Indian Government. He could not think it possible that the right hon. Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Canning) would give his sanction to such proceedings. He had observed an expression of surprise on his countenance whilst the details of the case were stating, as if the question was entirely new to him; and he was convinced that he would not lend his sanction to such a system, at least if he could judge from the manner he had acted whilst he held the office now filled by the right hon. gentleman who had just sat down. When twenty-three out of twenty-four of the Directors came to the resolution of rescinding the regulations of the Marquess of Hastings with respect to the press in India, for the purpose of restoring the censorship, and sent that resolution to the Board of Control, the right hon. gentleman locked it up, and there it remained still, [hear!] unless indeed it had escaped from its confinement under the less liberal system of the present President of the Board of Control, who seemed to entertain none of the enlarged views of his predecessor on the subject. That House ought immediately to take into its consideration the evil of suffering such arbitrary power to exist. They ought not to allow this system of uncontrolled and lawless power to be continued. [Hear.] He entreated gentlemen, before this subject was again discussed, to read all the documents connected with it; and, with that view, he hoped his hon. friend would take care to supply them. He ventured to say, those documents would prove that the greatest disregard was paid by the Indian Government to the feelings, opinions, and remonstrances of Englishmen. That Government wished to enforce silence with respect to all their proceedings, and therefore the press was shackled. What would England be if she had not a free press? In that case the Government might go on as they pleased, without animadversion or observation. The rights of English subjects, and also of native subjects, were compromised by this system. The natives of India were hourly becoming more intelligent. As a proof of this fact, he wished gentlemen would read the address of Ram Mohun Roy, a learned native, in favour of a free press. But that was an object of which the Government seemed to be afraid; and, in proportion as they cramped the energies of the press, they retarded all improvement. So long as Mr. Adam lived, the circumstances which had been this night disclosed would not be considered as reflecting any credit on him. The Marquess of Hastings would not have acted thus, his mind was too enlarged. He augured no good from the commencement of Lord Amherst's career in India, and he wished him not to remain there. The hon. member then ridiculed the inconsistency of the Indian Government with respect to the regulation of the press—there being one set of regulations for Calcutta, and another for Madras, and a third for Bombay; while, if there was danger in a free press in one part of India there must be equal danger in another; yet the press was free at Bombay, under a Censorship at Madras, and under a still worse system of arbitrary Licensing in Bengal. After an earnest appeal to the judgment of the House, Mr. Hume, concluded by condemning a power which not only enabled the Governor

General to send a man out of the country because he printed something which did not please him, but which also authorized him to prevent the importation of the Edinburgh Review, or any other work of which he did not approve. It was impossible to find a parallel in the records of any country, to the regulations which the Indian Government had adopted with regard to the press. He had read them over repeatedly, and compared them with all that he knew of other laws: and he challenged any man to produce any thing more despotic or tyrannical than those regulations, even in those which had been established by the Spanish inquisition. And yet this was the system which met with the support of the enlightened President of the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors! In conclusion, the hon. member entreated the House to bestow its serious consideration upon the important question which had been brought under its notice. The sufferings of Mr. Buckingham had been great, but if they went unredressed, they would be nothing compared with those which the Indian population would hereafter endure. [Hear, hear.]

Mr. Astell (the Chairman of the Court of East India Directors) observed, that the hon. member for Aberdeen (Mr. Hume) had stated that Mr. Buckingham was a most injured individual throughout the whole of these proceedings, and that Mr. Adam, in his temporary capacity of Governor General, had acted from motives of premeditated malice. He had no doubt that a very different result would be elicited from a candid view of the facts. Mr. Buckingham had gone out to India without permission. He had resided there until the year 1818, without having the necessary license. He was then at Bombay, and not being licensed, the Government would not allow him to remain. He, however, was anxious to stop in India; and, no sooner were his wishes made known, than the Directors granted him a license as a free mariner. A free mariner, he would observe, was a person who was allowed to navigate from port to port in India, to proceed upon his lawful business, as master or mate of a ship, but the license did not give him the right to remain on shore. Mr. Buckingham went out as a merchant, and in 1818 he again returned to India. In November, 1818, he became editor of the Calcutta Journal, and in May, 1819, (a period of about six months,) he was warned by the Government of Bengal, that he was liable to be removed on account of certain articles which had appeared in his paper. In January, 1820, he published an attack on the Government of Fort St. George, of which the Executive Government complained. In November, 1820, Mr. Buckingham was again informed that he had incurred the displeasure of Government, and the same thing occurred in July 1821, when Mr. Buckingham made a most indecent attack on the Bishop of Calcutta. But, persisting in the same line of conduct, it was proposed to withdraw his license, and send him home. That proposition was supported by three members of the Council, which consisted of the Governor General and three civil officers. The Marquess of Hastings, however, disagreed with the Council; and exercising the power with which he was intrusted by the act of Parliament, he, from a feeling of lenity, refused to sanction their decision, and Mr. Buckingham was allowed to remain. The Council, however, passed a severe censure on his conduct; and it was determined, if he again misbehaved, that he should be sent away.—That was the state of the question until the departure of the Marquess of Hastings; and then Mr. Adam was invested *pro tempore* with the powers of Governor General. The House would doubtless feel that a public functionary thus temporarily placed in authority, could not be expected to exercise that latitude of discretion which a Governor General, appointed for the precise duty, might think himself justified in extending. Then came the attack on the appointment of Dr. Bryce. The Bengal Government at length decided that the last trespass, for it was felt that where there were such a repetition of offences, that there must be a last offence, was to be visited with a withdrawing of Mr. Buckingham's permission to remain longer in Calcutta. That plain statement of the case was, he (Mr. Astell) trusted, sufficient to convince the House that Mr. Buckingham was not that very injured individual that the hon. member had endeavoured to make out. It would bear in mind, that while these charges were brought against the conduct of Mr. Adam, he was not here to defend himself. It was not reasonable, it was not equitable, to enter on this subject at the present moment, when Mr. Adam was on his trial. [Hear, hear.] The case of Mr. Arnot was different from that of Mr. Buckingham. He was residing in India without any

license whatever, and therefore he might be removed at any time. Though the Judge said, in his case, that it was not legal to keep him in custody before he was put on ship-board, it should be recollected that another Chief Justice, Sir W. Jones, had held a contrary opinion. The hon. member had said, that of all other places the freedom of the press was most necessary in India. On that point he begged leave to say that he dissented entirely from the hon. member.

Sir Charles Forbes begged to offer a few observations on the question before the House. In the first place he would take the liberty to read extracts from two letters which he had received from a very intelligent and most respectable British resident at Calcutta, Mr. John Palmer, [Hear, hear,] which would show the estimation in which Mr. Buckingham was held by that gentleman. The hon. member then read the following extracts of the letters mentioned, the one dated on the 1st and the other on the 17th of March, 1823, from Calcutta.

'1st. I present my friend, Mr. Buckingham, the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, to your notice and friendly offices, under a full persuasion that your judgment of him, upon acquaintance, will justify the liberty I assume in recommending a banished man to you. The whine about the hazard of free discussion in this country, will receive your contempt, whilst you will be satisfied that infinite benefit must result to the true interests of all societies from its indulgence.'

'17th. I have recommended Mr. Buckingham to a few of the East India Directors, without fear of being considered an incendiary, a rebellious or discontented spirit. I am satisfied of the salutary influence of a free press every where. I believe the Calcutta Journal has done much good, and was doing more. I request your notice of Mr. Buckingham, who, I believe, in spite of all sorts of calumny, to be worthy of your good offices and protection. Mr. Buckingham got very inadequate damages yesterday, in an action for libel, against the John Bull, though the Judge spoke of their malice with abhorrence.'

In the judgment of Mr. Palmer, he placed the most perfect reliance, and the sentiments which he had expressed were sufficient to prove Mr. Buckingham was a gentleman who did not deserve the severe treatment which he had experienced. (Hear, hear!) With respect to the great question of the Freedom of the Press in India, he (Sir Charles Forbes) was not then prepared to say, that under all the circumstances, he would give his support to a wholly unrestricted press in that part of the British dominions; at the same time he had no hesitation in saying, that the present restrictions on public discussion, were as unnecessary as they were impolitic (hear, hear!). It was, indeed, too true, that the Governments in India were apt to look with considerable jealousy at any public discussion of their own acts. They considered it the very height of arrogance and presumption in any person to dare to comment on what they thought proper to do. But the extraordinary power of deportation was what he most complained of. He knew instances of natives being threatened with deportation, as well as Englishmen. He was acquainted with a native of Bombay, who was threatened, under perculiar circumstances, to be sent away from the Island. He had made a good bargain with the Government, which they were desirous he should abandon, and which he was determined to keep. (A laugh.) He was threatened with deportation; and his answer was to be found on the Company's records. With a spirit becoming an Englishman—with that spirit which the natives always manifested, if not crushed to the ground, as they too often were (hear, hear,)—he answered, to this effect—"Honourable Sir, I have been informed that you threaten to turn me off the Island. I believe it is untrue. I am satisfied, honourable Sir, you are too well acquainted with the laws of your country and the rights of British subjects to take that course." (Hear.) He would say but one word with respect to the tremendous power which the Government of India possessed—the power of sending British subjects out of India. It was granted by the act of the 53d of the late King, but not without considerable opposition and discussion. He would ask of gentlemen who were present at these discussions, whether it was not stated, that this great power was most pointedly and positively to be applied to those cases where the safety of India might be endangered by Europeans getting into the interior of the country and tampering with the native powers? (Hear.) The treatment of Mr. Buckingham was, he conceived, exceedingly harsh. He was removed at the very moment when he expected the arrival of his family. He earnestly entreated the

hon. member who brought forward this subject so ably and so perspicuously, not to lose sight of it, but to bring it before the House at a future time. Before he sat down, he begged to state that he knew nothing of Mr. Buckingham but through his productions, and from the correspondence of Mr. Palmer, the gentleman to whom he had before alluded, and whom he highly respected.

Sir F. BURDETT said, he heard with great satisfaction the opinions which had been uttered by the honourable gentleman who had just sat down; but he had yet heard nothing to palliate the act of tyranny, (for he could call it by no other name,) which had been committed against Mr. Buckingham. He felt bound to declare that a more gross case of cruelty than that which his honourable friend had brought forward, had never been presented to the notice of the House;—(hear)—and declared, that his peculiar motive for rising, was to entreat the hon. member near him (Mr. Lambton) not to rest contented with pledging himself, in the next session, to discuss the general question of a free press for India, but to give the petitioner, during the present session, the advantage of his talents in a motion specifically directed to the hardship of his case. The question already before the House resolved itself into two considerations—the common liberty of the press in India, and the act of personal oppression exercised upon Mr. Buckingham. The last of those considerations was most important to come under the distinct inquiry and cognizance of the House; and he did really spurn at the argument on the other side, by which the investigation was attempted to be got rid of,—viz. that the petitioner had commenced proceedings in a court of law, on account of the injuries which he now sought redress for. In the first place, it was declared, and plainly, that Mr. Buckingham had not the power of following up the process at law; but, whether he could do so, or could not, it was fit the arbitrary conduct of the Governor of India should be inquired into. The hon. Chairman of the Court of Directors had said much, but he had informed the House absolutely of nothing. He had spoken of "warnings" given—(of which more hereafter); but there was no account of the charge made against Mr. Buckingham—(hear)—of the charge upon which he had been sent to England. He was warned about this, and warned about that.—But what did he commit; where was his fault?

> ————"Quisnam
> Delator? Quibus indiciis? Quo teste probavit?
> Nil horum. Verbosa et grandis epistola venit
> A capreis"———

And *multa* might be added, for there were more than one of these letters to which the displeasure of the Government had been directed. It might be that the remarks which he made were very proper and necessary. No doubt the comments of a public writer were not often palatable to those whose acts were commented upon. (Hear, hear.) No doubt, there were epistles upon epistles, and they were most probably urged and repeated when the Editor was fairly, properly, and most laudably employed in exposing their very proceedings.—Those warnings were no proof of offences against law. Of Mr. Adam's character he (Sir Francis Burdett) knew nothing; but he was justified, from his acts, in concluding that there was sufficient to raise a suspicion as to his motives. It was imputed, as an offence, to Mr. Buckingham, that he had found fault with the appointment of Dr. Bryce.—Yet that very appointment the Directors rescinded, and members of the Church to which Dr. Bryce belonged found fault with him for accepting it. The question for the House was, not merely whether Mr. Adam had exceeded the letter of his power, but whether he had exercised that power with due temperance and discretion—whether he had used the authority fairly for the purposes to which it was intended to be applied? And further, whether the power itself, however exercised, was not one which demanded censure and recall? Let hon. members look at the situation in which Mr. Buckingham had been placed. Whatever offence he had committed against the existing Government of India, he had been actually entrapped into the situation in which he was placed by the appearance of a more liberal policy in a former Governor (Lord Moira), who had, in fact, looked upon a free press as a probable benefit rather than a mischievous engine in India. Here lay the danger, let it be observed, of arbitrary governments—men were safe in no one line of conduct, let them pursue what line they would. The right or wrong was a question of individual feeling; and what was one to-day, might be the other to-morrow. A change of the Governor was a change of the law; nay, a change of the Governor's opinion had an operation equally sweeping. And this view, while he (Sir Fran-

cis Burdett) trusted that his hon. friend to whom he had before appealed, would bring forward, independent of the general question, a specific motion upon the grievances of Mr. Buckingham— this view led him to say one word, whether he would or no, upon the common condition of British subjects in our territories in India. If it was really an object with England to encourage a free trade with India, her first act ought to be to give every English resident there the full benefit of English law. (Hear, hear.) If ever, let the House be sure, we were to derive any real benefit from our Indian possessions, it must be by the abandonment of that system of despotism which pressed upon the natives of the country not more hardly than upon the English themselves who were tempted there in pursuit of fortune. He would not occupy the time of the House by dwelling at length upon topics, for the discussion of which more fit and more ample opportunities would arise. The object before the House at present was, the relief of a particular individual, whom he considered to have been treated with a cruelty unmerited, and almost unparalleled. Situated as Mr. Buckingham had been, the most incessant anxiety to conform himself to the regulations (however slavish) imposed upon him, would have been insufficient to ensure his security. No charge of any description, but that he had neglected certain warnings (whatever they were), was made out against him; and for this neglect, his property, and perhaps his prospects, were to be destroyed. The argument that the matter was already in a course of legal discussion, seemed to him (Sir Francis Burdett) to have no force whatever; and he should sit down with again pressing it upon his hon. friend the Member for Durham, to bring on the consideration of the petitioner's case in a distinct motion without delay.

Mr. CANNING did not propose detaining the House upon any of those general topics which common consent, as well as the course taken by the hon. member for Durham, seemed to point out the convenience of reserving for some future opportunity. The subject properly before the House at present was simply the petition of Mr. Buckingham (for it could hardly be advantageous to discuss such a matter as the freedom of the press in India in the way of an incidental question); and without knowing how far the hon. member (Mr. Lambton) might be inclined to follow up the suggestion of the hon. member for Westminter, as to bringing forward the compiaint of the petitioner (Mr. Buckingham) in the shape of a specific motion, he did trust that the House would decline interfering in a cause which was already trying at law between two individuals, and in which it could not interfere without trenching upon the proper rights of courts of justice. It might be a fit question for discussion whether the system of government in India should be thrown open, as recommended by the hon. Bart. opposite; or whether those guards and precautions in it, which had hitherto been thought necessary, should go on to be maintained in their accustomed force and rigour; but those who administered the existing powers (whether justifiable or unjustifiable), so long as those powers continued, were fairly entitled to this—they had a right to have their conduct judged of with reference to the laws which they had to execute, and not to be condemned as individuals, wherever parties disliked the system under which they were bound to act. He (Mr. Canning) wished particularly to impress honourable members with this point. Where the system which an officer administered was wrong, in the eyes of those who thought it wrong his conduct must of necessity be faulty; but a Governor of India would hardly be found in fault for having duly administered those powers which a deliberate and recent act of the British Legislature had decided to be necessary for the government of that country. The invidious statement, therefore, that Mr. Buckingham had been transported—torn away from one country, and sent to another, &c.—that statement might have been spared, because the course of proceeding regularly complained of was the course consequent upon the offence of which Mr. Buckingham was supposed to be guilty, and the very same act which gave that power of removal to the local governments, gave a specific redress to any individual who might find himself aggrieved by its exercise. Here was a case, then, in which a Governor-General, in the unquestioned exercise of an authority imposed upon him by act of Parliament, had applied to an individual the precise punishment allotted to the offence with which, justly or unjustly, he was charged. If that individual was innocent of such offence, he was a most highly injured person; and, in that event, he had the means of bringing his case at once, not before the authorities of India, but before a British court of justice. To such a tri-

bunal, in fact, Mr. Buckingham had appealed, and was appealing at the present moment; and the House could with no more propriety interfere with his proceeding, than it could interfere in any common King's Bench suit between individual and individual, merely because one of the parties happened, *prima facie*, to have made out a strong case against the other. He agreed with the hon. member for Westminster that it would be a most fit matter for consideration—and he should be ready to discuss that point the moment it could be done without prejudice to parties—whether (however it had been properly or improperly used on the present occasion) the power of removal ought to be continued. Whenever that question might be brought forward, he repeated that he should be ready to enter into it; but he was not prepared, under pretence of discussing a great constitutional question, to discuss a pending suit between individuals, to the prejudice of the accused, and the benefit of the accuser. The hon. member for Aberdeen had observed that he (Mr. Canning) had seemed to express some surprise at a passage in the speech of the hon. gentleman, by whom Mr. Buckingham's petition had been presented to the House. "Undoubtedly, Sir," continued Mr. Canning, "I did express surprise at that passage, for it was one well calculated to excite surprise in my mind. It was the passage in which the hon. member spoke of the tyranny of my Lord Amherst. Such a charge was new to me, and novelty is apt to produce surprise. To hear that Lord Amherst had become a tyrant did not astonish me much less than it would have astonished me to hear that he had become a tiger. (A laugh.) I feel, Sir, that I am bound to listen to the declaration of the hon. member for the county of Durham on this point, with that openness to conviction which we should all preserve, even when the character of those who stand the highest in our estimation is the subject of remark. I know that power has been frequently the cause of great changes in the human mind. It is possible that it has produced a great change in the mind of Lord Amherst. The possessor of the most mild, the most gentle, the most amiable, the most forbearing nature that I ever met with, may have been converted by power into a savage and ferocious spirit. Such a transformation may have taken place; but if it really has taken place, I must say that it is the most extraordinary physical phenomenon that ever came under my observation." (Cheers and laughter) Much misunderstanding appeared to exist with respect to the conduct of the Marquess of Hastings with reference to the press in India. It had been assumed, both in that House and elsewhere, that the Marquess of Hastings had thrown down all the guards on the press in India; that he had allowed the utmost latitude of discussion, and had almost offered prizes for disquisitions on the most delicate and dangerous topics. It was no such thing. The Noble Marquess had removed one set of restrictions on the press, but he had introduced another. When, therefore, the question came before him (Mr. Canning), at the time he was President of the Board of Control, it was a question, not whether there should be restrictions on the press in India, or no restrictions; but whether the ancient restrictions which the Marquess of Hastings had removed, and which the East India Company wished to see restored, should be preferred to those which the Noble Marquess had substituted for them? The Marquess of Hastings having removed one set of restrictions and substituted another, the draft which had been sent to him (Mr. Canning) by the Directors of the East India Company, required the restoration of the ancient restrictions. From that draft he had thought it his duty to withhold the approbation of the Crown. It had appeared to him that under the circumstances of the case, to restore the censorship of the press in India would be to interrupt that which might prove a very salutary experiment. It was some time in the year 1819 that accounts were received in this country of what had been done by the Marquess of Hastings respecting the Press in India. It was about June, 1820, that the draft by the Directors of the East India Company had been sent to him, to which draft, for the reasons he had already assigned, he had felt it his duty not to give the sanction of the Crown. That sanction he continued to withhold until the end of the same year, when he ceased to fill the office of President of the Board of Control. He repeated, that his object in withholding it was his desire that the new system should be fairly tried; but really before hon. gentlemen bestowed any high panegyric on himself, or on the Marquess of Hastings for his attachment to the liberty of the Press, as manifested on that occasion, they ought to know exactly the state of the case. The regulations which were established by Lord Wel-

lesley, and which the Marquess of Hastings had found in force when he went over, ran thus :—" 1. Every printer of a newspaper shall print his name at the bottom of the paper. 2. Every editor or proprietor of a newspaper shall deliver in his name and place of abode. 3. No paper shall be published on a Sunday. 4. No paper shall be published at all until it has previously been inspected by the Secretary of the Government or some person authorized by him. 5. The penalty consequent upon the disregard of any of the above regulations, shall be the immediate embarkation of the offender for England." Now, in lieu of this censorship, the following regulations had been established by the Marquess of Hastings, which did not, the House would see, as had been imagined, set the press at liberty altogether. The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter under the following heads :—1. Animadversions on the measures of the Court of Directors and other public bodies connected with the Government in India. (Hear, hear.) 2. Also all disquisitions on the political transactions of the local administrations. (Hear, and laughter.) All offensive remarks on the members of the Council or the Supreme Court, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta (hear, and great laughter); and all discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religion. 3. Also the republication, from English or other newspapers, of any matter coming under the above heads, calculated to affect the security of the British power or reputation in India. (Hear, hear.) 4. Also all scandal or personal remarks on individuals tending to excite discord and animosity in society." (Much laughter.) Now, certainly the panegyric was a little too wide which said, subject to these ordinations, that the Marquess of Hastings had intended to do away entirely with the existing restrictions upon the press, and substitute uncontrolled and unlimited discussion as a system throughout India. (Hear, hear.) "And I hope," continued Mr. Canning, "that I shall not be going too far when I say—' Give me what power you will, and let me have no fear but from the press; then give me the press, as regulated by the Marquess of Hastings, and I will venture to consider myself safe.'" (Hear, and great laughter.) In destroying the illusion which existed on this subject, and in making what might be considered a self-sacrifice, he begged not to be understood as expressing his approbation of the regulations which he had just quoted. He did not wish what he had said to be construed into an approval either of those regulations, or of the regulations for which they had been substituted. The question which had been put to him was, the censorship having been destroyed, and other regulations established in its place, whether it was worth while to send peremptory orders to India to destroy the new regulations, and to renew the censorship? His answer had been, that he did not think it worth while. If it had afterwards appeared to him that the new regulations were more offensive, and less effectual than the censorship, he should certainly not have interfered to prevent the renewal of the latter; but as he went out of office, it was impossible for him to say what might have been his ultimate decision. What was the inference which he wished the House to draw from all this? Not that they should express approbation of either of the systems in preference to the other. But, surely, Gentlemen of all parties would allow, when it appeared that two such minds as those of Marquess Wellesley and the Marquess of Hastings—Quales neque candidiores terra tulit—men as virtuous and honourable as they were great and dignified—as much attached to the principles of liberty as the most enlightened Statesmen that ever lived—concurred in the necessity of *some* control over the press in India, he would not say that their judgment should be subjugated to that of those distinguished persons, but that they might well pause before they declared that the Marquess of Hastings ought to be condemned for the course of conduct which he had pursued. What he had stated were the authorities on which he founded his opinion; and he was sure that the hon. gentleman who had introduced the subject with so much temper and ability, would not say that they ought to be put out of the question. What the decision might be on the particular case under consideration, he would not anticipate. In his opinion it neither would be nor could be decided on abstract principles. It must be looked at with reference, not to the happily enlightened state of this country, but to those modifications which belonged to a state of society not merely different from our own, but which had no resemblance in the whole world. Mr. Buckingham's conduct must be judged with reference to the law under

which he lived at the time, and not the law by which happily we were governed. As to Mr. Adam, with that gentleman, he (Mr. Canning) had no personal connexion. But he should be doing great injustice to him if he did not say that he was a man who had raised himself by his meritorious conduct; a conduct, the value of which had been acknowledged by the successive individuals who had held the Government of India, and who had, therefore, the opportunity of witnessing and appreciating it. He (Mr. Canning) could truly say from experience, that in a situation of great difficulty he had known that gentleman exert himself in the most manly and creditable manner. If he were to judge of Mr. Adam's general character from his conduct as a public officer, he would say that he was a man evidently determined to act honourably and uprightly, cost what it would. Mr. Adam might, in the pursuit of what he considered a just object, have been guilty of violence and oppression in the exercise of the temporary authority with which he was invested. If so, he was in the course of trial before that tribunal which Parliament had especially appointed to take cognizance of such misdeeds;—and should he be proved guilty, God forbid that he should not be visited by the punishment awarded by law to such an offence. But it was impossible that that House could step in with an extra-judical proceeding; and above all, that, while the particular case was under the consideration of a court of law, it should step in to try the merits of that case, and the general system together. That House, if it entered at present into the investigation of the subject, could not separate the individual case from the system. But a court of law would separate them. It would try Mr. Adam by the law which he was bound to administer; and would consider Mr. Buckingham's case by the law under which he lived. When the individual case should be once out of the way, he (Mr. Canning) should have no objection whatever to consent, not only that the whole question respecting the press of India should be brought under the view of Parliament, but that it should also take into consideration the other modifications of the system of Indian Government, which the progress of knowledge and the improving condition of the population of our Asiatic Empire might appear to demand.

Mr. Denman contended that the concluding observations of the right hon. gentleman who had just sat down, and the opening observations of the right hon. the President of the Board of Control, were founded on a complete fallacy. The right hon. gentleman had mi-stated both the law and the fact. He seemed to suppose that Mr. Buckingham had contravened the law, and that it was in consequence of that contravention he had been expelled from India. That was not the fact. Mr. Buckingham had contravened no law, he had not even contravened the Marquess of Hastings's regulations: nor did even a breach of these incur the penalty of embarkation for England. But the great error of the two right hon. gentlemen was, that they supposed Mr. Buckingham was availing himself of the Act of Parliament, which, it was thought, prescribed the means by which he might remedy the injustice that he had suffered. When first Mr. Buckingham returned to this country, he had done him (Mr. Denman) the honour to ask his opinion as to the course of proceeding which it would be expedient for him to pursue. He advised him to abandon his intention of proceeding in a Court of Law for redress against the Governor as hopeless. It was in consequence of this share which he had in the business, that he was anxious to trouble the House with some remarks. He did then think, and thought so still, that Mr. Buckingham did abandon the intention of taking any proceeding in the Court of King's Bench. If he (Mr. Denman) did not most conscientiously believe that all Mr. Buckingham's legal proceedings against Mr. Adam were relinquished, he would certainly not support his present Petition. If, on the contrary, he persevered in them, he (Mr. Denman) would say that he disgraced himself. In the Petition which his honourable friend had presented from Mr. Buckingham, the latter disclaimed all further legal proceeding in this case. If, after so solemn a disclaimer, Mr. Buckingham should nevertheless proceed, he (Mr. Denman) would in no way be legally concerned on the subject. But the fact was, that the allegation that Mr. Buckingham continued his legal suit, was only one of the reasons which were always discovered by those who wished to get rid of the complaints of any injured individual. Mr. Buckingham had no connexion with the leading members of that House. He had never sat in the same cabinet or at the same table with them. Of course, therefore, his remonstrances were met by panegyrics on those whom he considered his oppressors. Every

right hon. member was prepared with some ground, founded either on candour to an adversary, or on partiality to a friend, for rejecting any individual case of grievance that might be submitted to the consideration of Parliament. The Petitioner had declared that he did not mean to follow up any legal proceeding, against Mr. Adam for his banishment and ruin, and yet the House of Commons were, forsooth, to slumber over his wrongs, because, it was possible he might be insincere! When was this doubt to end? Was the offence of having once entered into recognizances to be visited on Mr. Buckingham by a perpetual denial of justice? Would the right hon. gentleman believe next year, or the year after, that the intention of not proceeding legally was sincere? To him (Mr. Denman), it appeared that the Petition was one to which the House ought to attend, with reference both to the oppression which the Petitioner had suffered, and to the system under which that oppression had been inflicted. Unquestionably, on looking at the Act of Parliament, which, according to the right hon. gentleman, afforded the means of redress for such injustice as that complained of, he had advised Mr. Buckingham to drop all legal proceedings. The remedy which that act pointed out was merely nominal—it imposed on the person complaining of oppression such a course in proving his case, as rendered all prospect of success hopeless. The Governor General of India was armed with arbitrary power, at a moment's notice to send out of the country any individual whose newspaper or whose face he, or any of the underlings of office, disliked, or with whom (as had been hinted by an hon. baronet) he or they had made an improvident bargain; and that individual had no remedy at law, unless he could prove malice and corruption on the part of his oppressor—a thing manifestly impossible, unless the Governor General of India were to be an ideot as well as a tyrant. It was so, also, with regard to the magistrates in this country. The House were every day told, that if those magistrates behaved improperly, redress might be obtained in the Court of King's Bench. But that redress could not be obtained unless malicious or corrupt motives could be established; and who did not know the difficulty of establishing any such charge by distinct and positive evidence? Important as he held the liberty of the press to be, that formed but a small part of the question under consideration. And yet, upon that point, a more mistaken notion had never existed than that which had led to this outrage upon the person of Mr. Buckingham. Undoubtedly to talk of a press, and that press not free, was to talk of a secret enemy instead of an open friend. But that was not the single question before them. The question was not, why the press was not unrestrained in India, but why, there being laws regulating the press, in the event of any violation of those laws, was not the violator pursued in the proper and regular course of justice? When he heard the hon. Chairman of the Court of Directors talk of the five warnings which Mr. Buckingham had received against the commission of the offence with which he was charged, it naturally occurred to him to ask the hon. Chairman why the offender had not been brought into a court of justice? He would answer, that unless the power were allowed freely at home and abroad of canvassing the conduct of persons in authority, discontent would soon take a more alarming form than that of speech, and swell into danger upon every occasion. At the time that Mr. Buckingham was charged with the offence in question, he had brought an action in the Supreme Court against the proprietors of the John Bull newspaper, by whom an action had also been brought against him, so that he was in the double capacity of plaintiff and defendant. Yet Mr. Adam had torn him from his business, from his friends, from all his hopes, and had sent him to a distant country, where he was ruined, and was perhaps on the very verge of beggary. It was horrible to hear of such things. It was horrible to see any thing like an attempt to introduce into this country that Indian atmosphere which he for one was not prepared to breathe. He trusted Parliamentary inquiry would be instituted into the treatment that Mr. Buckingham had experienced. It had been considered necessary to submit the conduct of individuals, situated as Mr. Buckingham had been situated, to the judgment of a court of law in India in several instances. If in one, why not in all? Was it not in Mr. Buckingham's favour, that in the civil action which he had himself brought for a libel on his character he had recovered damages, and that the revival of the criminal information against him by Mr. Adam was considered so unwarrantable by the Judge, Sir Francis Macnaghten, that he refused to send it to a Jury, and declared the whole proceeding to be cruel, oppressive, and illegal? What reason could be assigned for the exis-

tence of so despotic a law as that under which Mr. Buckingham was suffering, unless it were an overwhelming necessity? Yet no such necessity appeared to exist. Why preserve this perpetual Alien Bill in India? an Alien Bill too of the most strange description; for Aliens were free from its operation, which was directed against Englishmen alone! It was not because any man had been mild and amiable in this country that he must necessarily be mild and amiable in India. It was very true, as the right hon. gentleman opposite had himself allowed, that arbitrary power frequently altered character. The right hon. gentleman could not have forgotten that beautiful passage in the most beautiful histories of the world, where the future tyrant answered the voice that foretold what he should do, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" But he did it. Such, indeed, were the naturally vitiating consequences of the possession of arbitrary power, that no wise or good man would wish for it. With respect to Mr. Adam, it did happen that that gentleman was an old school-fellow of his; and he recollected him to have been a boy of a most amiable and gentle character. Nevertheless, he must declare that on the present occasion, Mr. Adam seemed to him to have committed one of the most cruel, oppressive, and unjustifiable acts which he had ever known to have been committed by a British Governor in the histories of the colonies—bad as they were. [Hear.] So far was his conduct in the transaction from deserving to be regarded with indulgence, except indeed from the circumstance of his not being in this country to defend it, that in his (Mr. Denman's) opinion, it ought to receive the most marked and general reprobation. But although Mr. Adam was not in the country to defend himself, he had published his defence, and no person could read that defence without finding in it Mr. Adam's own condemnation, and seeing the arbitrary and uncontrolled power which he had exercised. The hon. Chairman of the Court of Directors had talked of the warnings which Mr. Buckingham had received, as if they were the distant rumblings of thunder that were to throw a man on his knees to pray to heaven to avert from him the menacing storm. But why was the storm to fall as it did? Surely Mr. Adam might have waited a few weeks until the arrival of the new Governor. But the whole proceeding clearly showed the nature of that system, which, from the top to the bottom, required unsparing revision and correction. It was the bounden duty of Parliament to take care that the press in India enjoyed that degree of liberty which might safely be granted to it; and, above all, to deprive the Government in that country of the power of exercising an arbitrary deportation towards any individual who might happen to displease them by the manliness and independence of his conduct. [Cheers.]

Mr. Lambton made a brief reply. He felt that an apology was due from him to the House, for intruding upon them again, after the very able manner in which Mr. Buckingham's cause had been advocated by his hon. friends; but there were one or two points in the speeches of the right hon. gentlemen opposite, which he should be wanting in duty to the individual whose Petition he had undertaken to present to Parliament, if he were not to notice. With respect to any imputation on individuals, it was in the recollection of the House, whether at the very outset of his address to them on presenting the Petition, and in the whole course of that address, he had not wholly disclaimed attributing corrupt or malicious motives to any one? He had stated the case with reference to its own merits. He had simply stated the facts which had occurred under Mr. Adam's temporary administration of the Government of India, without imputing to that gentleman, or to any one else, any improper motive whatever. The right hon. gentleman, however, talked as if his speech had been full of inculpation. He had a right to complain also of the way in which the right hon. gentleman had treated another of his statements. He had certainly told the right hon. the President of the Board of Control, more than three weeks ago, in that House, that all legal proceedings had been dropped by Mr. Buckingham. He had also endeavoured to impress that fact upon the House this evening. The death of Mr. Buckingham's solicitor, in India, and the unaccountable circumstance that his counsel, Mr. Fergusson, well known to many gentlemen in that House, (who was soon after appointed Advocate General under Mr. Adam) had omitted to send him the necessary documents and evidence, with the protracted stay of Mr. Adam in India, added to other considerations, had induced him to decline all further proceeding. If that had not been the case, he (Mr. Lambton) would certainly

have abstained from presenting the Petition. It had been contended that Mr. Adam had only administered the power which belonged to the existing system. That he (Mr. Lambton) positively denied. It was one of Mr. Buckingham's strongest complaints. The system which Mr. Adam found on his accession to the temporary Government of India, was the system which the Marquess of Hastings had established. It signified nothing to talk of the private regulations respecting the press, which that Noble Marquess had circulated. Those regulations, not having received the sanction of the Supreme Court of Justice, were inoperative as law. For his part, he knew nothing of the Marquess of Hastings's character. But this he knew—that the Marquess of Hastings had removed all arbitrary control on the part of the Government over the Press of India. He was not called upon to defend the Marquess of Hastings, to speak of his attributes, to reconcile his inconsistencies, or to hold him up as an example. But when the Noble Marquess had made a public declaration to one effect, and had circulated private regulations to another, he (Mr. Lambton) considered himself only bound by the former. Did the Noble Marquess make those regulations the law of India? No. It was true that they had *since* been registered by the Chief Justice in Bengal, and had become the law; but at the time at which Mr. Adam acted upon them they were not so; nor were they passed into a law until *after* Mr. Buckingham had been banished from the country. What was the tribunal, then, that was to decide whether this individual was to have his remedy? It must be a superior one to that which had done the wrong. Surely, then, it was not to the Court of Directors that he was to appeal, but only to this Parliament and to the people. (Hear, hear.) And though he (Mr. Lambton) feared that he should gain little by looking to Parliament for redress, for he expected no other redress but that which the people of England might be disposed to afford, he had yet felt it incumbent upon him to submit these few observations on Mr. Buckingham's case. Having offered these remarks with respect to what had fallen from the right hon. Secretary (Mr. Canning), he had a few more to make upon the speech of the hon. Chairman of the Court of Directors. That hon. gentleman had talked a great deal about the inconvenience which had resulted from the mode of proceeding, and the prejudice that it might operate to the welfare of India; but he (Mr. Lambton) knew of no inconvenience or prejudice that could result from the discussion of the case of an English subject to whom so signal an injustice had been done in so distant a climate. (Hear.) He could not perceive the inconvenience of that House's inquiring into the causes of an English subject's banishment from India under such extraordinary circumstances as those which marked this case. The hon. Chairman of the Court of Directors had also alluded to the warnings which were said to have been given to Mr. Buckingham, and had expressed an opinion, that after they had been so given, it was matter of surprise that Mr. Buckingham should go on in the same course. But it was a little extraordinary that the hon. Chairman had never stated to the House what these warnings were. (Hear.) If, however, the House would give him leave, he (Mr. Lambton) would satisfy them on that head, having been furnished with some particulars relative to the matter. One of these warnings related to the fact of Mr. Buckingham's having asserted (as we understood) that Mr. Elliot's being continued in the government of Madras was a public calamity; for that the censorship of the press there was so strict, that nothing was suffered to appear which spoke favourably of her late Majesty, Queen Caroline, or of her lamented and unfortunate daughter, the Princess Charlotte. Now it was a fact that happened to be known to him (Mr. Lambton), that application was made (and very properly made as far as that went) to the Advocate General for his opinion as to whether any prosecution should be instituted against Mr. Buckingham for these reflections; and the Advocate General replied that there would be no chance whatever of success, if they were. (Hear.) This circumstance he took from a pamphlet which had that night been already quoted—namely, Mr. Adam's Defence. Another warning regarded a charge that was supposed to respect the Bishop of Calcutta; that, however, was by no means a personal charge against his lordship, but was brought, in the Calcutta Journal, against one of the Chaplains of the Bishop, for neglect of duty on various occasions and on various matters. The Bishop applied to the Council, complaining that the passage in question was an insult upon himself. But what was the result? An inquiry into the facts was set on foot: the statement of Mr. Buckingham was

discovered to be true, and the evil was remedied. Was this an injury? Was it for this that Mr. Buckingham was to be required to abstain from further observation or discussion? It might rather have been supposed that the finding good to have been effected by such means, would prove the strongest incentive and inducement to a generous mind not to relax in its efforts for the removal of evils. Another warning was occasioned by some military statements that were published by Mr. Buckingham, and which, it was apprehended, would excite a spirit of insubordination in our Indian army. But it appeared that the writer of the statements had left his name and address with the editor of the Calcutta Journal, to answer any demands that might be made upon him. They regarded a system of great oppression and injustice which then existed in that army; the troops being paid very disadvantageously, in a particular currency. Here, again, an inquiry was instituted into the subject, and a remedy was applied to the grievance. The honourable Director might with great propriety be referred to the excellent work on the disturbances in the army at Madras, published by Sir John Malcolm, who had expressly declared in it, that it was for the benefit and prosperity of India that free discussion should be allowed; and that oppressions were frequently practised in the army, which nothing but a free press could remedy. Had the hon. Chairman forgotten that the mutinies at Vellore and Madras had taken place under an established censorship of the press in India? that the dreadful rebellion in Calcutta also broke out before the censorship was removed? and that it was the universal opinion of the best informed and most experienced men, that if India had had a free press, those disturbances would most probably not have taken place? He (Mr. Lambton) knew that to be the case; and if the House would only be induced to grant him a Committee for the purposes of inquiry, he would pledge himself to prove at their bar, by officers of the first respectability, and such as were in the highest estimation with the Court of Directors, that as far as the general peace, interests, and prosperity of India were concerned, no remedy could be found for existing evil so effectual as a free press. (Hear, hear.) As to his future intentions, he would be very willing to give the House another opportunity of discussing the question before them; but he did candidly confess that he had never entertained the slightest hope of gaining any redress for this individual himself. (Hear.) His principal object had been to give that publicity to the case which he thought it was now likely to receive; but he did not see the remotest prospect of obtaining any redress for it; and, therefore, unless he received such a pledge as he hardly ever knew to have been given in that House,—namely, that the statement of Mr. Buckingham should be inquired into, and if that were found true, then that the wrong he complained of should be redressed—he felt that he should only be trifling with the time of the House, and exciting hopes in the individual that were not likely to be realized, if he brought the case forward once more. (Hear.) He had already stated that his motives for bringing the matter before them at all were purely of a public nature. He knew not Mr. Buckingham—he knew not the Marquess of Hastings—he knew not Mr. Adam—he knew not Lord Amherst. (Hear, hear.) All that he knew of him was that he had refused to perform the ceremony of the Ko-tou before the Emperor of China—(A laugh.) That was the only public act of his Lordship that had ever come to his knowledge. (Laughter.) But whether he was a tyrant or a tiger, he (Mr. Lambton) was bound, as a Member of Parliament, when he received a statement of oppression and cruelty, supported by men of the highest character and respectability, fearless of all consequences, and regardless of the rank and power of the individuals whom that statement might implicate, to perform his duty by placing it before those who called themselves the Commons of England. He had laid the case of Mr. Buckingham before them. If they permitted the deep wrongs which that gentleman had suffered to go unredressed, on their heads would fall the disgrace—he cast it from him with disdain. (Loud cheers.)

The Petition was then ordered to be printed.

LETTER ON THE DEBATE IN THE COMMONS.

[We have received a number of letters from persons interested in the subject of the Press in India, on the debate of the 25th; from among which we can find room for *one* only: and we give that the preference principally because it is the shortest.—We had intended to offer from our own pen some notes on the fallacies to be found in the speeches of Mr. Canning, Mr. Wynn, and Mr. Astell; but a future opportunity will occur in which we hope to be able to do them more justice than our time or space will now permit.]

SIR,—I have perused with much interest, and not without satisfaction, the Report given in the Morning Chronicle and other newspapers of the debate on your Petition, in the House of Commons, on the 25th inst.

I do not mean to take up your readers' time or your space by any remarks on the case itself. There can be but one opinion regarding the persevering cruelty of your oppressors among all Englishmen, who have the feelings of which our nation is proud, and who are not interested in the continuance of a bad system, or in the protection of bad rulers.

But if the reporters have reported truly, the right hon. Secretary for Foreign Affairs was pleased obligingly to undertake the defence of the Marquess of Hastings, against the attacks of those numerous writers and speakers here and abroad, who have accused his Lordship of sincerely intending what he publicly professed in 1819, namely, to permit the free exercise of that public scrutiny which he declared to be so salutary for public authority.

The reporters must be mistaken in this. Mr. Canning well knows, that whatever may have been the character of Lord Hastings's later views and opinions, he was most sincere in his original professions, and that it required abundant and persevering goading, on the part of councillors, secretaries, bishops, and judges, before his Lordship yielded so far as even to threaten. Beyond that point they never were able to drive him; and those who consider the whole circumstances of his position will perhaps make charitable allowance for his failing *so far* in consistent firmness.

Mr. Canning knows that he, as well as the Directors, (all equally *at heart* hostile to free discussion) acted and wrote on this conviction, that Lord H. was introducing *real* freedom of discussion, which was deprecated as being indeed harmless to a strong and honest government, but most dangerous to a weak or wicked one. It is impossible then, that Mr. Canning could have said what is thus erroneously ascribed to him.

If this is impossible, equally so is it that Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, could have withheld his sanction to the eager wishes of the Directors for restoring a Censorship, for the *reason* assigned in the erroneous report of his speech, viz. that as Lord Hastings had *no* intention to make the press free, but only to substitute one mode of control by prohibiting any regulations, for another by previous censure, he (Mr. Canning) did not think it worth while to interrupt this philanthropic course of experiments on the most effectual way of gagging the unfortunate subjects of the India Company. But *if* Mr. Canning and his coadjutors *did* know that real practical freedom of discussion *had* been introduced by Lord Hastings, and did deprecate it privately, what becomes of all this story about the experiments?

I have not yet done with this strangely erroneous Report, and the experimental course. In Mr. Canning's anxiety to defend Lord Hastings from the imputation of sincere love of freedom, he is made to say, that Lord Hastings *substituted* for the abolished previous censure a *new* description of previous check by means of the prohibition of certain topics—a check by intimidation, in short. Mr. Canning is also said to have read what he declared to be the Regulations for the Press established by Lord Wellesley—which Lord Hastings found in existence, and for which he *substituted* (as Mr. Canning is made to say,) the Regulations to Editors, commanding them to abstain from criticising acts of Governors, Bishops, Judges, and so forth.

Now, Sir, had Mr. Canning really averred that the above odious and ridiculous Regulations with which he amused the House, were *introduced* by Lord Hastings, to whom he ascribed them, he would have shown himself ignorant to a singular degree. I will not suppose the alternative, that he could wish to deceive his audience or suppress facts of such importance as these to the absent client he was defending.

The Wellesley Code, as read by Mr. Canning, was only *a part*, and not the whole—and, strange to say, the portion omitted by the right hon. Secretary was almost exactly the counterpart of the Regulations he ascribed to Lord Hastings.

Along with Lord Wellesley's brief Code of five articles, of which the only substantive one is that directing the newspapers to be submitted to previous

censure, his Lordship issued a *subsidiary* Code of instructions for the Censor's guidance for the time being; and this Code was communicated to the Editors, to prevent needless trouble to both parties. I remember to have seen this subsidiary Code in, I think, a pamphlet of Dr. Maclean's, and it was almost the *very counterpart* of that letter of prohibitory regulations sent to the Editors by Lord Hastings, only rather more vexatious, and with this difference, that Lord Wellesley could not throw the shield of protection over bad Bishops, for Bishop there was none, so that bad Judges alone had the honour of being sheltered from public scrutiny; English Judges too!

In this state Lord Hastings found the Press. When he abolished the censure, the Government caused the subsidiary Regulations of Lord Wellesley, in substance, to be sent to each Editor for his guidance, since there was no longer a *General Censor*, and each Editor was to become his *own Censor*. I am not defending this act of the collective Government. Lord Hastings's construction of his own share in it will be admitted by all candid men to show that he preserved this fragment of Lord Wellesley's gagging system, only as a matter of form, and *perhaps* as a peace-offering to the Sages of Leadenhall-street.

I hope you will obtain and publish the Censorial Instructions of Lord Wellesley, together with the Circular Regulations of Lord Hastings, when the world will see better than perhaps Lord Hastings's obliging *defender* may like, the crying injustice of attributing the work of another and a very different "candid" spirit to that noble Lord. The jokes and good things about a free Press, as regulated by Lord Hastings, will lose their point, perhaps :—but the suppression committed, if not designed, will perhaps do less mischief.

I beg pardon for so long a trespass—but it seemed really necessary to defend an absent man from the over zealous defence of his good-natured friends.

Yours, SUUM CUIQUE.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

[*From the London Gazette.*]

GENERAL ORDERS, PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS, &c.

Warrant for subjecting the Pay of Officers in Jamaica, Ceylon, Mauritius, and on all other Foreign Stations (except India) where allowances are granted instead of rations of provisions in kind, for themselves and their servants, to the same stoppage as is made from the pay of officers on stations abroad, where rations of provisions are issued in kind.

"GEORGE *R.*

"Whereas the staff and regimental officers of our forces in Jamaica, Ceylon, and the Mauritius, receive a Colonial allowance in lieu of rations of provisions in kind, without any stoppage being made from their pay on account of such allowance; and whereas we consider it to be just and expedient that the officers of our army should in all cases be placed, as nearly as possible, upon an equal footing: Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby order and direct, that the pay of our staff and regimental officers, serving in the said islands, and on every other foreign station, except in the territorial possessions of the East India Company, and receiving a Colonial allowance in lieu of rations of provisions, shall be subject to a deduction of twopence-halfpenny per diem for each ration, for which such Colonial allowance shall be made, being the same stoppage as is now made from the pay of those officers who are supplied abroad with rations of provisions in kind for themselves and their servants.

"We are further pleased to direct, that the present regulation shall take effect from the 25th day of the month next ensuing the receipt of this our order, by the Generals or other officers in command of our forces on the several stations abroad."

The honour of Knighthood is conferred upon James Brabazon Urmston, Esq. President of the Select Committee of Supercargoes of the Honourable East India Company, at Canton.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

BENGAL.

16th Regt. Light Dragoons. Cornet W. Penn, from 17th Light Dragoons, to be Cornet, vice Thomas Brett, who retires on half-pay 24th Light Dragoons, dated 22 April 1824.

14th Foot. Lieut. Col. J. Campbell, from half-pay Royal West India Rangers, to be Major, vice Gardner, who exchanges, dated 6 May 1824.

38th Foot. Lieut. J. Mathews to be Captain without purchase, vice Read, deceased, dated 23 Oct. 1823.—Lieut. Matt. Semple, from 28th Foot, to be Captain without purchase, vice Willshire, promoted, dated 24 Oct. 1823.—Ensign H. Grimes to be Lieutenant, vice Mathews, dated 23 Oct. 1823.—E. Bagot, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Grimes, dated 23 October 1823.

44th Foot. Brevet Major Adam Brugh to be Major without purchase, vice Nixon, deceased, dated 7 Nov. 1823.—Lieut. J.

Connor to be Captain, vice Brugh, same date.—Ensign Walter Ogilvy to be Lieutenant, vice Connor, same date.—Second Lieut. R. B. M'Crea, from the Ceylon Regiment, to be Ensign, vice Browne, appointed to 28th Foot, dated 28 April 1824.—Gentleman Cadet J. D. De Wend, from the Royal College, to be Ensign, vice Ogilvy, dated 29 April 1824.—Captain B. Halfhide, from 17th Foot, to be Captain, vice Caulfield who exchanges, dated 6 May 1824.—Ensign W. C. Langmead, from 76th Foot, to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Wood, removed from the service, dated 25 April 1824.

59th Foot. Lieut. N. Chadwick to be Captain by purchase, vice Clutterbuck, who retires, dated 29 April 1824.—Ensign C. Coote to be Lieutenant, vice Chadwick, dated 29 April 1824.—J. N. Barron, Gent. to be Ensign by purchase, vice Coote, same date.

MADRAS.

46th Foot. Ensign W. N. Hutchinson to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Law, deceased, dated 25 Oct. 1823.—G. Woodburn, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Hutchinson, same date.

BOMBAY.

20th Foot. Capt. R. Swinton, from 17th Foot, to be Captain, vice Rotton, who exchanges, dated 29 April 1824.—Lieut. M. Day, from half-pay Royal West India Rangers, to be Lieutenant, vice Warren, (whose appointment has not taken place) dated 22 April 1824.

4th Regt. Light Dragoons. Major G. Brown, from 8th Light Dragoons, to be Major, vice Onslow, who retires upon half-pay 42d Foot, receiving the difference, dated 13 May.

Brevet. Captain C. O. Aveline of Hon. E. I. Co.'s service, and Adjutant to the Cadets at the Royal Military Seminary at Addiscombe, to have the local rank of Captain while so employed, vice Lester, who resigns.—Lieut. T. Ritherdon, of do. and Assistant Adjutant at that Institution, to have the local rank of Lieutenant while so employed, dated 13 May.

CEYLON.

Ceylon Regt. G. P. Pickard, Gent. to be 2d Lieutenant, vice M'Crea, appointed to 44th Foot, dated 29 April 1824.

WEST INDIES.

2d West India Regt. Capt. A. Smith, from half-pay 60th Foot, to be Captain, vice Welman, whose appointment has not taken place, dated 22 April 1824.—Capt. M. M'Neill, from 17th Light Dragoons, to be Captain, vice Locke, who exchanges, dated 29 April 1824.

MEDITERRANEAN.

Garrisons. Lieut. W. C. Clarke of 77th Foot, to be Town Adjutant in the Island of Malta, dated 29 April 1824.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[*From the Indian Gazettes.*]

BENGAL.

COURT MARTIAL.

Head Quarters, Camp, Mahomedabad, Nov. 15, 1823.—At an European General Court Martial, assembled at Secrole, Benares, on Monday, the 29th of September, 1823, of which Major-General Thomas Brown, commandant of Buxar, is President, Major (now Lieut.-Col.) J. S. Harriot, 2d Regt. Native Infantry, was arraigned upon various charges; the intent of which was, that he had been guilty of oppression and cruelty to the invalids under his command; of disobedience of orders; of having compelled helpless and maimed European invalids to do duty, although they presented certificates, signed by the garrison surgeon, of their incapacity and inability to do so; for encouraging inebriation among the men, and then punishing them for the same; for scandalous and infamous conduct to European soldiers, &c. These charges, as well as several others in addition, were signed by Thomas Robertson, Lieut.-Col. commanding, Chunar, 28th August, 1823. The Court found Lieut. Col. Harriot guilty, in a lesser degree of tyrannical conduct towards the invalids, and of having used contemptuous language, &c. to Col. Robertson, his commanding officer. The Court sentenced Lieut.-Col. Harriot to be suspended for six calendar months, and to be reprimanded as the Commander in Chief might deem proper.—In consideration of Col. Harriot having expressed contrition for his conduct towards Col. Robertson, and a desire to apologize to that gentleman, his Excellency, the Commander in Chief, was pleased to remit that part of the sentence which awarded the suspension of six months from rank and pay. Lieut.-Col. Harriot was directed to be immediately released from arrest, and to proceed to join the 2d Batt. 33d Regt. to which he was appointed.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Oct. 9. Mr. S. G. Palmer to be Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Sarun.—Nov. 6. Mr. S. Paxton to be Registrar of the Zillah Court of Furruckabad.—Dec. 11. Mr. W. Dampier to be Assistant to the Magistrate and to the Collector of Dacca; Mr. John Lewis to be Registrar of the Zillah Court of Tipperah; Mr. J. Thompson to be Assistant in the office of Register of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and Nizam Adawlut.—Dec. 14. Mr. T. R. Davidson to be 2d Registrar of the 24 Pergunnahs; Mr. James Armstrong, 2d do. of the Zillah Court of Rajeshahy, and Mr. Aug. Prinsep, Registrar of that of Agrah.

The Civil Buildings in Rajpootanah are authorized to be placed under charge of the Barrackmaster of the 13th Division

on which account that Officer is to draw the additional salary of 200 rupees per mensem, as prescribed by the Regulations.

Nov. 27. Capt. W. Price, an Examiner, to the situation of Professor of Hindoostanee in the College of Fort William, vice Taylor.—Lieut. J. W. J. Ousely of the 14th Regt. N. I. to be an Examiner in the College, vice Price.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Barrackpore.—Oct. 20. Assistant Surgeons Stewart and Clark to proceed to Cawnpore and place themselves under the orders of the Superintending Surgeon.—Nov. 27. Assistant Surgeon John Colvin to perform the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Azimghur.—Dec. 11. Assistant Surgeon J. Henderson to perform the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Allyghur, vice Fallowfield, promoted; Assistant Surgeon M. Isaac to do duty in the Artillery Hospital at Dum Dum.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Camp, Mahomedabad, Nov. 15th, 1823.—Ensign J. Tindal and W. Dickson, of the Engineers, to do duty with the Sappers and Miners.

Head Quarters, Camp, Bewah, Nov. 17. —Ensign J. S. Brown to do duty with 2d Battalion, 23d Regt.

Head Quarters, Camp, Estamadpore.—Nov. 27. Lieut. Phillips, 1st Batt. 28th Regt. N. I., to do duty with 2d Battalion 10th Regt. at Barrackpore; Capt. S. Watson, 1st Battalion 28th Regt. N. I., to do duty with 1st Battalion 34th Regt. at Benares; Lieut. E. A. Campbell, 3d Light Cavalry, is appointed acting Brigade Major to the troops in Rohilkund, during the absence of Brigade Major Casement.

Fort William, Nov. 27.—Capt. E. J. Honeywood, of 7th Regt. Light Cavalry, to be a Brigade Major from Nov. 1, to supply a vacancy on the establishment.

Head Quarters, Camp, Nomillah, Nov. 27.—Lieut. S. Boileau, 16th Regt. N. I., to be Interpreter and Quartermaster of 1st Battalion, vice Macdonald, deceased; Lieut. F. Auberjonois to be Interpreter and Quartermaster of 2d Battalion, vice Stewart, removed to 31st Regt.; Ensign C. G. Ross, 2d Batt. 3d Regt. is appointed to do duty with 2d Batt. 10th Regt.

Fort William.—Dec. 4. Lieutenant W. Thompson, 12th Regt. N. I., a Supernumerary Sub-assistant in the Army Commissariat Department.—Dec. 11. Capt. C. C. Chesney, of the Regiment of Artillery to be Superintending Officer of Gentlemen Cadets in Fort William, vice Higgins on Furlough; Capt. J. Peckett, of the Corps of Engineers, to superintend the completion of the Mypurrah light-house.

PROMOTIONS.

Camp, Benowl, Nov. 21.—Brevet Major, and Capt. A. Brugh, 44th Foot, to be Captain without purchase, vice Dixon, deceased, date Nov. 7, 1823; Lieut. J. Connor to be Captain of a Company vice Brugh, same date; Ensign J. Ogilvy to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Connor, same date.

Fort William.—Nov. 27. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. A. Bunbury, 20th Regt. N. I., to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign R. Chitty to be Lieutenant, from 20th Nov. 1823, vice Methven, deceased; Capt. E. J. Honeywood, 7th Regt. Light Cavalry, to be a Brigade Major, from Nov. 1. to supply a vacancy on the establishment.—Dec. 11. Cornet W. Benson, 4th Regt. Light Cavalry, to be Lieutenant from Dec. 4, 1823, vice Harriot, transferred to the pension establishment.

REMOVALS.

Barrackpore, Oct. 20.—Lieut. W. H. Whinfield, Adjutant, and Lieut. W. Payne, Interpreter and Quartermaster to the 2d Batt. 15th Regt. N. I., are permitted to exchange appointments.

Head Quarters, Camp, Mahomedabad, Nov. 15.—Lieut. E. B. Pryce, from 1st to 2d Batt. 26th Regt. N. I., and Lieut. H. Brown from the latter to the former Corps.

Head Quarters, Camp, Bewah, Nov. 17.—Lieut. W. G. Cooper from 1st to 2d Batt. and Lieut. C. Chester from 2d to 1st Batt. 4th Regt. N. I.

Head Quarters, Camp, Estamadpore, Nov. 25.—Lieut. Phillips, 1st Batt. 28th Regt. N. I., to 2d Batt. 10th Regt.; Lieut. Horsford of the Artillery Regt. to 6th Company of the Corps; Capt. S. Watson, 1st Batt. 28th Regt. N. I., to 1st Batt. 34th Regt.; Capt. Browne from 2d to 1st Batt. 30th Regt. N. I., and Capt. Land from latter to former; Ensign Burcumbe from 2d to 1st Batt. 10th Regt. N. I.

Head Quarters, Camp, Raj Ghaut, Nov. 26.—Lieut. Thorsby, 34th Regt. N. I., to 1st Batt. 11th Regt. N. I.

Head Quarters, Camp Nomillah.—Nov. 27. Ensign E. H. Boisragon, from 25th to 10th Reg. N. I. as junior; Ensign C. G. Ross, 2d Batt. 3d Regt. to 2d Batt. 10th Regt. N. I.—Nov. 29. Lieut. J. W. Colquhon from 2d to 1st Batt. 16th Regt. and Lieut. F. Hewitt to former Battalion.

FURLOUGHS.

Head Quarters, Camp, Bawgong, Nov. 18.—Major Graham, Royal Regt. for two years to Europe, on sick certificate.

Head Quarters, Camp, Raj Ghaut, Nov. 26.—The leave of absence granted to Lieut. Aldous, 2d Batt. 19th Regt. N. I., in General Orders of the 16th ult., is commuted to three months leave from 10th inst. for the purpose of visiting the Presidency preparatory to making application for a furlough to Europe on account of his health. Lieut. E. Wakefield from Oct. 15 to Feb. 15, 1824, to visit the Presidency previously to making application for one year's furlough.

Fort William.—Nov. 27. Major W. H. Wood, European Regt. to Europe, on account of his private affairs.—Dec. 4. Capt. E. A. Higgins, 31st Regt. N. I., and Surgeon J. Patterson, to Europe for recovery of their health.—Dec. 11. Lieut. Col. J.

Ross, of 14th Regt. N. I., Capt. J. H. Littler, 10th Regt. N. I., Deputy Assistant Commissary General, and Lieut. E. S. Hawkins, 19th Regt. N. I., to Europe on account of their private affairs: Lieut. W. W. Rees, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, to visit the Presidency on account of his health prior to making application for furlough to Europe.

MADRAS.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Nov. 11. Mr. E. Finnerty is admitted on the Establishment as an Assistant Surgeon, and appointed to do duty under the Garrison Surgeon at Bangalore.—Nov. 18. Assistant Surgeon D. Archer, M.D. is permitted to enter on the general duties of the Army.—Nov. 21. J. Cross and Henry Richardson are appointed to be medical pupils to complete the establishment.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Oct. 31. Lieut. J. Gunning is appointed Adjutant to the 2d Batt. 1st Regt. N. I., vice Haullain.—Nov. 7. Ensign W. H. Pears of the Engineers to be Superintending Engineer with the Northern Division of the Army. Nov. 14. Lieut. J. H. Steill of the Artillery to be Adjutant of do. in Mysore; Capt. A. Walker, 25th Regt. N. I., to be Assistant Adjutant General to the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, vice Smith, promoted; Capt. E. J. Foote, 25th Regt. N. I., to be Assistant Adjutant General to the Light Field Division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, vice Walker; Capt. E. Osborn, 2d Regt. N. I., to be Major of Brigade to the Southern Division of the Army, vice Foote. —Nov. 21. Lieut. C. Sinclair, 12th Regt. N. I., to be Quartermaster and Interpreter to 2d Batt. of that Corps, vice Stewart; Lieut. C. H. Gibb of 12th Regt. N. I., to be Adjutant to 1st Batt. of that Corps, vice Sinclair; Lieut. W. D. Barclay, 12th Regt. N. I., to be Adjutant of 2d Batt. of that Corps, vice Gibb; Lieut. H. B. Doveton, 4th Regt. Light Cavalry, to be Aide-de-Camp to Major Gen. Sir J. Doveton, K.C.B. commanding the Northern Division of the Army.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George.—Nov. 7. Senior Ensign J. F. K. Brett, 10th Regt. N. I., to be Lieutenant, vice Lonsdale, deceased, dated 30 Oct. 1823.—Nov. 11. Senior Major W. Dickson, C. B. from 6th Regt. Light Cavalry, to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Colebrooke, deceased, dated 20 Oct. 1823; Senior Capt. J. Smith to be Major, Senior Lieut. A. H. Johnston to be Captain, and Senior Cornet W. E. Litchfield to be Lieutenant, 6th Regt. Light Cavalry, vice Dickson, same date; Brevet Capt. C. F. Smith to be Captain, and Senior Ensign F. B. Lucas to be Lieutenant, 8th Regt. N. I., in succession to Bower, invalided; dated 29 Oct. 1823.—Nov. 14. Senior Ensign A. Harrison to be Lieutenant, 19th Regt. N. I., vice Carroll, deceased, dated 7 Nov.—Nov. 21. Senior Lieutenant J. W. Cleveland, 19th Regt. N. I., to be Captain, and Senior Ensign L. Rudd to be Lieutenant, vice Peyton, deceased, dated 13 Nov. —Nov. 25. Senior Major H. G. A. Taylor, from 10th Regt. N. I., to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Macintosh, deceased, dated 23 Nov.; Senior Captain A. Grant to be Major, Senior Lieut. A. Wilson to be Captain, and Senior Ensign R. W. Sparrow to be Lieutenant, 10th Regt. N. I., in succession to Taylor, dated 23 Nov. 1823.

REMOVALS.

Fort St. George, Nov. 14.—Ensign W. Wingfield, 23d Regt. N. I., having signified his acceptance of an appointment to the Cavalry on the Bengal Establishment, is struck off from the strength of the Army of Fort St. George.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, Dec. 3. —Lieut. Col. H. Fraser, from 22d to 25th Regt. 1st Batt.—Lieut. Col. C. Hodgson, from 11th to 22d Regt. 2d Batt.—Lieut. Col. J. Munro, from 25th to 8th Regt. 2d Batt. —Lieut. Col. H. G. H. Taylor, to 11th Regt. 2d Batt.—Capt. J. Moore, from 1st to 2d Batt. 24th Regt.; and Capt. L. Cooper, from 2d to 1st Batt. ditto.—Lieut. E. T. Clarke, 19th Regt., from 1st to 2d Batt.; and Lieut. H. Wright, from 2d to 1st Batt. ditto.—Ensign T. F. Baber, from 1st to 2d Batt. 22d Regt.—Ensign J. Dickson, from 2d Batt. 6th Regt. to 2d Batt. 8th Regt., till further orders.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort St. George.—Oct. 31. Ensign T. Sewell, 25th Regt. N. I. to Cape of Good Hope, and eventually to Europe, on sick certificate.—Nov. 18. Lieut. Col. J. L. Caldwell, C. B., Acting Chief Engineer, to Europe, on sick certificate; Lieut. Col. T. Steele, 19th Regt. N. I. ditto.

BOMBAY.

Bombay Castle, Nov. 21, 1823.—The Honourable the Governor has much pleasure in notifying that the Honourable Court of Directors have been pleased to annex to the following offices on the Staff the salaries hereafter specified, with retrospect from the 1st June, 1821, and all Paymasters, within whose range of payments the several Officers may fall, are hereby authorized to discharge the abstracts accordingly.

In cases where the salaries fixed are below the scale temporarily sanctioned by Government, under date the 18th November, 1820, or at any other period, the reduced scale is to have effect from the 1st of the present month.

	Per Annum.
Adjutant General ..	Rs. 18,000
Deputy Adjutant General ..	6,000
Quartermaster General ..	18,000
Deputy do.	6,000
Secretary to the Military Board	12,000
Assistant do.	3,600
Fort Adjutant of Bombay ..	2,160

Deputy Commissary General		Rs. 9,500
Barrackmaster of Bombay	..	3,000
Commissary of Stores	..	10,000
Deputy do.	.. ..	4,800
Agent for Gunpowder	..	7,290
Military Secretary to the Governor		4,800
Secretary to the Medical Board		7,200
Commandant of the Bombay garrison		8,400
Town Major	.. .. ..	5,000
Judge Advocate General	..	7,200
Brigade Major of King's troops		6,000
Paymaster—Bombay	..	9,600
Cutch	.. ..	3,600
Guzerat	.. ..	6,000
Barod. Force	..	6,000
Sholapore	..	3,600

The salaries of the following offices are fixed from the same date at the rates specified, subject to a further reference to the Honourable Court of Directors on the subject, viz.

	Per Annum.
Military Auditor General	Rs. 27,000
Commissary General ..	24,000
Agent for the manufacture of Gun Carriages	10,000

The Honourable Court having directed a list of the members of the Medical Board to be delivered at the expiration of every four years from the date of their respective appointments to the Board as notified in the General Order dated the 11th of July last, have now resolved to equalize the salaries of the different members, and have fixed the salary of each at rupees 22,000 per annum, with retrospect from the 1st June, 1821, which salary is to be considered as exclusive of the nett pay, batta and garrison tent allowance of a Lieut. Colonel, subject to the Honourable Court's further orders.

The salaries of the Superintending Surgeons have been fixed by the Honourable Court with the same retrospective effect at rupees 15,000 per annum, which is to be considered exclusive of the pay and field allowances of a captain, granted by the General Orders of Government, dated Dec. 3, 1821.

The present number of Superintending Surgeons is to be reduced from four to three whenever a vacancy may occur.

The duties of Superintending Surgeon in the North and Southern Concan are then to be executed by the junior or third member of the Medical Board, who, during his circuit on duty, is to draw the field allowances of his military rank.

The duties of Superintending Surgeon within the garrison and island of Bombay, &c. devolve on the second member without any augmentation to his allowance.

The salary and allowances of the Medical Storekeeper at Bombay are fixed as follows from the 1st of the present month.

Salary	Rs. 1,000
Pay	120
House-rent	50

It being intended that the office of Paymaster in the Northern Districts of Guzerat shall be abolished on the present Paymaster's vacating the appointment, and one Paymaster only allowed to the Surat Division of the army, under the increased salary now sanctioned, the Governor in Council is pleased to allow the former officers to draw the increased allowance of rupees 6,000 from the 1st June, 1821, so long as the office may be continued.

The following officers are allowed to draw full batta from the 1st of the present month.

Aides-de-camp—Extra Aides-de-camp—Brigade Majors of Forces — Brigade Quartermasters.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Nov. 26th. At Sylhet, the lady of C. Tucker, Esq., Civil Service, of a son; at Komptu, the lady of Lieut. Ripley, European Regt. of a daughter.—27th. At Meerut, the lady of Lieut. Bingley, of the Horse Artillery, of a daughter.—28th. At Sans Souci, the lady of J. H. Farquharson, Esq., of a son.—29th. At Surat, the lady of Capt. H. A. B. Hervey, of 7th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—Dec. 1. At Barrackpore, the lady of Capt. H. Wood, 11th Regt. N. I. of a son; at Lucknow, the lady of Capt. Smalpage, of a daughter.—4th. At Dinapore, the lady of Lieut. Maclean, of a son. —9th. At Calcutta, the lady of H. Cooke, Esq., of a daughter.—10th. At Calcutta, the lady of W. Anley, Esq. of a son.—15th. At Calcutta, the lady of J. Hunter, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a daughter.

Marriage.—Dec. 6th. W. Swainson, Esq., Commander of the ship Albion, to Miss Eliza Moore.

Deaths.—Nov. 24th. At Saugor, Ellen the wife of Lieut. Col. Perkins.—Dec. 7th. At Calcutta, Lieut. Col. F. Drummond, of the Invalid Establishment.—8th. H. Davies, Esq., of the firm of Davies & Co.—13th. John Colman, Esq., of Calcutta, ship-builder.—14th. At Calcutta, J. C. Smith, Esq.; Mr. C. Rayner, of the ship Woodford.—15th. At Calcutta, Mrs. C. Ham.

MADRAS.

Births.—Nov. 16th. At Bangalore, the lady of D. Elliot, Esq., of a daughter; at Bencoolen, the lady of Sir Stamford Raffles, of a daughter.—19th. At Hyderabad Residency, Mrs. E. Louis, of a daughter.—24th. At Pondicherry, the lady of J. Le Faucheur, Esq., Superintendant of Police, of a daughter.—29th. At Nellore, the lady of

T. V. Stonhouse, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, of a daughter.—Dec. 3d. At Cannanore, the lady of Lieut. W. Thomas, H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, of a son.—6th. The lady of F. T. Clementson, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a son.—10th. At Madras, Mrs. Blacker, of a daughter.—12th. At Brodie Castle, the lady of the Venerable Archdeacon Vaughan, of a son.—13th. The lady of J. Minchin, Esq., of a daughter; at Bangalore, the lady of Capt. Tweedie, 2d Regt. N. I., of a daughter; at Coimbatore, the lady of G. Phillips, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son.—15th. The lady of J. D. White, Esq. of a son.—16th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of the Rev. D. Rosen, of a son.—20th. At Hyderabad, the lady of Lieut. Holenzel, commanding the Resident's Escort, of a son; at Wallahjahbad, the lady of Major J. Wahab, 17th Light Infantry, of twins, still-born.—22d. The lady of Capt. Rundall, of a son.—24th. At St. Thomas's Mount, the wife of Mr. Lawrence, Conductor of Ordnance, of a son.—25th. At Royapettah, Mrs. A. Williamson, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Nov. 12th. At Tranquebar, J. K. H. Woodschow, Esq. Royal Civil Service, to Miss Caroline Mathilde, youngest daughter of the late Colonel Stricker.—13th. At Black Town Chapel, Mr. R. Taylor, to Miss A. Williams.—24th. At Masulipatam, Lieut. and Adjt. George Brady, of 17th Regt. to Miss S. H. Light.—29th. T. M'Gure, Sergeant Instructor in the Corps of Carnatic Ordnance Artificers, to Miss. A. C. Bateman; at Tillicherry, Capt. Binney, of 2d Batt. Pioneers, to Miss Daly, daughter of the late E. Mackay, Esq.; at Bellary, Mr. J. Harrison, Conductor of the Ordnance, to Miss L. W. Sharlibb.—Dec. 2. At Quilon, Lieut. J. F. Palmer, 16th Light Infantry, to Caroline, youngest daughter of the late Thos. Bucke, Esq. of Worlington, Suffolk; at Black Town Chapel, Mr. J. H. Heal, to Miss S. Hill, daughter of Mr. Conductor Hill.—9th. Lieut. J. Purton, of the Engineers, to Charlotte, eldest daughter of the Rev. R. Smith, A. M.—18th. At St. George's, G. S. Hooper, Esq. Civil Service, to Miss C. Burnside.—20th. H. Cowen, Esq. Surgeon in H. M. 41st Foot, to Sarah, second daughter of Lieut. Col. Lemond of the Madras Artillery; at St. Mary's, Lieut. W. Cotton, 10th Regt. N. I., to Anne, the eldest daughter of L. H. Stirling, Esq., J. P. and 2d Commissioner of Court of Requests, Madras.—21st. At Black Town Chapel, Mr. C. Trotter, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, to Miss C. M. Fenn.

Deaths.—Nov. 21st. At Cuddalore, Elizabeth, wife of Barrack Sergeant R. Smith, of Seringapatam.—22d. At Vellore, Lieut.-Col. A. Mackintosh.—27th. At Colar, Capt. B. W. Macdonald, 1st Batt. 1st. Regt. N. I.; at Sadras, the Hon. F. C. Regan, Esq. Chief of the Netherlands' Possessions on the Coast of Coromandel and Madura, aged 47 years.—29th. On his march from Ryepoor to Nagpoor, Lieut. W. Ord, 19th Rt. Madras N.I.—30th. At Trichinopoly, Mrs. E. Butler.—Dec. 1st. At St. Thomé, M. Webb, daughter of Captain Webb, 69th Regt.—5th. At Pondicherry, the Lady of Capt. A. Turner, aged 35 years.—9th. Ensign G. A. Barnard, 2d Batt. 19th Regt. N. I.—12th. At Dindigul, Sophia, only daughter of Capt. J. Smith.—13th. At Nellore, Cornwall, the infant son of E. Smalley.—15th. Mr. N. M'Farlane, Sub-Assistant Surgeon; at Blacktown, Mr. E. Tennaux, aged 47.—17th. At Royapettah, Mr. J. Harkness; at Kaludgee, the infant son of Capt. Cuxton.—22d. Mrs. Jane Williams.—Jan. 2. At Madras, J. F. Lawe, Esq. of the Civil Service, aged 36.

BOMBAY.

Marriages.—Dec. 4. At Aurungabad, J. R. Alexander, Esq. Assistant Surgeon of the Horse Brigade of Artillery, to Miss Hornby.—11th. At St. Thomas's Church, Mr. R. Elliot, Sub-Conductor in the Ordnance Department to Mrs. E. Metcalf, widow of the late Conductor, J. Metcalf, of same department.

Deaths.—Nov. 10. At Deesa, W. Gibson, aged nine years, son of the late Sergeant-major Gibson, H. M. 17th Light Dragoons.—13th. Master Joseph A. Pereira, aged 14 years and 10 months.—15th. Sergeant-major Kinsley, 2d Regt. Bombay Light Cavalry; at Poonah, the Lady of Capt. M. L. Gallwey, of 5th Regt. N. I., aged 21 years.—Dec. 6. At Belvidere, Lieut. J. D. Sautwell, of 2d Batt. Grenadiers, aged 22 years.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—April 15th. At St. Pancras, the Lady of W. B. Diamond, Esq., late Surgeon of the H. C. S. Warren Hastings, of her 17th son.

Marriages.—April 16th. At Balmungie, Fifeshire, J. Small, Esq., late of Calcutta, to Mary Ann, daughter of W. Lindesay, Esq. of Balmungie.—May 2d. At Lambeth, E. Dodwell, Esq. of the East India House, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late W. W. Tickle, Esq. of Marchmont-street.—May 25. At St. Mary's, Newington, Mr. James Sexton, of the Hon. E. I. Company's service, to Miss Briggs, of Walworth.

Deaths.—Jan 10. On board the Repulse, in which he was a Midshipman, Edward, eldest son of the late E. Stone, Esq., of Hoddesdon, Herts, aged 17.—May 3d. At Derby, Eliza, the beloved wife of Tho. Parker Bainbrigge, Esq. eldest son of Joseph Bainbrigge, Esq. of that Borough: she was fifth and youngest daughter of the late Lieut. Gen. Sir Dyson Marshall, K. C. B. of the Hon. Company's Bengal service.—May 21. At his house in Welbeck-street, Richard Scott, Esq. late a Colonel in the Bengal army, aged 74.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Departure.*	*Date.*
April 25	Liverpool ..	John Taylor ..	Atkinson ..	Calcutta ..	Dec. 24
April 25	Greenock ..	Ospray	M'Gill ..	Calcutta ..	Dec. 24
April 26	Downs	Heroine	Simpson ..	Singapore	Dec. 21
April 27	Off Dartmouth	Florentia ..	Wimble ..	Calcutta ..	Dec. 25
April 28	Downs	Elizabeth	Swan ..	Calcutta ..	Nov. 28
April 29	Downs	Admiral Cockburn	Briggs ..	New S. W.	Sept. 29
April 30	Downs	Brailsford	Spring ..	Bombay ..	Sept. 26
May 2	Off Dover ..	Golden Grove ..	Steel	Cape ..	Feb. 22
May 3	Downs	Bridgwater	Mitchell ..	China ..	Jan. 10
May 3	Off Portland ..	Scaleby Castle ..	Newall ..	China ..	Jan. 2
May 5	Off the Wight ..	Repulse	Patterson ..	China ..	Dec. 18
May 9	Off Weymouth	Lowther Castle ..	Baker ..	China ..	Jan. 16
May 9	Off Plymouth	Royal Charlotte ..	Graham ..	Bombay ..	Nov. 5
May 9	Off Plymouth	William Penn ..	Brown ..	New S. W.	Sept. 29
May 17	Portsmouth ..	Aigle	Starbuck ..	South Seas	Mar. 7
May 20	Off Portsmouth	Atlas	Mayne ..	China ..	Jan. 2
May 21	Off Portland ..	Windsor	Haviside ..	China ..	Jan. 19
May 22	Off the Start ..	Ann and Hope ..	Page	China ..	Nov. 21

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Departure.*
Dec. 1	Ceylon	H.M.S. Larne ..	.. ..	Portsmouth
Jan. 21	Mauritius	George the 4th ..	Prissick ..	London
Feb. 8	Cape of Good Hope	Resource ..	Pritchard ..	London
Feb. 12	Cape of Good Hope	Thetis	Rodgers	London
Feb. 13	Cape of Good Hope	Nerina	Northwood ..	London
Feb. 15	Cape of Good Hope	Heroine ..	Ostler	London
Feb. 15	Cape of Good Hope	Odessa	Jackson	London
Feb. 16	Cape of Good Hope	Swallow ..	Blackmore ..	Bristol
Feb. 19	Cape of Good Hope	Barkworth ..	Colgrave ..	London
	Bombay	Cumbrian ..	Clarkson ..	London
Feb. 28	Island of Palma ..	Lord Hungerford	Farquharson ..	London
Mar. 5	St. Helena	General Harris ..	Welstead ..	London
Mar. 13	St. Helena	Rapid	Wright	South Seas

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	*Port of Departure.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
April 30	Downs	Orwell	Farrer	China
April 30	Downs	Thames	Haviside ..	China
May 1	Downs	Marq. of Huntley	Fraser	China
May 1	Downs	Mulgrave Castle	Ralph	Madeira & Mauritius
May 2	Portsmouth ..	Asia	Eastwick ..	Cape and China
May 2	Cowes	Alacrity ..	Findlay	Cape of Good Hope
May 3	Downs	David Scott ..	Thornhill ..	Madras and Bengal
May 3	Downs	Resource ..	Fenn	Madras and Bengal
May 4	Portsmouth ..	Mary	Watson	Cape of Good Hope
May 7	Plymouth ..	Golconda ..	Edwards	Madras and Bengal
May 11	Portsmouth ..	Lord Amherst ..	Lucas	Bengal
May 16	Downs	Fairlie	Aldham ..	Madras
May 20	Downs	Oscar	Gibbs	Cape of Good Hope
May 20	Downs	Triumph	Green	Madras
May 20	Portsmouth ..	Exmouth ..	Owen	Madras and Bengal
May 23	Portsmouth ..	Lady Raffles ..	Coxwell	Madras and Bengal
May 23	Gravesend ..	Marchss. of Ely ..	Maugles ..	Madras and Bengal
May 23	Gravesend ..	Rose	Marquis ..	Madras and Bengal
May 24	Downs	Asia	Balderston ..	Madras and Bengal
May 24	Downs	Simpson	Simpson ..	Bombay
May 26	Downs	Pyramus	Brodie	Madras and Bengal

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Port of Departure.	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Downs	George Home	Young	Bengal
Downs	Boyne	Stephens	Bengal
Downs	Claudine	Nicholls	Bengal
Downs	Morley	Holliday	Bengal
Downs	Euphrates	Meade	Bengal
Downs	Elizabeth	Swan	Bengal
Downs	Florentia	Wimble	Bengal
Downs	Carn brae Castle	Davey	Bengal
Downs	Layton	Miller	Bengal and Bencoolen
Downs	Harriet	Fulcher	Madras
Downs	Circassian	Douthwaite	Madras and Bengal
Downs	George	Cuzens	Ceylon and Madras
Downs	Mediterranean	Steuart	Ceylon
Downs	Hibberts	Theaker	Mauritius
Downs	Timandra	Wray	Mauritius and Ceylon
Downs	Salmon River	Gransmore	Batavia and Penang
Downs	Scorpion	Rixon	Batavia and Penang
Downs	Kath. Stew. Forbes	Chapman	Bombay
Downs	Marq. of Hastings	Weynton	Bombay
Downs	Lord Castlereagh	Durant	Bombay
Downs	Norfolk	Greig	Bombay
Downs	Regalia	Collins	Bombay
Downs	Cape Packet	Kellie	Cape of Good Hope
Downs	Mars	Wilson	Cape of Good Hope
Downs	Arethusa	Strong	Cape of Good Hope
Downs	Ellen	Camper	Cape of Good Hope
Downs	Thomas	Winspear	Cape and St. Helena
Downs	Resolution	Gibbs	St. Helena
Downs	Active	Charlton	New South Wales
Downs	Stedcombe	Barnes	New South Wales
Downs	Prince Regent	King	New South Wales
Downs	Harvey	Peache	New South Wales
Downs	Phœnix	Dixon	New South Wales
Downs	Cumberland	Cairns	New South Wales

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	*P. of Depart.*	*Lat. and Long.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Dec. 15	Dublin		Ardent		V.D.'s Land
Dec. 30	London	Off Saugor	Lotus	Field	Bengal
Jan. 22	London	At sea	Sir E. Paget	Geary	Bengal
Jan. 25	China	Straits of Sunda	Hythe	Wilson	London
Jan. 30	London	Ditto	Warren Hastings	Rawes	London
Feb. 1	London	26 S. 25	Brothers	Mottley	N. S. Wales
Feb. 13	London	3.16 N. 20.21 W.	Bombay Merchant	Kemp	Bombay
Feb. 15	Mauritius	31.9 S. 38.29 E.	Lady East	Richardson	London
Feb. 18	London	18 S. 30 W.	Cambridge	Barber	Bombay
Mar. 24	London	1.44 N. 30.39 W.	Canning	Head	Beng. & Ch.
April 17	Bombay	Off Western Islands	Columbia	Chapman	Liverpool
April 19	London	48.7 N. 7.0 W.	Golconda	Edwards	Mad. & Ben.
April 25	London	45 N. 11 W.	Mellish	Cole	Bengal
Mar. 4	London	49.50 N. 4.20 W.	Orwell	Farrer	China
Mar. 4	London	Ditto	Thames	Haviside	China

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the *Scaleby Castle.*—Mr. Thos. B. Brooke, from St. Helena; Mr. Domingos Joze Gomez.

By the *Alfred*, Dolge.—From Batavia, two Masters Brown, from Penang.

By the *Repulse.*—Sir W. W. Doveton, from St. Helena; Thos. Greentree, Esq. Mrs. Eliza Greentree, four Misses Greentree, Master Thomas Greentree, Lieut. J. B. Spiller, Master George Jenkins, Master Stephen Cole, and one native servant.

By the *Juliana*, Webster.—From Bengal: Mrs. Pathro, Mrs. Orton and child. —From the Mauritius: Lieut. Harford, of his Majesty's 82d Regt.—Lieut. Wood, of his Majesty's 44th Regt.; Mr. H. C. Bury, Mauritius Civil Service.

By the *Royal Charlotte*, Graham.—From Bombay: Mrs. Graham, Mrs. Bath-

field, Mrs. Kenny, Dr. Kelly, of his Majesty's 67th Regt., Lieuts. Peach and Lana, of his Majesty's 47th Regt., Capt. Shea, of his Majesty's 89th Regt.

By the *Portsea*, Worthington.—From Tellicherry: Mrs. Col. Clifford and five children, Mrs. Hewson and her son.

By the *L'Aigle*, Starbuck.—From the South Seas; the King, Queen, her Sister, and several Chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, under charge of Hudson Bay Company.

By the *Windsor*, Haviside.—From China: Charles Magniac, Esq. from Canton. Mr. Edward Edw...s, surgeon of the Windsor, was drowned s...n after the ship left the Straits of Sunda.

By the *Lowther Castle.*—From China; Mr. J. D. Parkes of the Horticult. Soc.

By the *Florentia.*—From Bengal: Mrs. Major Wood, Mrs. Brown Roberts, Mrs. Captain Oliver, Mrs. Captain Fraser, Major W. Wood (Hon. Company's Service), Brown Roberts, Esq. (firm of Macintosh and Co.), Capt. A. Oliver (Hon. Company's service), Capt. J. Fenton (his Majesty's service), Capt. D. G. Scott, (Hon. Company's service), Capt. G. Jenkins (Hon. Company's service), Lieut. D. Jones (his Maje..y's service), two Misses Roberts, three Misses Woods, Miss Fraser, two Masters Roberts, Masters Wood, Barlow, G. Ross, C. Nicholson, C. J. Fox, A. Shaw, and four servants.

By the *Elizabeth*, Swan.—From Bengal: Miss Wilkinson, Capt. J. Smith, Miss M. H. Holbrow, Master W. Holbrow, and Miss C. Trueman; Mr. J. Denham, from the Cape, Mrs. Denham, ditto; W. Dorin, Esq., Robert Morrison, Esq., Lieut.-Col. Cummins, Dr. Thomas Smith, Capt. W. H. Wilkinson, Mrs. Wilkinson, Capt. Edward Day, and nine servants, were landed at the Cape.

By the *Admiral Cockburn.*—From New South Wales: Capt. O'Reilly, Madras Infantry; Mr. Ware, Miss Harris, Mr. and Mrs. Salvah and child, Mr. and Mrs. Lafond, Miss Munro, Mr. Jamelin, Mr. Jeoffry, Master Jacquelin, Master Mestuer, and two servants.

By the *Brailsford.*—From Bombay: Mrs. Frome, Capt. Collis, and Lieut. Sanders, Native Infantry.

DEPARTURES TO INDIA.

By the *Exmouth*, Owen.—For Madras and Bengal: Mesdames Fulcher, Skardon, Sivewright, Dormer; the two Miss Fulchers, Misses Young, Wilkie, Stewart, Lewis, two Misses Richardsons, Major Hopkinson, Madras Native Infantry, Capt. Skardon, Bengal Native Infantry, Capt. Fulcher, Lieut.-Col. Burrows, and Lieut. Dormer, Bengal Native Infantry, Dr. Sivewright, Messrs. Macintosh, Garcia, I. M. Lewis, two Messrs. Tythers, Messrs. I. A. Robertson, Manton, Mackenzie, Hudson, W. Lewis.

By the *David Scott*, Thornhill.—For Madras and Bengal: Capt. Guise, Capt. and Mrs. Husband, Lieut. Bond and Mrs. ditto, Lieut. Wilkinson, Mrs. Cook.

By the *Triumph*, Green.—For Bombay; Col. Fitzgerald, the two Misses and Mrs. ditto, Capt. and Mrs. Tykes, Miss Furlong, Dr. Craw, Lieut. Kennett, Messrs. George, Meek, and Ethersay.

By the *Fairlie*, Aldam.—For Madras and Bengal: Misses Edwards, Cook, Marchman, Forrest, and Sattuthwaite, Lieut.-Gen. Dick, Capts. Ward, Savage, Pinson, Tomlinson, and Bissett, Lieuts. Cave and Ker, Dr. Dick, Messrs. Marshman, Blanshard, Burt, Nicholson, Cooke, Lyford, Fisher, Smith, Thursby, and Albright.

By the *Resource*, O'Fenn.—For Bengal: Dr. and Mrs. Smith, and Ensign Lambert.

By the *Lord Amherst*, Lucas.—For Bengal: Mrs. Sully, Miss Elliot, Rev. Mr. Ady, Dr. Sully, Capt. Harris, Messrs. Haig, Philip, Kennaway, Proctor, Cooper, Stevenson, and one servant.

By the *Mulgrave Castle.*—For the Mauritius: Mr. Wadd.

MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES.

The *Atlas*, Clifton, which ran on shore in Hog Creek, Bengal, has been got out about the 18th Dec. She was brought up to Salkea, and put into dock at Calcutta.

The *Scotia*, Lennox, from the Cape, whose arrival we announced in our last Number, got on Shore at Scilly the 23d. inst. She was brought into St. Mary's the 24th inst. apparently without any damage to her hull.

The *Mariner*, Douglas, from New South Wales, the 24th Feb., was totally lost on the Island of Chiloe, South America. A letter has been received from the captain, dated the 28th September: they had been in the greatest distress, and lived 57 days upon sea weed; three of the crew were drowned, but the Spaniards had treated them very kindly, and they hoped soon to reach Rio Janeiro.

The *Thalia*, Munro, from Batavia, with six feet water in her hold, engaged a schooner at St. Michael's to keep company with her to England, and she has gone into harbour at Portsmouth to be surveyed on account of her leaky state, and lighten her cargo, previous to proceeding to Rotterdam.

The *Golconda*, Edwards, for Madras and Bengal, which sailed from Portsmouth the 16th ult., experienced very bad weather, and put into Plymouth the 2d inst. with the loss of sails and other damage.

Singapore Rajah. 1829

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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LITERARY TRIFLING.

A PERSON of strong intellect is sure to find himself at a loss when he comes into the company, or is forced upon the airy lucubrations, of literary fashionables. He is unacquainted with their topics—unused to the rapidity of their decisions—and quite antediluvian in his mode of thinking and expression. He does not know that certain notions, which he has been priding himself on attaining at great expense of toil and study, have been gradually sinking into the *Index Expurgatorius* of fashion ever since he was a boy. It is plain he has not taken his *cue* from the prevailing *coteries*. Where is the use of his metaphysics, his logic, his profound researches into history? The man is mad—he should speak of the last farce, the favourite actress, the new poem, the famous article in ——'s Magazine. If this be not in his power, he must take a patron from among the knowing ones, study his ways, his whims, his phrases, and go and do likewise.

After all, it may perhaps be found, that great force of mind is incompatible with that conformableness which feels at home with all ordinary subjects,—that genius requires something truly worth thinking about to put it in motion; and this accounts for that listlessness and apparent indolence which frequently characterize its possessors. It cannot consent to break a fly upon the wheel; and, not finding any adequate excitement, is not seldom altogether unmoved.

But to please the fashionable reader, the writer must amuse him, and it is not often that his amusement arises out of deep thought. Therefore must the author's hours be spent in the study of agreeable conceits, pretty contrasts, and light turns of what passes for wit. He must show his hatred to the authors whom the public hates, laud their favourites, and, above all things, keep an eye to the phraseology of the season. One word borrowed from a cast-off school, would be absolute *lèse-majesté* against this august personage. It would indicate that the author had been fishing in forbidden streams—tampering with dangerous tenets—departing, in short, from the mode.

Thus are authors kept in a kind of bondage by the public. But they seem to regard all these managements as a kind of labour of love, which the rich doses of flattery they receive in return amply and delightfully repay. And so thoroughly drenched are some of them by this accommodating spirit, that they screw down all subjects into *nothings*, by their

manner of treating them. They are true Tarquins, who lop off the heads of ambitious ideas, when they would rise above those of their neighbours. The reader, therefore, need fear no unevenness in their pages, for all is smooth as a bowling-green. When you have entered, your difficulties are over—the author smiles in your face all the way, and dismisses you with a smile. You need not recollect Hamlet's "a man may smile," &c.; nothing of the kind is in this case to be apprehended; you see the author *in toto*

——— "from within
His shallow centre to his utmost skin;"

and you need not fear him. His predilections are analogous to those of his readers, being all shoots from the stem of novelty. Horace, and divers other honest persons, complain that old books were habitually preferred to the new in their times, but it is quite the reverse with the person here spoken of. An old book is as tedious in his judgment, as the discourse of a superannuated beauty to a young gallant. Its quaint and precise method—its divisions and subdivisions—its prolonged chain of unbroken reasoning—its severe rejection of extraneous ornament—every thing conspires to impress the mere fashionable reader with contempt for the "old simplicity." Ancient authors force him out of his habits, throw a burden of thought upon his shoulders, till he bend down like Christian in the Pilgrim's Progress, and yet pass on so rapidly that he finds it impossible to keep up with them. But those who manufacture books on purpose for such readers, take care not to do this. If they possess a few good ideas, they know better than to be prodigal of them; throughout their works you may go on swimmingly for an hour or two without being startled by any new thought. Their good things are disposed, like mile-stones, at due distances; and a critic well versed in this sort of writing, can nearly tell when to look out for their appearance. The intermediate spaces are filled by sober and harmless common-places, which will offer no disturbance to any body's prejudices, or in any sense break up the natural evenness of the mind.

If the author be one of those who furnish the weaker sort of periodicals with these necessary articles, he never does any thing in vain. If he make a journey into the country, the public, be sure, shall hear of it, either in the shape of sonnets to all the "purling streams" and "mossy banks," near or upon which the author has taken a cold collation with his romantic friends; or else in the more robust form of prose essay, in which he laudeth all the trees, rabbits, and old cows of the neighbourhood. If he stroll to Dulwich, to Greenwich, or any other unexplored region, then the public's "mighty stream of thought" is turned by this Hercules into the channel of pictures, colleges, or wicked old pensioners, "sipping beer in the sun." Take it for granted, he never strolls into the regions of profound speculation, nor does he hold any fellowship with those dangerous persons who do. But he is at home at "a hanging," or the boxing-ring,—his imagination reigns there and revels; he knows the tricks and slang of *the fancy*, and can describe with anatomical accuracy "the thoughtless skulls" which are there battered about for the edification of the public. He goes to the theatre also, becomes acquainted with Shakespeare, and, like an honest pains-taking man, explains him to the public. By means of this supererogatory labour he acquires a taste; begins to entertain a high esteem for our poetry, our warriors, our high-

ways, our politicians, our orators—and, in short, to be quite *national* in every thing. His fancy withers at sight of St. George's Channel; he can see nothing but declamation and dulness from Calais *ad astra:*—no poetry, no humour in France; he turns his back upon Corneille, Rabelais, and Moliere, and takes up with Mr. A.'s or Mr. B.'s new poem in preference. He shakes his head at French books, drops a hint about the Encyclopædia and the Revolution, or coolly characterizes them all as at once dull and dangerous. He sees no horns in a dilemma. He is not sensible that by predicating opposites of the same thing, he may be caught and thrust *ad absurdum.* Happy soul! there exist no difficulties for him. He never goes right forward to the end of a subject, but skips here and there, wherever it offers any thing pretty: and if, in travelling eastward, any obstruction should spring up in his way,

"He orders his wings, and is off to the west."

It is worse than all this if he be smitten with the love of originality; for the extremes of nature, in that case, are made to shake hands with each other; and language is crumpled up like a shrivelled leaf, to hide the nakedness of his mind. "It signifies little," said Swift, "that his head is empty, provided his common-place book be full," for he so disguises ideas, by his way of dressing them, that their actual inventors would be ashamed to own them afterwards. He writes thus till the habit be grown inveterate, and then wonders at his own facility. What in truth can be prettier, or more taking at the tea-table, than language stiff, like ancient brocade, with ornament, or glowing, like an Inquisition great-coat, with flames and devils?

The phraseology of poetry, too, which we used to reverence as something set aside for the expression of our more holy musings, is cut to pieces to form the fantastic arabesque of this original's prose. But he has no conception of any thing more sacred than his own fancies, or that there is any incongruity in clothing with Milton's language the lame births of his hardened perversity. Meanwhile his notions are neither new in reality, nor singular, except in as far, perhaps, as they are contradictory; for a person of extensive reading and leisure, who should think it worth his while to discover the stalks upon which these strange blossoms first grew, might rifle his whole paradise, and leave it as dreary as the site of an enchanted garden when the spell is broken. He has nothing of his own but the dry thorny enclosure; and this he has picked up, stick by stick, as an aged housewife does her little fagot by the wayside, nobody caring to dispute the possession of trifles so worthless.

It were madness, certainly, to expect that such a writer would be solicitous about preserving a coherence and just sequence in his ideas, as there is nothing more difficult, even to the best regulated minds, than always to perceive the agreement or inconsistency of a remote consequence with the principle immediately under consideration; or to be able so to keep watch over the imagination, that in the longest disquisition nothing be admitted which might infringe upon the free play of the primary principles. This is the perfection of a philosophical writer—the end which the most enlightened reason proposes to itself, when labouring purely for the public good. It neither is, therefore, nor can be the possession of a mere fashionable author. It would, besides, spoil his trade, for he could not get up his spruce volumes in due time, were so much

exactness required; and nothing is more necessary than to be constantly before the public, if you would have the public think of you. A volume produced by the labour of many weeks, is galloped over in an hour or two by the true modern reader, who, after having slipped over the last page, resembles a gouty traveller cast into a ditch by the breaking down of his vehicle; he cannot proceed an inch until some new conveyance comes to take him up, but then he rides on as jovially and rapidly as ever, till *that* likewise comes to a stop somehow or other. The journey of life is very often of considerable length, and it is inconceivable how many new books one may devour on the way; for they are not hard of digestion, like your tough old quartos and folios of the last century, but light and spongy, and fit to be taken in great quantities.

The craft of authorship is therefore likely to last for ever. Ideas, too, of some kind or other, are always within their reach; they have but to new shuffle them to make them look modern, or paradoxical, if need be. How many Iö Pæans have been sung over the old masters of rhetoric by these ingenious gentlemen! and well might they triumph, for they are the first race of writers that ever contrived to do without turning over the musty dialectics of antiquity. It was a piece of proud success reserved for the wits of our days, and they can never testify too much satisfaction at the circumstance.

In the midst, however of these, there are a few who have not bowed the knee unto Baal—who stand upon the old ways, and ask directions for proceeding—who delight to converse with History, "that messenger of Antiquity"—who impress our minds with the greater reverence, that they feel not the influence of general example, but are as the elect among the gentiles. One never need regret being born in an age in which he may be proud of *a few* of his contemporaries. The many indifferent writers who spring up, and shade the field of literature, are, after all, no more, perhaps, than the necessary redundancies of a too fertile soil. They are the underwood which always clings about the roots of the forest, shading the infancy of the majestic tree, but no way obstructing our view of its full and mature magnificence. As long, therefore, as they do not hinder our walks among these ancients of nature, let them flourish, and let bats and beetles nestle in their branches. There can be but little harm done by this, provided those who seek truth and nature are able to see their way clearly. In every era of our literature numerous silly people have been found, who were anxious to chronicle their notions, but time has swept them away, and will in the same manner clear off the refuse of the present age. But, to vary the metaphor, Great Britain has seldom seen an era in which her literary fleet could better put to sea without these cock-boats; but if there be any who think that such vessels without ballast will keep the ocean as long as those laden with her richer and more precious merchandise, they deceive themselves, and may be assured that posterity will not mistake the one for the other, notwithstanding what they think.

ON THE MINING SPECULATIONS OF MEXICO.

It has been generally remarked in Chili, and the observation has grown up almost into a proverb, that "he who discovers a copper mine is sure to grow rich; he who works a silver mine may either gain or lose; but he who finds a gold mine is a ruined man." Extraordinary as this may appear to an English ear, there are yet many circumstances connected with the history of mining, which prove it to be not unfrequently deserving of that credit which at first view it would startle us to accord to it. Without entering into the ruinous consequences which have resulted in numerous instances, to individuals in Europe, who have in their waking dreams been led astray by the supposed discovery of silver or of gold mines, there exist even in those countries in which the precious metals are most liberally disseminated, sufficient grounds to establish the uncertain nature of such property above all others, and to induce in a thinking mind, from the great fluctuation of its proceeds and profits, a considerable degree of caution previously to embarking in a speculation of this description.

The spirit of mining has been compared to that of gaming, and the simile is far from unjust. A lucky hit in either will suffice to raise a fortune; and the pursuit once commenced, is generally continued, in both without ceasing, in the momentary anticipation of so happy an event. The success even of a neighbour, stimulates to yet more eager exertion, and a fortunate discovery amply repays the loss and labour which had preceded it. Ever active, however, the ruling passion soon resumes its sway, and the pursuit is again commenced with redoubled enthusiasm. Money rapidly gained is as rapidly spent. "The rich proprietors of mines in Mexico," says Humboldt, "lavish immense sums on quacks, who engage them in new undertakings in the most remote provinces." In a country, where the works are conducted on so extravagant a scale that the shaft of a mine frequently requires 80,000*l.* to pierce, the bad success of a rash project may in a few years absorb all that was gained in working even the richest veins; and hence we meet with instances of the most extreme reverses of fortune in the same individual. Of this the history of Joseph De Laborde presents a striking example. This enterprising man arrived in Mexico from his native France, in a state of poverty, from which he quickly emerged by his success in working the mine of La Canada of the Real de Tlapujahud. Having hence acquired considerable wealth, he subsequently undertook the mines of Tasco, and wrought them with the greatest activity during ten years. His prosperity had at this period reached so high a pitch, that he erected a church at Tasco, on which he expended the sum of 87,507*l.* sterling. The mines, however, from which he had annually drawn from 130,000 to 200,000 lbs. troy of silver, began rapidly to decline, and in the course of a few years he was again reduced to poverty. In this state of destitution, he was compelled to apply to the archbishop, who granted him permission to sell a golden sun enriched with diamonds, with which, in the days of his prosperity, he had adorned the tabernacle of the church that he had built. With the produce of this sale, amounting to 22,000*l.* he retired to Zacatecas, and here the ruling passion again assumed its

ascendency. The mines of this district were at that time so entirely neglected, that they scarcely furnished 33,000 lbs. troy of silver annually to the mint at Mexico. Laborde undertook to clear out the famous mine of Quebradilla, and again lost all his property without attaining his object. Still, however, persevering with the small remains of capital which he could yet command, he began to work on the *veta grande*, and sunk the pit of La Esperanza; and a second time became possessed of immense wealth. The annual produce of the mines of Zacatecas was raised to nearly 330,000 lbs. troy; and though this abundance of the precious metal did not long continue the same, he left at his death a property to the amount of nearly 125,000*l.*

Among those proprietors of mines in Mexico, who also become possessed of agricultural property, this striking inequality of circumstances is less remarkable. The regular proceeds of the one tend to counterbalance the irregular produce of the other, and still to preserve in hand some funds which could not readily be disposed of. Yet even among this class, the property amassed is frequently far from being proportioned to the apparent incomes which they have enjoyed. The first Count de la Valenciana, for example, the proprietor of the richest silver mine in the world, sometimes derived from this source alone a net revenue of no less than 250,000*l.* in one year. During the last twenty-five years of his life, this annual income was never below from 80,000*l.* to 125,000*l.*; and yet notwithstanding the great simplicity with which he lived, he left at his death, in addition to his mine, property and capital to the amount of only 400,000*l.* His family, which is probably the richest in America, has since retained possession of only a portion of the mine, and has applied its capital to the purchase of land, which yields annually a very considerable income. A similar plan has been followed by many others. "The mines," says Humboldt, "have undoubtedly been the principal sources of the great fortunes of Mexico; but there is also a considerable number of powerful families who have never had the working of any lucrative ones; and many miners have laid out their wealth in purchasing land, and have devoted themselves with great zeal to agriculture." Tired, as it were, with the harassing uncertainties of these speculative undertakings, and exerting a sufficient portion of mental fortitude to cease desiring their precarious profits, they have held their property to be better employed, in the acquisition, by slower yet more certain means of a somewhat regular and settled income.

Commercially connected as England is about to become with the mines of Mexico, it is from these that the instances alluded to have been selected, since it is in their history that she is consequently most interested. Rich herself in the enterprise and perseverance of her industrious sons, it is to these qualities that she is chiefly indebted for that prosperity which elevates her above the rank of all other nations. Of the precious metals, nature has been most sparing to her, and she knows them only as the universal medium of exchange, and measure of riches, the acquisition of which has been the ultimate aim and object of all her commercial dealings, and forms the desired consummation of a life unceasingly devoted to enterprise and industry. These symbols of wealth have consequently obtained, in general estimation, the highest degree of importance, and the idea of a gold or of a silver mine appears adapted to realize at once the most sanguine dreams of prosperity. So tempting

a bait is, therefore, likely to be grasped at with avidity, and many may be induced to embark in a speculation of this description without hesitation; stopping neither to calculate on the probable chances of its success, nor on the obstacles which are unavoidably opposed to it. The attempt to assign to these their proper value, and to take, in some measure, that cool view of the subject which is assumed in the proverb alluded to, may not, to such persons, be without its advantages; and should the prospect which it presents appear gloomy, let it not be slighted as the prediction of a bird of ill omen, since, it must be allowed, that it is far better that the event should exceed our anticipations, than that expectation should be raised so high as to give even to success the semblance of disappointment.

Mexico has been long and justly regarded as the most fertile of the sources from which the precious metals are derived; nature seems, indeed, to have here deposited her most ample stores, and to have fixed upon this as the chief treasury of the universe. Of the vast stream of riches which is annually attracted towards Europe, by the commercial activity and superior intelligence of that predominant portion of the globe, by far the greater share flows into her coffers from the plentiful mines of the New World. Of this supply, at the commencement of the present century, nearly one half was derived from Mexico, and it was at that time calculated that gold and silver, to the amount of nearly nine hundred millions sterling, had been furnished from this source since its first discovery; a sum amounting to nearly two fifths of the entire quantity which, in that interval of time, had flowed from the New into the Old Continent. This immense produce has been almost wholly obtained from the mines of the Intendancies of Guanaxuato, Mexico, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, Valladolid, and Guadalaxara, which occupy the table-land, formed by this portion of the extensive chain of the Cordilleras. The ores by which it is yielded, are in general very poor in metal, and their mean contents have been estimated, on good grounds, at from 60 to 80 oz. of silver per ton of ore; a produce much inferior to that of the mines of Obergeberge in Saxony, the average of which has amounted to 200, and even in very fortunate periods to 300 oz. in the same quantity.

To compensate, however, for this deficiency in richness, the ores of Mexico are generally deposited in veins of the most amazing extent. The vein called *Halsbruckner Spath*, of which the extent is six feet and a half, and which has been traced along a distance of 339 fathoms, is spoken of as a remarkable phœnomenon by the miners of Freiberg; but the *Veta Madre* of Guanaxuato is, on the contrary, of the extent of from 130 to 150 feet, and is wrought from Santa Isabella and San Bruno to Buena-Vista, a length of more than 6944 fathoms. To this immense mass, rather than to the richness of the ore, it was owing, that this latter vein had been enabled, during the ten years previous to 1803, to furnish an annual supply, which averaged nearly 400,000 lbs. troy of silver; while the average proceeds of the former amounted only to about 30,000 lbs. Poor in metal, but abundant in quantity, the mines of Mexico thus demand for their working the employment of a very large capital; and the single mine of Valenciana, at that period perfectly dry, averaged, during the ten years just alluded to, an expense of nearly 200,000*l.* annually. This circumstance, so detrimental to the interests of the foreign capitalist who should desire to embark his capital in

these speculations, is of the most material benefit to the prosperity of Mexico itself. The vast extent of machinery required for each undertaking, furnishes full employment to the artisan, while the agriculturist equally derives advantage from the numerous men and cattle which are engaged in various parts of the process. Situated at an elevation which ensures in the torrid zone, the genial climate and fertility of the temperate, each of these establishments thus forms the centre of a colony, in which agriculture and manufactures equally flourish, on account of the ready market which their vicinity affords. The mines, therefore, constitute the basis on which Mexican prosperity is founded, and on the rise or fall of which that of every other branch of the national industry depends. The attention of all good governments has consequently been directed to this essential point, and the encouragement of the mining interests forms a prominent object of Mexican legislation.

Among the various means which have been had recourse to for this purpose, the establishment of the Tribunal de Mineria was the most beneficial to the mining interests in general. Supported by a trifling duty on the produce of the mines, and composed in part of the principal proprietors, the vast body of information which it collected, and was ready to impart, was perhaps even more valuable than the sums which it distributed for the advancement of new, or the re-opening of old adventures. These, in many instances, were indeed to a very considerable amount, and must have been of peculiar advantage in speculations so uncertain in their results as those of miners, in which even the richest proprietor is liable, in the course of a few months, to be reduced to difficulties, from which a temporary assistance would frequently prove adequate to preserve him, if afforded at the proper moment; but not obtained at that period, would fail in arresting the progress of the evil which would already have overwhelmed him. Had this Tribunal continued to exist in the flourishing state which it attained towards the close of the last century, there would probably have been no necessity for the applications that have recently been made to foreign nations for that assistance which it was then in the habit of advancing. Over this, however, as over most of those institutions by which the interests of man are promoted, the destroying breath of Despotism has passed, and it exists no longer except in name. Compelled during the last years of the war in which Spain engaged with France against England, to make a free gift to the Court of Madrid, of 104,200*l.* and also to lend it 625,000*l.* (250,000*l.* of which has never been repaid), it was under the necessity of borrowing, to meet these extraordinary expenses. This debt it has since been unable to liquidate, and although the signorial impost was subsequently raised from thirteen to twenty grains per ounce of silver, one half of the revenues was in 1803 devoted to the payment of the interest. The remaining portion was then destined to support the Collegio de Mineria, and to pay the salaries of the members of the Tribunal. Since that period it has sunk even lower. The fund which, according to the terms of its constitution, ought to have been a bank of supply, "not only does not exist," according to the last Report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and of the Interior to the Sovereign Constituent Congress, "but, on the contrary, this body is loaded with a debt, the interest of which cannot be paid out of the produce of the aforesaid duty."

To the exertions of the Tribunal, the unfortunate decay of which has

just been noticed, much of the prosperity of the Mexican mines towards the close of the last century has been justly attributed. Other causes had also their share in producing this desirable result, among which the discovery of several new mines of considerable importance requires to be mentioned. A rapid yet regular increase in the gross amount of their annual produce had however commenced with the year 1695, and continued until after the year 1800. The total proceeds, which at the first-mentioned period amounted to 866,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, were doubled in 1726, and this was again doubled in 1776, making an amount of 3,466,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which, at the end of the succeeding twenty years, was raised to 5,200,000*l.* The produce appears thus to have been sextupled in the course of the last century, the latter years of which may, with the earlier ones of the present, be regarded as the period in which the mines attained their greatest prosperity. In 1805, the quantity of the precious metals coined at the Mint of Mexico amounted to nearly six millions sterling, being the highest sum ever obtained in one year; but after this a considerable decline took place, and the gross proceeds began rapidly to diminish. The principal circumstance to which this appears to have been owing, was the accumulation of the water in many of the mines, to an extent which the machinery employed was unable to prevent, and which proved fatal to several of the most productive among them. The rich mine of Valenciana, which alone has forwarded in one year to the mint gold and silver to the amount of half a million sterling, and which had previously existed as a dry mine, was in this manner ruined. It had been holed to the neighbouring mine of Tepeyac, by which means water had been let down into it, and the working consequently ceased. Other causes, such as the high price of iron, mercury, &c., which exercises a considerable influence on the productiveness of the mines, may also have contributed to this decline; but among these a failure in the quality of the ores cannot be enumerated. That no share of it is attributable to this cause, is evident from the fact that the newly-sunk mines, which have not yet penetrated beyond that level of the vein which is usually found the richest in produce, still continue to furnish a supply, the net proceeds of which are equal to that of the best periods of these speculations; a fact which also proves that the opinions of those who have regarded the veins as approaching to a state of exhaustion are quite unfounded.

The decline, which commenced at the period just alluded to, soon amounted almost to a total failure, in consequence of the occurrence in 1810 of the civil commotions, of which this effect has indeed been one of the most disastrous to the well-being of Mexico. Fortunate in their issue for the liberty of man, these struggles yet exercised during their progress a most malevolent influence on the destinies of her proprietors, and more especially on those of the possessors of mines. Their property, unlike that of the agriculturist which could suffer little from lying fallow during a few years, was of a nature which could not fail to be considerably deteriorated by a cessation of attention. Condemned, however, to neglect by the unsettled state to which the workmen employed in them were reduced, an inefficiency of means to counteract the evils which were daily and hourly increasing upon them was necessarily produced. In the absence of the requisite funds, and the impossibility of procuring the labourers required, the prosecution of the works was impracticable; and from the interruption thus occasioned, the water became collected in the mines in

such immense bodies, that the simple contrivances which had been formerly made use of, proved totally inadequate to its removal. When better times succeeded, and the government returned to a more settled state, it became therefore necessary to seek for other and more efficient means; but, exhausted by the continuance of the disturbances, the country generally, and the mining interests more particularly, were now totally unprovided with funds to procure them. Dependent, however, as the prosperity of Mexico is upon that of her mines, it was essential that every exertion should be made for their re-establishment. These exertions have had their effect; foreign nations have been applied to for assistance, and in England this application has been attended with success. Ever foremost in commercial enterprise, there have been established in England several companies, by the agents of which certain mines have been already purchased, under the sanction of the existing government of Mexico; by which, with the view of encouraging the employment of foreign capital in these speculations, the laws and articles of the ordinance which prohibited foreigners from acquiring property in mines, have been abolished; under the express limitation, however, that such property shall in them be confined to such mines only as they may supply; but by which they are not authorized in the attempt to discover any new ones.

The amount of British capital which has been embarked in these speculations is already very large, and it becomes therefore an object of considerable importance to inquire into the best means of ensuring from it a profit adequate to the risk to which mining speculations are universally subject. For this purpose it will be necessary to recur to the consideration of those accumulations of water, which have already been adverted to as constituting the principal obstacle that is to be combated, and the removal of which forms the first and most essential step to ultimate success. Unless this be first effected, nothing advantageous can be expected, since without this no produce can be obtained from them.

Percolating through chinks and crevices of the rock through which the shafts have been sunk, water generally becomes in a short time troublesome to the miner, and obstructs the further progress of his works. Before these can be resumed, the water must necessarily be removed, and hence the expenses and difficulties of the undertaking are considerably increased. The deeper the shafts are sunk, and the larger the extent of the levels which are driven, the greater is the proportional increase of this influx of water; the difficulties of withdrawing it increase also in an equal ratio with the distance from its surface to the level of the mouth of the pit, or of any other adit which can be obtained. The expenses attendant on this proceeding form, in many cases, the heaviest part of the undertaking, and are in some instances so large that the produce even of a rich vein is inadequate to defray them; hence the working is of necessity discontinued, as incapable of being pursued with profit. Of the contrivances which have been adopted to remedy this overwhelming evil, the most simple consists in raising the water by leathern bags suspended by ropes, and this has consequently been the one most employed in Mexico, where the whole method of working has been generally of the plainest kind. The whims to which the ropes are attached, being worked by horses or mules, are however productive of considerable expense, and the shaft of San Ramon, situated on the rich vein of La Biscaina, has been more than once abandoned on that account. In 1783, the weekly expense of this

mine amounted to 1,875*l.*; the abundance of water having increased to such a degree, that twenty-eight whims, each of which required more than forty horses, were not sufficient to draw it off. From this time the works were suspended till 1791, when the whims were again established, at an annual expense of more than 31,252*l.* The ores that were extracted were not found sufficient to compensate this expense, and the mine was again abandoned in 1801.

At this time, an improvement in the machinery applicable to this important object was attempted in the neigbouring mine of Moran, which has recently been undertaken by "The Adventurers in the Mines of Real del Monte." These, which were formerly of great celebrity, had been abandoned for forty years, on account of the abundance of water, which could not be drawn off. In the year 1801, however, a pressure engine on hydraulic principles was erected in these mines, at an expense amounting, with the aqueducts, to very nearly 11,000*l.* Constructed on a very improved plan, this ingenious machine would, it was calculated, if worked for twelve hours out of every twenty-four, be fully adequate to keep the mine clear. Unfortunately, the season in which the stream destined to supply the works was measured, being exceedingly rainy, the water which was relied on to furnish the moving principle of the machine, was believed to be more abundant than it really was; and, on subsequent trial, it was found to be utterly inadequate. When M. Humboldt visited Moran, the pumps could only work three hours a day, and a new canal was going on in the hope of remedying this deficiency. This too appears not to have succeeded; a sufficient stream could not be obtained, except during the rainy season, which lasts only three months in the year; the machine was therefore useless, and the mine was again abandoned.

In the mines of Cornwall, about seventy years since, failures similar to the above took place, and the working of them was consequently discontinued for a season. The whole of the machinery then known had been in vain called into action to check the inroads of the water, and even a rude sketch of a steam-engine had been employed, at first with some advantage, but finally without success. That surprising machine, compared to the powers of which those of all previous inventions had been as the puny efforts of an infant to the mighty struggles of a giant, received, however, shortly after this period, such vast improvements as entitled its inventor almost to the credit of a new discovery. Applied to the mining processes of our native land, it succeeded completely in clearing the levels from the accumulated water, and its varied powers were subsequently devoted to give motion to the heavier parts of the machinery employed in dressing the ores which it had previously raised to the surface. This power, by which the more laborious processes of our own mines are almost entirely conducted, and to which we are indebted for their present prosperity, is that on which the principal reliance is now placed by the adventurers in the Mines of Mexico, and which, could it be rendered equally available in that country as in England, would doubtless fully answer the expectations entertained from it. To this, however, there exist considerable obstacles in the present condition of the surface of Mexico, and in the absence of sufficient depositories of fuel to supply the principle of motion. Each of these requires to be considered with attention, since without the latter the engines cannot be brought into action, while it is almost unnecessary to observe that they cannot be employed

unless they are capable of previous conveyance to the spot at which their assistance is demanded.

Throughout the table-land of Mexico, on which, and to the west and north of which the mines are situated, there exist carriage roads, the ascent of which is generally very gentle, and which are described as being in most places passable by carts. Along these, therefore, with some few exceptions, the detached pieces of a steam-engine might probably be conveyed; but to raise them to this elevated region would be attended with considerable difficulty. The absolute height of the city of Mexico, which forms the central point of the internal commerce of these districts, is 7500 feet above the level of the ocean. From the plain on which it is situated the descent is on both sides extremely rapid to the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; the former is, however, the most abrupt, and it is that to which the speculations of Europeans would naturally be first directed. "Of the 250 miles," says Humboldt, "from the capital to Vera Cruz (the port through which the commerce with Europe is carried on), upwards of 160 belong to the great plain of Anahuac. The rest of the road is a laborious and continued descent, particularly from the small fortress of Perote to the city of Xalapa, and from this site, one of the most beautiful and picturesque in the known world, to La Rinconada."——"From the village of Vigas to L'Encero, the road to Vera Cruz is frequently nothing but a narrow and crooked path, and the most difficult perhaps in all America, with the exception of that by which the goods of Europe are transported from Honda to Santa Fe de Bogota, and from Guayaquil to Quito." These difficult tracks, to which the name of roads can scarcely be given, and in which the traveller reaches, in the course of a few hours, an elevation of 2000 or 3000 feet, are passable only by mules. On the backs of these hardy animals, the long files of which cover the roads of Mexico, goods to the value of more than 4,000,000*l.* are annually transported from the Atlantic coast over the interior table-land, while flour, hides and metals descend by the same conveyance to Vera Cruz. Yet applicable as is this mode of carriage to light goods, and to those which are easibly divisible, it would be utterly unavailing for the transport of many portions of a steam-engine. The immense boilers which would be required by an engine of considerable power could not, for instance, be possibly conveyed in this manner; and the weight of many other parts of its machinery would preclude this mode of removing them. This then would appear to be a stumbling-block *in limine ipso*, over which it seems impossible at present to pass; and the necessity for amending which has been long evident to the government. A road practicable for carriages had been commenced, by its order, at the beginning of the present century, by which this difficulty would have been obviated; it however shared the same fate with all other undertakings of magnitude during the disturbed time, and the works, we believe, have not been again resumed.

Granting, however, that these difficulties were overcome, and that the steam-engine had reached the place of its destination, with all its apparatus uninjured and complete, the element by which its moving principle is generated remains yet to be sought for. "Coal," according to Baron Humboldt, "in general appears to be very rare in the Cordilleras. In the kingdom of New Spain, it has only yet been discovered in New Mexico," a district which is far too distant north for the supply of any of the mines

now likely to be worked. In the red sand-stone of Guanaxuato, a substance which frequently accompanies coal, that scientific traveller discovered no trace either of coal or of fossil wood; this latter substance being however common in the similar formation towards the north-east of the city of Mexico, and being also found in the immense plains of the intendancy of San Luis Potosi, and near the town of Altamira. This, should it be found in sufficient quantity, might be used as fuel; and recent wood, although it is not plentiful on the table-land of Mexico, is to be met with, as at Guanaxato, from its proximity to the Sierra de Santa Rosa. There are also good woods near Real del Monte, at L'Oyamel, and at Cerro del Sacal. These, although they may possibly be made applicable to the supply of the steam-engines, will form but poor substitutes for the coal with which England has been accustomed to feed them; neither can this supply, which appears to be stated in the most favourable manner, be regarded as by any means sufficiently plentiful for the support during a continuance of years of the number of steam-engines which would be required. That this report is indeed a favourable one, appears extremely probable from the single fact that in the city of Mexico fuel is so scarce that the dung of cows is collected and dried to be used as firing.

The existence in Mexico at the present moment of two steam-engines, is a circumstance by no means sufficient in itself to remove all doubts arising from the difficulties which have just been enumerated. The first of these, it is stated, was, "owing to several circumstances, not sent to the mine it was intended for;" but, as these circumstances are not explained, it is impossible to decide whether the difficulties of conveyance formed any portion of them. It was subsequently erected in the mine of Conception, in the Real Catorce; a district in which these difficulties would be much diminished, owing to its probably less absolute elevation, and to its more gradual ascent from the coast. Of the other, which, according to Don Lucas Alaman is now erecting in Temascaltepec, but little is known; it is barely probable that it may have reached by sea the western coast of Mexico, and have been thence transported, which would have been attended with but little difficulty, to the situation it now occupies. That it should have crossed the table-land, appears from the state of the roads, and the nature of the conveyance, to be highly unlikely; but, in the absence of information, it would be useless to dilate upon the subject. The existence of two steam-engines in Mexico, and even the supply of a sufficient quantity of fuel to them, would by no means conclude the general question as to the possibility of procuring sufficient for the support of many; neither does it appear that either of these are yet actually at work.

Decisive of the impossibility of applying the steam-engine on the large scale to the emptying of the mines of Mexico, as these obstacles have appeared to some, their attention has consequently been directed to the discovery of other means; which, though less powerful in their effects, should be more readily available for the purpose required. Actuated by this desire, a gentleman of considerable ingenuity has recently invented a machine on a new plan, the principle of which is yet retained as a secret, but the impulse to which is to be given by manual labour. By means of this, he has estimated that a stream of water may be raised four hundred feet by the exertions of only five men. Extremely portable also, and moderate in its expense, it seems peculiarly adapted

by all these advantages to the Mexican mines, for which it is in fact intended; but it is already hinted, though the model of it has only just been completed, that there exists in its construction a radical error, which it is extremely probable will neutralize its effects. Should this prove to be the case, its fate will be not dissimilar to that of another machine, which, could it be effected, would be the one thing needful to the present object of the adventurers, but the possibility of which has been frequently doubted. In this machine it has been endeavoured to supply the moving principle by a portion of the water drawn up by its action, and thus to form a self-acting machine, the motion of which, while there remained any water in the pit, should be perpetual. Of the thousand and one plans on which this has been attempted, the last is, however, as far from succeeding as the first; but the mind of man is ever active, and it seems by no means impossible that an invention of this nature may at some future period fortunately occur.

The removal of the water, to which the attention has been chiefly directed as constituting the primary object of the foreigner who engages in these speculations, is, however, by no means so essential to the native, who, if possessed of sufficient capital, would probably prefer the sinking of new shafts to the risk and uncertainty attendant on the clearing of the old ones. From this mode of proceeding the foreign adventurer, as has been already stated, is precluded by the express terms of the law, which allows him only to engage in those mines that have been already worked. Interdicted in this manner from the most probable means of advantageously employing his capital, he is compelled to devote himself to such undertakings alone as demand at their commencement a heavy outfit of machinery, the success of which appears extremely problematical. The native proprietors, deterred by the risk and by the expense of this latter method, had, in many instances, abandoned it previously to the revolution. "The very wise plan," says M. Humboldt, "which the Count de Regla (whose mining property is situated on the productive vein of La Biscaina,) at present follows is, to leave off the clearing of the old works, and to investigate the mineral repository in points where it has never yet been worked." From this "very wise plan" of proceeding, which experience seems to have indicated as the most beneficial to be pursued, the foreign speculator should continually bear in mind that he is by law excluded.

In the remarks which have been laid before the reader, the object has been rather to excite a proper feeling of caution, than to check the spirit of enterprise. Enterprise, when conducted by prudence, is the foundation of all commercial prosperity, and as such the key-stone of the arch on which the strength of England rests. Such a spirit it behoves us rather to foster than to repress; yet should it degenerate into speculation, and should to one speculation succeed another, rolling rapidly onwards in endless succession, a warning voice may well be raised to impress on the eager the necessity of deliberation. That the mines of Mexico have been the most productive in the world, that they are far from being exhausted, and that they may again be worked under favourable circumstances with considerable advantage, will be readily allowed: but that these favourable circumstances have yet arrived, we may well be permitted to doubt. In enumerating some of the obstacles which yet remain to be overcome, the attention has been confined to such as are

purely of a physical nature, and which must first be combated and vanquished before the working can be said to have commenced. Those which are connected with the political state of the country, or with the local or religious prejudices of its inhabitants, have been purposely left untouched, since the result of their discussion would probably at the present moment prove, from various circumstances, unsatisfactory. This question must, indeed, be eventually decided by experience, and the experiment is likely to be put into immediate tial. Should the apprehensions, which may be entertained on these points, prove groundless, and the other obstacles which have been noticed, be vanquished by perseverance and activity united ; and should a sufficient supply of fuel, without which nothing can be effected, be fortunately discovered ; the adventurers may then expect, from the happy combination of European intelligence, with the improved machinery which they will introduce, to derive from their undertaking a satisfactory and ample return for the capital advanced. Till, however, this fortunate union of circumstances shall take place, this desirable result cannot, we fear, be expected. " All is not gold that glitters" is a very homely proverb ; yet it is one that may frequently be recalled to our remembrance with advantage.

THE ARROWS OF LOVE.

[*From the Greek of Anacreon.*]

In the Lemnian forges pent,
While Vulcan, o'er his anvil bent,
Fashioned the glowing steel to darts
For Love to shoot at human hearts ;
As from his hand each arrow slipt,
Its point in honey Venus dipt,
And Cupid, smiling, over all
Sprinkled bitter drops of gall.

Once, within the dusky dome
Mars, from thundering battle come,
Shaking his ponderous spear, began
With scorn Love's tiny darts to scan.
Eros, piqued, an arrow took,
And, turning on the God a look
Of laughing mischief—" This," said he,
" I trust is weighty, try, and see."
Mars took the arrow ; Venus smiled
Upon her bright triumphant child.
While the God of Armies, stung,
" Take it !" cried with trembling tongue,
" I feel, alas ! its weight !" But Love
His warm entreaties could not move,
" 'Tis but a tiny shaft," said he,
" So keep it, and remember me !"

ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 6.—*India.*

The government of India must be contemplated in its original form, as it existed in the notions of its founders; or, at least, as it was put in operation on its first institution; for thus only can a true image of it be obtained. The numerous revolutions which have changed the moral face of that country, have prevented this system from availing itself of the ripening power of time, for it has never been sufficiently consolidated to preserve one uniform tendency, and spurn the influences of other forms and institutions. Governments may be influenced from without in two ways: either foreign laws may force themselves a way into their frame, and mingle imperceptibly with their consistency and texture, and thus ameliorate or at least modify them; or they may operate so as to remove them from their position, or may stand in their way to improvement; or may even thrust them back when they had gained some ground, and thus render them worse than of themselves they would have ever been. It is not quite clear which of these processes has taken place in Hindoostan. Foreign laws and customs have been introduced, and very numerous races of men have been subjected to their influence; but by this means the native institutions have been kept at a stand, have been put aside as it were, for a while, and then when the mutations of power have allowed them to come again into play, having stood still while the affairs of the world were moving forward, they are brought out like an antiquated garment, and forced and fastened upon the shoulders of a differently moulded society, for which they are by no means fit. To reason upon their efficacy or propriety in this strange conjunction is by no means fair. If we would understand them thoroughly, we should direct our view upon the rude and savage clans for whom they were originally framed; and perhaps it might then appear that even the Hindoo theocracy was not much behind the other rude governments of the world, in those ignorant ages in which it was constructed. But it is impossible in these slight sketches to attempt a view of this kind, although it would certainly be not unpleasing to call up those pictures of primitive manners with which the institution of this polity was connected. No age has any superiority over another, except in degrees of knowledge; freedom is an effect of knowledge, but not a necessary effect; yet the age in which freedom flourishes is superior to all other times, as it is the only one in which knowledge can exert all its power, or man feel all his happiness. The Hindoos have never at any time been truly free; for if some of the mountain tribes have snatched a rough independence, it has been the independence of the tiger who is shot as soon as caught. But to proceed to the examination of the institution itself.—

The original government of Hindoostan was undoubtedly a real theocracy. The law-giver, pretending to promulgate nothing but what was revealed to him by the Divinity, for that reason demanded greater veneration and more unconditional obedience. It appears that the Indians were very ready to admit the sacred claims of their legislator; in the first place, because their pride was gratified by believing that their laws were framed by God himself; and secondly, because they were too ig-

norant to foresee how much slavery and misery their easy credence was to entail upon them. It is proper that men should respect those who frame their laws, or watch over their well-being; but when this respect is carried to extravagance, when it serves to inculcate notions of distinctions among mankind made originally by nature, it then becomes mischievous in its tendency, and requires to be checked. A passage from the Mahabaratha, one of the most sacred of the Hindoo volumes, will show how early it assumed a wrong direction among the people of India: "Without a ruler no country can prosper; health, virtue, &c. are of no avail, two will invade the property of one, and many again will attack two; thus men will eventually destroy each other, as the various species of fish. A Raja protects the people, as a large fish the smaller. In this manner mankind were continually oppressing each other, when they went to Brama to give them a ruler. Brama directed Menû to become their Raja. He replied,—I fear a sinful action. Government is arduous, particularly so among ever-lying men. They said unto him, Fear not, you will receive a recompense, of beasts a fiftieth part, and thus also of gold; we will give you a tenth of corn, increasing your store, a becoming duty on damsels, and on disputes and gaming. Men, exalted in wealth or science, shall be subordinate to you, as gods are to the great Indra: thus become our Raja, powerful, and not to be intimidated; you will govern us in peace as Koorun does the Yukshus. Whatever meritorious actions are performed by subjects protected by the Raja, a fourth part of the merit shall belong to you. Thus, let those who desire advancement hold the Raja superior to themselves (as he defends the people), as a disciple the religious instructor, as the gods the divine Indra. Let them, when in his presence, adore the man who is Raja."—"What is the reason, (said Goodhista,) that a Raja, who in his birth, life, death, members, &c. resembles all other men, should be as it were adored and respected by powerful heroes, and all mankind, and that on his happiness or misery that of all those depends?" Bheeshma, in reply, relates the institution of government, and shows that the tranquillity of society depends on the ruler.

Here we have the great original flaw of this system. No nation is thoroughly wretched until it is made to believe that nature constituted from the first some men to rule over others, and that its institutions and laws have had a divine origin; for no work purely human could be supposed to reach perfection at once, and be beyond the reach of amendment. But under what pretence would a pious or superstitious people call for improvement in that which their divinity revealed to them in all possible excellence? By what authority would they set their wisdom above the wisdom of oracles? The belief inculcated by legislators, that they receive their laws from heaven, is, therefore, the great cause of that slow progress of civilization remarkable among many nations. Its proper effect would be to keep the mind of man for ever stationary; but time itself, and the wear of circumstances, will operate some changes in spite of every thing. Such changes, however, brought about reluctantly, and in the teeth, as it were, of the national belief, come lagging afar off in the rear of events, not mingling with and giving a colour to them.

When laws are revealed, also, priests must be their interpreters; and this is the case in Hindoostan. The Brahmin holds the key that unlocks the treasury of law, and he is careful to unlock it in the manner most

beneficial to himself. Even the despotism of the sovereign, which is absolute over every thing else, is not so over religion and its ministers; he was commanded to respect the Brahmins, and to be guided by their advice: "Let the king," say the laws of Menû, "having risen early, respectfully attend to Brahmins learned in the three Vedas, and by their decision let him abide." Yet the king is described in their sacred books as a terrible divinity, at whose sight all men tremble with fear, who crushes alike the weak and the powerful. "Like the sun, he [the king] burns eyes and hearts; nor can any human creature on earth even gaze on him. He, fire and air; he, the god of criminal justice; he, the genius of wealth; he, the regent of waters; he, the lord of the firmament."— "He is a powerful divinity, who appears in human shape. In his anger is death. He who shows hatred of the king, through delusion of mind, will certainly perish; for speedily will the king apply his heart to that man's destruction."*

This divinity, however, is commanded to reverence the Brahmins, and never to do any thing without previously consulting them. "Let not the king, although in the greatest distress, provoke Brahmins to anger; for they, once enraged, could immediately destroy him with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars."—"What prince could gain wealth by oppressing those, who, if angry, could frame other worlds and regents of worlds, could give being to other gods and mortals?" †

Accordingly the Brahmins received even their king with a degree of contempt, for he being of an inferior caste, they would have considered an union between him and one of their daughters as an indignity not to be endured. They were the inventors of, and the grand movers in, this system of government; and by an admirable stroke of priestly policy, secured their persons from capital punishment, and their property from taxation. "Neither shall a king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of all possible crimes: let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure, and his body unhurt." ‡—"A king, even though dying with want, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the Vedas." § It is not to be imagined that being thus placed so high above their fellow creatures, they would preserve for them in general the least compassion or regard; for as men feel pity only for persons suffering such calamities as they believe themselves subject to, it would be easy to see, reasoning even *à priori*, that these priests would be inhuman and uncompassionate.

The Brahmins were in reality the legislators of India; for, as the interpretation of the laws, which were all contained in the sacred books, was exclusively their prerogative, it depended on them to give those laws what meaning they pleased. When the king did not determine affairs in person, the Brahmins likewise exercised the judicial function; they were also his counsellors upon all occasions.

Had the sovereign at any time been disposed to ameliorate the condition of the people, it was not in his power to introduce any permanent reform; because the law had descended to specify with the utmost minuteness the manner in which every action of life was to be performed, to the end of time. The narrow minds of their legislators had found it

* Laws of Menû, ch. VII.
† Ib. ch. IX.
‡ Ib. ch. VIII.
§ Ib. ch. VII.

much easier to command innumerable observances, than to put in action a few simple and powerful principles, which, in their unfolding, might have coalesced with improving manners, and taken a new form according to the spirit of more enlightened periods. But it is the character of superstition to be confused, inconsequent, barbarous, and blind to the future; and nothing is so hostile to the progress of knowledge as spiritual despotism, for its influence more visibly depends on popular ignorance, than that of any other species of despotism. In the Brahminical system we find the seeds of every characteristic of bad government. The division of the people into castes, separated from each other by insuperable boundaries, though supposed by very sagacious writers to give the Hindoos some advantage over the Arabs, was in reality the everlasting barrier between them and national happiness. It was a step taken completely out of the great highway of improvement, and had no other tendency than to promote slavery and misery. But it was not simply the division that was evil—something very similar had taken place among the Egyptians, and even among the Athenians—it was that ranks, honours, professions, trades, every comfort or misery of life, were made hereditary. A wise lawgiver should make as few things as possible hereditary—he should never attempt to transmit from father to son a rank that requires a certain degree of capacity, for in such case nature will be sure to render his institutions ridiculous. The law relating to caste was an attempt of this kind, and was a proof that no nation should be said to advance that does not move the right way, that does not by moving gain something in comfort and knowledge. The Hindoos are, and ever have been, a more degraded and miserable people than the Arabs, inferior as a nation, if not as individuals. Their learning has never been any thing more than a sophisticated web, serving to entangle their understandings; their mythology and religion perhaps the most gross and barbarous in the world; while the knowledge and religion of the Arabs, however slender and incomplete, have been of a practical and beneficial nature.

But the most striking imperfection of theocratical governments, an imperfection inherent in their nature, is their utter incompetency to protect those from foreign violence who have the misfortune to live under them. This may require some little illustration, the more especially as it has not been much insisted on. If we attentively contemplate the mutations of ancient governments, we shall perceive that almost all important changes wrought in theocracies have been effected from without, by strangers and conquerors; whereas in merely human governments abuses have been found to give way before the increasing wisdom and experience of the citizens. The Egyptians, who were governed by laws pretending to be revealed, successively became the prey of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, Mamelukes, and Turks. The Jews in like manner were almost perpetually in captivity or slavery. The Hindoos have scarcely ever been their own masters. There is something curious in this view of the subject, and it may be worth while to pursue it a little further. The government of priests is necessarily built upon a degree of ignorance, and is constantly leading off the mind from the consideration of merely secular, to the contemplation of spiritual things. From their leading ideas the life of men most commonly takes its bias and tenor, and it is not to be expected that any great discovery either in sciences or arts,

or any improvement in war, should be made by persons wholly absorbed in superstitious meditations, or buried in the performance of religious observances. The force of theocracy, indeed, consists in the weakness and blindness of the governed; and it is consequently interested in paralyzing the springs of national strength. When a people has been taught to regard the priesthood as the most honourable portion of the community, every one who has ambition will endeavour to be of their number, and thus those passions which nature designed for the preservation of society, will be exhausted in cabals for priestly pre-eminence. But here it may be said, that a particular caste being, by the Hindoo law, set apart for the service of religion, this destructive ambition can have no existence. Had none but the priests been thus divided off from society, very little harm would have arisen, especially if they had been confined to their spiritual profession. But the Indian legislator's aim was to extinguish all ambition, by making every thing hereditary. There was a distinct race of soldiers, who, without bravery or skill, were sure to be treated in society with honour and a degree of veneration.—History has shown that good troops are not to be formed in such a manner. The Cshatriya was born in his *grade*, and no personal exertions could place him above the scorn of an insolent Brahmin. It is true the law allowed him to regard the inferior castes with equal scorn, but a really ambitious mind is not satisfied with so vile a recompense; it does not look downwards but upwards.

There is never good discipline among hereditary troops. A very slight portion of this legitimate spirit, which is recognized in the armies of Persia, operates the very worst effects: the monarch is never safe upon his throne, nor the country secure against foreign aggression. The manner also in which the Indian troops are maintained, very strongly tends to exasperate the evil. Every petty prince, or governor of a province, keeps a certain contingent in his service, with which he is compelled to join the royal standard upon intimation being given from court. But while they remain in their provinces, each chief is absolute, and in consequence his soldiers contract a kind of feudal attachment to him and his family, which disables them from completely co-operating with the other forces of the kingdom. For these princes and governors having separate interests, the spirit diffused through their followers is that of an ignorant clan, detesting strangers, and looking upon all mankind as such, with the exception of their own tribe. The history of India shows that such have ever been her troops.* "The rudeness," says Mr. Orme, "of the military art in Hisdostan can scarce be imagined but by those who have seen it. The infantry is a multitude of people assembled together, without regard to rank and file."—"In recommending a perpetual standing army," observes Mr. Mill,† "the preceptive part of the military doctrine of the Hindoos seems in a great measure to have been summed up; for the marshalling, the discipline, the conduct of an army in any of its branches, no instruction is conveyed. General exhortations to firmness and valour are all the additional advice of whcih the utility appears to have been recognized." The same writer had before observed that India has given way to every invader.

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* Orme on the Government and People of Hindostan.
† History of British India, vol. II.

When we begin to take a view of political institutions, our greatest wonder is the very long duration of bad laws. They are, indeed, more permanent than good ones; for the latter, adapting themselves to the conjunctures of society in which they take their rise, are easily brought to serve as a step or vantage ground from which to command future improvement; but bad laws ensure their own perpetuity, by destroying the germs of improvement, and overshadowing with their enormous growth, the abuses they engender. Not considering this fact, however, writers sometimes bring forward the duration of institutions as a proof of their superior excellence, as if time respected nothing but what is good. The monarchical principle is not in India moulded into form, and some particular function appropriated to each limb or member; it is a monster with many heads. Authority is multiplied, not divided. The king does not separate the affairs of his government into parts, differing in their nature, and place at the head of each some officer fitted for and confined to that department; he breaks the empire into many little monarchies, as it were, over each of which he places a governor as absolute as himself within his own jurisdiction. The highest of these governors was lord of a thousand towns; the next, lord of a hundred; the next, lord of ten; the next, of five; the lowest, of one town and its district. Each of these lords was amenable to the one immediately above him, and absolute over all those below him. What was still worse, the monarch could not possess any very effectual check over these his vicegerents, and the only expedient their rude ingenuity could discover, was to maintain spies in every town in the empire. "The affairs of these townships," says the law, "either jointly or separately transacted, let another minister of the king inspect, who should be well affected, and by no means remiss. In every larger town or city, let him appoint one superintendent of all affairs, elevated in rank, formidable in power, distinguished as a planet among stars. Let that governor, from time to time, survey all the rest in person, and *by the means of his emissaries*, let him perfectly know their conduct in their several districts."*

"Of the practical state of the government," says Mr. Mill, "abundant proof is afforded. In the passage which immediately follows," (the one quoted above) "it is said, 'Since the servants of the king, whom he has appointed guardians of districts, are generally knaves, who seize what belongs to other men, from such knaves let him defend his people; of such evil-minded servants, as wring wealth from subjects attending them on business, let the king confiscate all the possessions, and banish them from his realm.'"

This resembled exactly the practice of the Ottoman Sultan, who, as soon as a pasha has extorted a sufficient degree of wealth from his pashalic, strangles him, and confiscates his riches. But how are the people benefited by this proceeding? We do not hear that any restitution was made to those persons who had been plundered by these unjust governors. On the contrary, similar robbers were appointed, enriched by plunder, drained of their wealth by the government, and then driven into exile.

The king being at the head of the government, and all the great lords of the kingdom being dependent on him, his power was much greater in

* Laws of Menû, ch. VII.

reality than was even contemplated by the laws; for, as the avarice of the Brahmins was generally as strong or stronger than their pride, it was not impossible for the sovereign to procure their approbation of actions forbidden in the Vedas. His council of seven or eight could not be of much service to him, or in any sensible degree embarrass whatever plans he might form; for, as he first consulted each separately, and afterwards the whole council assembled, when every man maintained through vanity his opinion formerly given, he necessarily conceived a contempt for their decisions, or gained them over to his interests. But the spirit of a government is more certainly known from the manner in which it punishes real crimes, and from its tendency to lessen or multiply such as are only imaginary, than from any other circumstance whatever. Men enter at first into society, that their persons may be more surely protected from violence than they could be in a savage state; and as society creates a kind of adjunct to their persons, which is called property, it is understood that this also is to be preserved to individuals for their use and comfort. But as there will always be some who, from imprudence or other causes, will be destitute of property, it is to be feared that they may appropriate to themselves, by mere violence, what the law allows them to obtain only for an equivalent degree of labour or goods. To defend the industrious or fortunate from the attacks of the wicked or unfortunate, lawgivers have devised various modes, all productive of misery or bodily pain to the offending individual. It is clear, however, that the laws should not elevate trivial errors, and much less offences against mere decorum, into crimes; for, if it does, the result, through the unavoidable frailty of human nature, will be, that a very numerous proportion of the people will find themselves unawares in the path of criminality; and, as the beginning is half of every thing, will become familiarized with real crimes, from seeing that no distinction is made between such and what are purely fictitious. Laws have no right to create crimes; but only to observe what is prejudicial to society, and endeavour to prevent or punish it. From the moment also in which the punishment exceeds the offence, the reign of law is at an end, and men should resume their original rights, and annul it altogether. It is a dreadful fact, however, that owing to general ignorance, and consequent apathy, a few superior minds, in almost every nation, are condemned to behold murders constantly perpetrated under the sanction of law, in support of rights which nature does not, and which society should not, recognize. It is to little purpose that they raise their voices against it; ignorance is deaf and sanguinary, and in the shape of authority, too apt, notwithstanding, to be respected. In no country has all this been verified more cruelly than in Hindoostan. It is no exaggeration to say, that justice has ever been an *unknown god* in that country; unknown alike to the governor and the governed, and seeming to be, in the abstract, beyond their comprehension. The leading idea in the mind of its first legislators seems to have been, that power is something divine in itself, paramount over justice and every right of man. They neither recognized nor knew the real claims of human nature; and their laws were the production of passion, ignorance, and self-interest. They were themselves Brahmins, and their first object was to secure to their caste whatever advantages, luxuries, and immunities it was in their imaginations to conceive. Mankind were nothing but as they were subservient

to the priests. "The Brahmin is declared to be the Lord of all the classes.* He alone, to a great degree, engrosses the regard and favour of the Deity; and it is through him, and at his intercession, that blessings are bestowed upon the rest of mankind." "The slightest disrespect to one of this sacred order is the most atrocious of crimes." † "For contumelious language to a Brahmin," says the law of Menû, "a Sudra must have an iron style, ten fingers long, thrust red-hot into his mouth; and for offering to give instruction to priests, hot oil must be poured into his mouth and ears." "If," says Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, "a Sooder sits upon the carpet of a Brahmin, in that case the magistrate, having thrust a hot iron into his buttock, and branded him, shall banish him the kingdom." "The most pernicious of all deceivers," says the law of Menû, "is a goldsmith who commits frauds; the king shall order him to be cut piecemeal with razors." "Of robbers, who break a wall, or partition, and commit theft in the night, let the prince order the hands to be lopt off, and themselves to be fixed on a sharp stake. Two fingers of a cutpurse, the thumb and the index, let him cause to be amputated on his first conviction; on the second one hand and one foot; on the third he shall suffer death.‡" "A thief who, by plundering in his own country, spoils the province the magistrate shall crucify, and confiscate his goods; if he robs in another kingdom, he shall not confiscate his possessions, but shall crucify him. If a man steals any man of a superior caste, the magistrate shall bind the grass beena round his body, and burn him with fire; if he steals a woman of a superior caste, the magistrate shall cause him to be stretched out upon a hot plate of iron, and, having bound the grass beena round his body, shall burn him in the fire." §

Such is the spirit of the Indian criminal code; and if any thing were wanting to convince reasonable men that sanguinary punishments are not the most efficacious, we think argument enough might be found in the state of society produced by these savage laws in India. Neither is it necessary to consider the Indian character in its present state, when it may be supposed that ages of slavery have wrought the most degrading changes; it was little better even in the early periods of Indian history, as we may clearly gather from the code of Gentoo laws translated by Mr. Halhed. The crimes then prevalent among the people, and attempted to be restrained by the legislator, are a proof of the last depravity of manners, and are of a nature not to be described. It is difficult indeed, to conceive why the lawgiver should have thought it necessary to enumerate them, unless we suppose there was great danger in leaving any thing to the discretion of the judges; but as these laws are a valuable monument of a certain stage of society, and may furnish useful materials for the history of the human mind, it is fortunate that they are preserved. In the multiplicity of our views, we are subject to hurry and inattention; but could we bring ourselves to follow carefully the chain of circumstances which has served to develope the passions and capabilities of the human race, the laws of the Hindoos would not be the least important helps towards perfecting the knowledge of our species.

* Laws of Menû, ch. x.
† Mill's History of India, b. 2. c. 2.
‡ Laws of Menû, ch. ix.
§ Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws.

RICHES.

Men image wealth a close and vasty net,
That at one sweep
Brings up all blessings kindly heaven has set
In this world's deep;
A net, I grant—but through its meshes wide
The finer pleasures 'scape into the tide.

He who has none, may rise ere blush of dawn,
And seek the shore
Through gently-winding pass, or breezy lawn,
Whose summer store,
Daisies and violets, peeping through the dew
That wets their eyelids, court his early view.

His is the melody of wood and brake,
And echoing dell,
And the sweet song ere morning 's well awake,
That oft does swell
From the too-early lark, whose passionate soul
Thinks the day's sapphire wheels too slowly roll.

His too the wood's dim shadows, flinging round
A pleasing gloom,
In which each nook and glade is fairy ground,
Where oft find room
The Queen of Dreams and all her airy train,
Who dance their rings beside the hoary main.

And, more than all, with him may live the power
In roundelay,
To give each soothing scene, and bright-gemm'd flower
Eternal day;
Which the wild flashings of his harp-strings flings
In radiance round, increasing as he sings.

Back o'er the wastes of time his eye may see,
In order set,
Those godlike forms, the Muses' memory
Can ne'er forget,
Plato and Xenophon—but who can tell
All who have gained our love and earned it well?

All these delights mere competence can give,
And friends to share:
And is not to have these, and friends, *to live?*—
The common air
Give me to breathe, with virtuous friends, and I
Care not where Riches hangs her net to dry.

Bion.

JOURNEY FROM THE FRONTIERS OF CHINA TO THE FROZEN SEA.*

AMONG the various modes of travelling which have been adopted as whim or circumstances have dictated, that of the pedestrian is obviously the most obnoxious to difficulties, and even danger. The published accounts of such excursions abound with relations of incidents frequently of the most distressing kind, and the experience of all who have attempted them, coincides with this description. Even in countries by no means uncivilized, and in the finest season of the year, the greatest inconvenience and privations have been suffered by pedestrian travellers, and these, it might naturally be concluded, would be infinitely increased in uncivilized regions, and in the most rigorous climates. Unappalled, however, by the dreariness of the prospect which must have been exhibited in every view of the subject, and encouraged by the success of a former walk through France, Spain, and Portugal, the author of the present volume having ineffectually solicited the sanction of the Admiralty to a journey into the interior of Africa, determined on renewing his pedestrian exertions on a yet more extended scale. Almost without money, and on foot, he proposed to penetrate into the extensive territories possessed in Asia by the Emperor of Russia, to reach the utmost eastern limits of that vast territory, and subsequently to pass over into America, and having crossed that continent in its broadest and least civilized part, to return thence to England; thus performing one of the most wonderful projects which ever entered into the mind of man—the circuit on foot of the habitable globe. In the partial execution of this extensive plan, for it has only been performed in part, Captain Cochrane has far outgone every previous undertaking of a similar nature, and will probably be long unrivalled by any imitator. Few indeed would be found ready to endure the privations which he has undergone; and even were the spirit willing, the flesh of most men would indeed be weak, and incapable of bearing the fatigues experienced in this long, desolate, and harassing journey.

A pedestrian tour presents, however, a more ample field for adventure than the usual modes of travelling; and there is consequently a wider scope for personal anecdote in a journey conducted upon this plan, more especially when the avoiding of expense is to be regarded as an essential concomitant which is to be consulted upon every occasion. We have hence in the present narrative a variety of lodgings of the least desirable kinds; in barns, in cobblers' stalls, in empty casks, and even in the open air, while traversing the central parts of Europe. Of our author's inattention to such trifles, we meet with an instance at a market town in Prussia, which he says provided him with clean straw, and consequently with a good bed. This it certainly was when compared with one which he shortly after encountered on his road to Memel. Turned out of a boat on the Curisch Haff at midnight,

- - - what was to be done? Return (he says) I would not, although a village

* Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey through Russia and Siberian Tartary, from the frontiers of China to the Frozen Sea and Kamtchatka; performed during the years 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1823; by Captain John Dundas Cochrane, R. N. 8vo. pp. 564, with two maps.

was within two miles of us; yet to proceed was impossible, from our ignorance of the way and the darkness of the night. We were also quite destitute of bread, tobacco, or schnaps, and my knapsack was in charge of the young Saxon who had agreed to take it to Memel for me. I felt as if completely undone. Putting, however, a good face upon it, I took off my shoes, hat and jacket, and taking a spare flannel waistcoat and drawers which I had fortunately retained in a bundle with a dry pair of worsted stockings, with this I made myself a bed, putting my feet into my hat, and pointing them towards the wind, and my shoes under my head for a pillow: then lying down and drawing my jacket over my shoulders, I slept very soundly; although upon awaking the next morning, I was both wet and stiff; but after taking some strong exercise backwards and forwards, I recovered the use of my limbs and my health.

Of the state of his clothing even at so early a period of the journey as his passage through Prussia, we have the following account:

My cap I had lost in the icy swamp, and in default my head was bound up with a piece of red flannel. My trowsers were literally torn to tatters; my shoes tied to my feet to prevent their falling off; my shirt, except a flannel one, and waistcoat both superseded by my outer jacket.——I endured much from the bad condition of my shoes, which the variations of weather made alternately like sponge and horn.

A yet more singular picture of his equipment is given as the result of a robbery committed upon him between St. Petersburgh and Moscow. The robbers, after despoiling him of his trowsers, shirts, stockings, and shoes, and rifling his knapsack, left him bound to a tree at some distance from the road, from which he was shortly after released by a boy.

To pursue my route or return to Tzarsko Selo (says Captain C.) would indeed be alike indecent and ridiculous; but being so, and there being no remedy, I made therefore "forward" the order of the day; having first with the remnant of my apparel rigged myself *à l'Ecossaise*, I resumed my route. I had still left me a blue jacket, a flannel waistcoat, and a spare one, which I tied round my waist in such a manner that it reached down to my knees; my empty knapsack was restored to its old place, and I trotted on with even a merry heart.

Within a few miles he waited upon General Woronoff, to whom he related his mournful story; upon which some food was administered to him.

Some clothes were then offered to me, which I declined, considering my then dress as peculiarly becoming.—I quitted, with many thanks to the general, in his own carriage, which was directed to take me to the first station. I soon discovered that carriage riding was too cold for me, and therefore preferred walking, barefooted as I was.

And in this trim he travelled during the succeeding day until he arrived at Novgorod, where he accepted a shirt and trowsers. Miserable indeed must have been his general appearance, since we find him regarded as an object of charity; the master of one of the post-houses at which he stopped, having, in addition to a plentiful meal given with the greatest good will, offered him a present of two roubles; which on his arrival at the next station he found had been slipped into his cap notwithstanding his previous refusal of them.

The savage virtue of hospitality, as our traveller terms it, increased as he approached Asia. At the last European station, called Kirgishantsky Krepost, the good people with whom he dined were resolved, he says, that he should not quit this paramount quarter of the globe with any trace of dissatisfaction, and young children continually presented him with

wild strawberries and cream,—a present which he received standing with one foot in Asia and the other in Europe. From this time he was obliged to consign his nearly exhausted purse to the care of his knapsack, as in no one instance could the inhabitants be prevailed on to accept of money for the food he had occasion to procure. "I never entered a cottage," says Capt. C. "but shtshee (a cabbage soup), with meat, milk, and bread, were immediately placed before me unasked; nor could any entreaty of mine induce them to receive a higher reward than a pipe of tobacco, or a glass of vodka (whisky)." In fact, he states that the expenses of his journey from Moscow to Irkutsk, by the route he went, six thousand miles, certainly fell short of a guinea.

The gold mines at Ekatherinaburg, the first Asiatic place of importance on the road to Tobolsk, are productive of but little profit; and the copper which is smelted and coined there is brought from a distance of three hundred miles. From Tobolsk Captain C. proceeded, attended by a cossack, towards Omsk, and had the extreme misfortune to be robbed, at a village on the road, of his all—his passport, papers, and every protection in Siberia:

- - - In vain I addressed the commissary; in vain I offered a guinea for their recovery; in vain I pointed out the rogue who had taken them in the tin case from the seat while I was at dinner. I begged, entreated, insisted, threatened, abused—all was to no purpose; and I was finally constrained to go without them. By this terrible disaster I was entirely deprived of all testimony of myself, my connexions, or the object of my journey, and lay at the mercy of any one who might choose to provide me with large but cheap lodgings.

These documents were fortunately recovered through the exertions of the police-master at Omsk; from which place, following the course of the river Irtish, our pedestrian proceeded onwards to Boukhtarmish.

Of the Tartar tribes who inhabit the banks of the Irtish, we meet with the following description.

The Kirgeese are divided into three hordes, all more or less tributary to Russia, although they have khans of their own. They are all wanderers over the countries between Omsk and the Caspian Sea. Their occupations consist in hunting, fishing, and breeding cattle, and of the latter they have immense droves in this vicinity. They are not considered nice in the mode of acquiring them, and have even been accused of kidnapping and selling christians; an accusation not improbable from the example set them. They continue only so long in a place as there is forage for their beasts, getting in winter as near the woods as possible for the advantage of fuel, though in most parts, the dried dung of their cattle provides a ready and efficient substitute. I saw one of their chiefs, a good-looking fellow, but very filthy; and indeed they are in general the most miserable and filthy race I ever beheld, scarcely, during the warm weather, affording themselves a pair of trowsers for mere decency. One large iron kettle, with wooden spoons, constitutes the furniture of their more wretched tent. They are, however, excellent horsemen, and are supposed to be descended from the Mongoles and Tartars. Their language is peculiar to themselves.

The Calmucks who like them make no scruple to dispose of their children upon any momentary distress, or want of spirits, are yet a different race, both with respect to features and origin. They are, however, their equals in idleness and filth, and follow the same vagabond way of life. The Calmucks are notwithstanding the direct descendants of the Mongoles, who emigrated hither after the destruction of their empire. Very few are subject to Russia, a great part of them living in Chinese Mongolia, while the rest of them, under the protection of Russia, roam about the countries situated between the Don and Wolga, and the Ural mountains. Their features will for ever mark them in whatever part of the world—the flat face, small and elongated eyes, broad nose, high cheek bones, thick lips, and brownish-yellow complexion, are sure signs of their Mongolian

descent. They are obliging, but inquisitive and dishonest; yet with a little Russian education and discipline they make good servants. [illegible] ate and drank with them, as also with the Kirgeese, upon roasted meat, without bread or any thing else, save a glass of spirits and a pipe of tobacco.

Boukhtarmish, the author conceives, would form an admirable entrepôt for the commerce between the Russian and Chinese empires, by which no less than three thousand miles of land carriage would be saved, as on both sides the produce might go the whole distance between St. Petersburgh and Boukhtarmish by sea. The Russian government appear to have had this project in contemplation, but it has been frustrated by that obstinate adherence to the practice of their forefathers on the part of the Chinese, which is the characteristic of Asiatic nations, and the route by Kiakhta and Tobolsk is still persevered in. At a short distance from this town Captain C. crossed the Narym, a brook which forms at this point the line of demarcation between the Russian and Chinese territories, and actually set foot on the celestial empire; but was prevented against his inclination from penetrating further, by being unprovided with the necessary passports. Returning to Boukhtarmish, and from thence down the Irtish to Ubinsk, the next route on quitting that river was to Tomsk, passing through Barnaole, at which place there are mines of considerable value, and which are managed upon an excellent plan. Here also he met with the governor of the province, General Speranski, and learning from him that an expedition was preparing under the orders of Baron Wrangel to ascertain the situation of the north-east point of Asia, Captain C. hastened onwards in hopes of taking a share in it, and passing through Tomsk, a city containing about nine thousand inhabitants, proceeded to Irkutsk. At this place he became acquainted with Mr. Hedenstrom, a gentleman who had surveyed all the islands bearing the name of New Siberia, as far north as the latitude of 76°, and had been longer and further on the ice than any other traveller; but of whose discoveries no account has yet been given to the public, with the exception of the track of his route which is marked in the map accompanying the present volume.

After remaining a week at Irkutsk, Captain C. resumed his route to Verscholensk; whence he proceeded in an open canoe down the river Lena to Yakutsk, making generally from one hundred to one hundred and twenty miles during each day's journey.

The Tongousian Tartars, who inhabit principally the banks of the upper portion of this river, are also to be met with in various and distant parts of Siberia—

They are all wanderers and are rarely to be seen in any mechanical or subservient employment. They are classed into Forest and Desert Tongousi. The former occupy themselves in fishing and the chase, having but few rein-deer; the latter subsist entirely by the breeding of those animals, and wander from pasture to pasture with their flocks, tents, &c. A very few of them have received baptism, the rest are idolaters. Their language is said to be Mantshur, from whom they are, no doubt, all descended, as may be inferred from the peculiarity of their eyes being elongated and far apart. They are characteristically honest and friendly, robbery being considered by them as unpardonable.——They bear fatigue, cold, and privations to an extraordinary degree. They are sensible of, and thankful for, kind treatment, but will permit no one to abuse them. To strike a Tongousian is indeed a great crime, and often leads to fatal consequences, as in that case they no longer consider their word as sacred, but justifiably to be broken. They are exceedingly irascible, and can be done nothing with but by

good words.—With these fair traits of character they are, however, filthy to an extreme, eating and drinking every thing, however loathsome.

Their dress is nearly the same as that of the other Tartar nations, differing chiefly in the mode of ornamenting it. An axe, a knife, wooden-spoon, and kettle, constitute their only utensils; the first is a *sine qua non*, and a pipe of tobacco, with a glass of spirits their greatest luxury.

At Yakutsk, at which place our traveller arrived on the 6th of October, he remained for three weeks, during which he was engaged in making preparations for the continuance of his route, through the inclement season which had already commenced. The chief trade of this place, which is a considerable post of the Russian American Company, is in skins. The society, as might be expected in so remote a situation, is but indifferent; the greatest hospitality, however, prevails, except in a few articles of extreme rarity, such as wine, refined sugar, and some others.

On the last day of October, the frost having set in firm for the winter, Captain Cochrane departed from Yakutsk, destined for Nishney Kolyma, distant about one thousand eight hundred miles, which were to be travelled over in the coldest season of the year, and in what is esteemed the coldest part of the world. The temperature was at this time nearly 50° below the freezing point; yet he walked about the streets with only his nankeen surtout, trowsers of the same material, shoes and worsted stockings; a flannel waistcoat, which had lost its principal virtue, was the only warm clothing; yet he says he was not at all incommoded. He had no second frock; no knee-preservers, blanket, or bed; no guard for his chin, nose, or ears; in short, he says, "I was not properly provided, which I found out too late, and attribute the preservation of my life solely to the strength of my constitution, which I have never seen equalled to this hour." This journey was performed partly on foot and partly on horseback; and the lodging, after the first few nights, was generally either in uninhabited huts, erected near the route for the benefit of travellers, or in the open air. On the first night on which he was reduced to take up his quarters in the latter way, the weather was so intensely cold that he was almost obliged to creep into the fire; it was barely possible to keep one side of the body from freezing, while the other might be said to be roasting. "Upon the whole (he adds), I slept tolerably well, although I was obliged to get up five or six times during the night to take a walk or run for the benefit of my feet." On the following night, however, grown wiser by experience, he made a horse-shoe fire, which he found had the effect desired of keeping every part of him alike warm, and he actually slept well without any other covering than his clothes thrown over him. Many interesting particulars are given in this portion of the work relative to the manners of the Yakuts, the tribe through whose territories he was now passing; and we find that the inhabitants of these northern regions are not at all inferior in gluttony to their brethren of the opposite continent, although their food must be allowed to be frequently of a far superior kind. A deer, the size of a good calf, weighing about two hundred pounds, "may serve four or five good Yakuts for a single meal, with whom it is ever famine or feast, gluttony or starvation." In defect, however, of other means of gratifying their appetites, they have recourse to the most disgusting food; a child of five years old having devoured three candles, several pounds of sour

frozen butter, and a large piece of yellow soap in succession, without being satisfied. Of Zashiversk, Captain C. speaks in the following terms:

Of all the places I have ever seen, bearing the name of city or town, this is the most dreary and desolate; my blood froze within me as I beheld and approached the place. All that I have seen in passing rocky or snowy sierras, or passes in Spain, in traversing the wastes of Canada, or in crossing the mountains in North America, or the Pyrenees, or the Alps, cannot be compared with the desolation of the scene around me! The first considerable halting place from Yakutsk, the half-way house, is nine hundred or one thousand miles removed from a civilized place. Such a spot gives name to a commissariat, and contains seven habitations of the most miserable kind, inhabited severally by two clergymen, each separate, a non-commissioned officer, and a second in command; a postmaster, a merchant, and an old widow. I have, during my service in the navy, and during a period when seamen were scarce, seen a merchant ship with sixteen guns and only fifteen men, but I never before saw a town with only seven inhabitants.

These inhabitants were, however, hospitable and kind, and he remained there three days living in a state of luxury to which he had of late been a stranger.

The last few stages before his arrival at Nishney Kolyma were performed in a sledge drawn by dogs, which proceeded at the rate of eight miles an hour; but so intense was the cold, the thermometer being at 70° below the freezing point, that he was compelled to stop the sledge every half hour, or even oftener, to take a run. Even this short time was sufficient to freeze and fret his face desperately; and it then required no little self-command to be able to resume the exercise so necessary to counteract it. Sometimes, indeed, he was so drowsy that the driver deemed it necessary to use all his exertions to rouse him. He finally arrived at Nishney Kolyma on the 31st of December, 1820, with only the upper part of his nose between the eyes at all injured; "had I not obtained a pair of knee-preservers (he says), I never should have arrived safe, unless by walking the whole distance; for when once the knees are frost-bitten in a serious manner, adieu alike to them and life." Here he remained for upwards of two months, during the severest portion of the winter, and completed the first year since his departure from his native land.

The hope of taking an active part in the expedition about to repair to the north, which had formed so strong an inducement to him to hasten his journey, having been dissipated by the statement of his friend, Baron Wrangel, that he dared not venture on employing a foreigner without the express orders of the government, Captain C. left Nishney Kolyma on the 6th of March to attend the commercial fair which is held annually for the interchange of commodities between the Russians and the Tchuktchi. By means of this remote tribe he expected to be enabled to pursue his journey eastward as far as Behring's Straits, but although introduced to them as an interpreter sent expressly for that purpose by the Emperor of Russia, the crafty chiefs were not to be deceived, and refused their assistance unless upon such terms as he was unable to comply with. Thus disappointed, he returned to Nishney Kolyma, from which with unabated perseverance he soon afterwards departed for Okotsk.

The Tchuktchi are nominally an independent tribe, occupying the north-eastern part of Siberia, the whole number of which cannot exceed four or five thousand. They are ingenious, cunning, industrious, and excellent mechanics, which is proved by the symmetry, neatness, and

quantity of their names, clothes, tents, arms, and ornaments. They have no religion, but pay some regard to a sort of sorcerers, or people held by them in veneration. They appear bold, suspicious, and irascible, and although very avaricious, are perfectly honest, and not inhospitable. Their features, manners and customs, pronounce them of American origin, of which the shaving of their heads, puncturing of their bodies, wearing large ear-rings, their independent and swaggering way of walking, their dress, and superstitious ideas, are also evident proofs. Their language bears no affinity to the Asiatic dialects, though it is understood by the Koriaks; while several of their words are similar to those of the Eskimaux. It is most difficult of enunciation, insomuch that the interpreters are always affected with sore throats after the fatigue of the three days' fair. From their wandering mode of life they are in possession of much information relating to the northern and eastern seas.

A curious distinction is pointed out between the American and Asiatic races which is worthy the attention of the ethnographer. At the house of a Yukager, a race which is now nearly extinct, but which formerly existed as an outpost between Russians and Tchuktchi, Captain Cochrane passed his time very agreeably:

. . . . he was a very good chess-player, and was fond of the game. His manner of play added another instance to many I have witnessed, that there is in various parts of the world little or no difference any where in the moving of the pieces. I have played the game with Yakuti, Tongousi, and Yukagiri; but the Tchuktchi laughed at me for such a childish employment of my time. While upon this subject I may remark as a circumstance relative to this people, which has repeatedly surprised me, that wherever a people recognise and play the game, they are infallibly Asiatics. Neither the Tchuktchi nor the Koriaks understand any thing of it, but all the Kamtchatdales are familiar with it.

At Okotsk our traveller arrived after a most distressing journey of more than three months duration, in the course of which he was several times exposed to the greatest perils, particularly in passing the river Okota, from which nothing but the courage and ingenuity which he possessed as a British sailor could have succeeded in rescuing him. He here learnt, much to his regret, that there existed no probability of his procuring a passage to America, and he therefore determined upon giving up that part of his plan, and proceeding instead to Kamtchatka, though he was compelled to wait three months before he could obtain a conveyance even thither. During his voyage Captain C. had opportunities of ascertaining the incorrectness of some of the points laid down in the maps; and on his arrival in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul's, he found there Captain Vassilieff, who had returned from a fruitless attempt to get round the American continent. This expedition had rounded Icy Cape about thirty miles further than Captain Cook, and had ascertained that a strong current runs round it to the N. E. and E.; so strong that it was with great difficulty that Captain Vassilieff could get back his fast-sailing sloop. Our author here asks—

What would Captain Parry have given for such a *fair current?* Had the state of Captain Vassilieff's ship permitted his running for the accomplishment of the voyage in general, he certainly had the fairest opportunity that ever man had, for the result of Captain Parry's first voyage was known at Kamtchatka; as a correct chart of that voyage, and the situation of Melville Island, had been forwarded, and had actually reached a few days after Captain Vassilieff arrived. Little or no doubt can exist that he could have reached Melville Island; that

there was an open sea to the east, and a current of three knots per hour, I have reason to know. Unfortunately, however, the expedition was not in a fit state to make the attempt again; but what may be done by Captain Kotzebue time alone will show, although I am free to think that the passage by Behring's Straits is the best. Should Captain Kotzebue be determined to attempt the passage round Icy Cape, he will no doubt find a place for wintering; or he may winter in the sound called after and rediscovered by him, for it has been known to the Russians for more than one hundred years. The winter may be employed to great advantage, as there are natives in the vicinity with dogs and rein-deer; and I should think, that with proper caution and people qualified for the task, the coast, as far as M'Kenzie's river might be surveyed in one winter. Dogs to assist could also be procured at Kamtchatka.

For two months Captain Cochrane was detained at St. Peter and St. Paul's, in a perpetual round of balls, routs, dinners, and masquerades, and here commenced his acquaintance with a lady which subsequently terminated in marriage. His airy phantoms, his bold desires, and his eccentric turn being thus dissipated by one woman, he prepared to make a tour of the peninsula before he led his intended bride to the altar. This journey commenced on the 20th of November, and was performed in a narte or sledge drawn by dogs, with the occasional assistance of canoes and snow-shoes. The Koriaks who inhabit Kamtchatka, appear to be of the same origin with the Tchuktchi; they have the same features, manners, and customs, and the same language, the same love of independence; and are, in truth, less scrupulous of giving offence to the Russians than their northern neighbours, for they frequently break out into open hostility with the inhabitants of Tyzil, unless a supply of spirits and tobacco is sent to them; for which, however, they barter rein-deer and furs. Tyzil, nevertheless, is a place of considerable importance, since it contains twenty-seven houses, and is also a fortress. Its present strength may, however, be best appreciated by applying to it the description which George gives of the fortresses in Siberia: "It would be dangerous (he says) to attempt storming them, for whoever wanted to mount the greatest and only bulwark—a wooden paling—would most probably come to the ground with the whole structure about him."

A circumstance, which occurred at a village named Pouschin, exhibits the simplicity of manners of the Kamtchatdales in a very amiable light.

The Toion and I (says Captain C.) had a difference of opinion which I shall ever regret, as it arose from my ignorance of the proper character of the Kamtchatdales. The poor man had heard of my coming, and had actually provided a good dinner for me, which I did not partake of, in consequence of his not inviting me; another poor man actually did invite me, and I entered his more humble dwelling. The Toion was much surprised, and more vexed at this slight, which tended to lower him in the opinion of his subjects. The fact proved to be that the Toion is really one of the oldest Kamtchatdales, and was only complying with the custom of the ancient inhabitants of his country, which is, not to invite a stranger into his dwelling, considering that such stranger has the right not only to take it, but to eject its owners. I left him with great regret that I could not stay another day to make him amends; I did, however, all I could with this view.

On his return to St. Peter and St. Paul's his marriage was solemnized with great pomp, and we suspect that the anticipation of this happy event tended much to shorten the duration of his tour in Kamtchatka. Into his general observations on that peninsula we regret that we must decline entering on the present occasion; we shall barely mention that St. Peter and St. Paul's—a place which is known and has been eulo-

gized from one end of the world to the other—contains only forty-two dwellings, besides fifteen edifices belonging to the government, an old church, and the foundation of a new one. All, however, with the exception of the hospital, sailors' barracks, and school, are at best like the rest of the city, emblems of misery and wretchedness. Even on the banks of the Frozen Sea, Captain Cochrane declares that he has never seen so contemptible a place.

After a residence of eleven months in Kamtchatka, our traveller returned to Okotsk; and shortly afterwards proceeded onwards to Yakutsk, which he reached in about a month. On leaving Okotsk, he remarks,

> My present situation was too different from the last to escape my observation. Then I was wandering about alone, careless of the past, unconcerned for the future, and like the brute creation alive only to the present hour. Now, with a young wife to protect through an execrable journey on horseback, and exposed to the severity of winter, I felt, and felt deeply, that prudence and foresight were peculiarly necessary. The difficulties which she encountered in this and the subsequent journeys were such as would have shaken the most robust, and bore very hard upon her delicate frame.

The journey from Yakutsk to Irkutsk was performed by the same route which our traveller had formerly traced, and on his arrival at this latter place, leaving his wife in the care of a hospitable friend, he availed himself of the opportunity of accompanying two inspectors of the post on an excursion into the districts of Nartchinsk and Selenginsk. The passage of the Baikal Lake was performed on the ice in sledges drawn by horses in two hours and a half; it has even been crossed in two hours with three horses abreast, though the distance is forty miles. Verschney Udinsk is a town of considerable importance, and forms the grand mart between Irkutsk and Kiakhta. It has risen upon the ruin of Selenginsk, at which place there is a settlement of English missionaries, by whom Captain C. was most kindly received. The labours of these devoted men have never hitherto succeeded in converting one single individual, although they have acquired the Russian, Mantshur, and Mongolian languages. Their servants were Buriats, a lazy, dirty, but contented race; and quite as unmanly, cowardly, and servile, as the Kamtchatdales.

Kiakhta, the frontier town, through which the commerce between the Russians and Chinese is carried on, contains about four thousand inhabitants, and is neat, regular and well built; beyond this it can never reach, so long as the jealousy and envious policy of the Chinese is maintained. No stone buildings are allowed to be erected in it, except only a church for public worship. The old town, which contains forty-five dwellings, some of which are of a very superior description, is the residence of the merchants alone, no officer or stranger being permitted to sleep in it, according to an article in the treaty between the empires. Opposite to this, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, is Maimatchiu, the residence of the Chinese, which is a small ill-built mud town, with four narrow paved streets, running at right angles, and containing during the fair from twelve to fifteen hundred men and boys, the female sex being totally prohibited. The Chinese merchants were extremely hospitable, and appeared to feel much interest at finding an Englishman in that distant part of their empire, strongly recommending him, as he had come so far to see such a vile place as Maimatchiu, to pay a visit to Canton, where he was told his countrymen carried on a vast

trade. The best understanding appears to exist between the traders of the two nations, each party alternately entertaining the other. Commerce continues during the whole of the year, and there is no ceremony observed on either side on entering the Russian or Chinese villages. The distance from Kiakhta to Pekin is one thousand five hundred miles; and thirty days are consumed in the journey by the merchants with their goods, though a courier can go in ten.

Shortly after his return to Irkutsk, Captain Cochrane resumed his journey on his way back to Europe, in which it will be unnecessary to accompany him, since the route which he followed on this occasion was the same with that previously pursued. It will be sufficient to mention that sledges were now made use of, by which a considerable saving of fatigue and time was effected; and that he at length, after having been detained for some weeks at Kasan by the severe illness of his wife, arrived safely at St. Petersburgh, from which he had been absent about three years.

The extended notice which we have devoted to the present volume in our anxiety to impart to our readers an idea of its contents and nature, sufficiently evinces the high rank which it holds in our estimation; and we trust that the extracts for which we have been indebted to it, will excite their curiosity, and induce them to consult the work itself, which will amply repay them for its perusal. The strength of mind, though somewhat eccentric, which characterizes its author, the new and trying situation in which he was placed, and the freshness and novelty of the territories through which he wandered, invest his production with a powerful interest which can hardly be exceeded. There scarcely indeed exists a page of the narrative of these singular travels, which does not furnish matter of the most important and curious nature.

Since the publication of his Travels, the author has written two Letters to the Editor of the New Monthly Magazine; and as they contain ideas which may be considered as supplementary to his former views, we think we cannot do better than give them. They will make our reasoning on the subject more complete. And therefore having in the preceding part of this article adverted to the information collected by Captain Cochrane relative to the recent expeditions towards the north, undertaken by the direction of the Russian government, by which a considerable light has been thrown on several points connected with the circumnavigation of America, we cannot better conclude than by a brief sketch of the views entertained by that distinguished officer on this very interesting subject.

According to the observations of all navigators, and particularly those of Capt. Vassilieff, quoted above, a strong north-east current sets from the western coast of America round Icy Cape; while experience has equally proved that the current on the eastern side is the reverse of this, and was constantly in a south-westerly direction. In Baffin's Bay, in Davis's Strait, and in Hudson's Bay, the rate of this current has been ascertained by Captains Ross and Parry, to be from three to four miles an hour; a force which must materially impede the progress of ships. If the current, as these facts seem to establish, sets continually from the Pacific Ocean into the Polar Basin and from this again into the Atlantic, it furnishes a very strong argument in favour of the existence of a passage round the northern part of the Continent of America, but which is by no

means demonstrative of soundness of judgment in those persons who seem to have decreed that this passage shall only be attempted from the eastern side, or in other words, that the expeditions which they despatch shall constantly sail against the stream. On this side also, the numerous gulfs, straits, and islands, by which it is intersected in every direction, render it almost impossible to ascertain the line of coast, or even to determine whether the land which may be made is or is not the Continent. From this state of harassing and almost endless uncertainty, the navigator who should proceed from the western coast would be totally exempt. It is well known that Cape Prince of Wales, in Behring's Straits, forms part of the Continent of America, as well as Cape Lisburn, and Icy Cape, in spite of Kotzebue's Sound, (of which Captain Kotzebue has given less information than Russian maps of nearly a hundred years old). In starting from this point, therefore, it would be known that the land along which the expedition was coasting, or sailing, was continental, from which relief and assistance might in many cases be obtained; and it would also be known that there existed a half-way house, as Melville Island may be termed, and, should the vessel succeed in reaching so far, that it would then be secure of meeting with an outlet thence into Baffin's Bay. Should she, however, be prevented, by any cause, from availing herself of this, and make only Melville Island, the geographical object of the voyage would yet be accomplished; or, if unable to reach the island in consequence of field, or even of perpetual ice, she might, and probably would, approach so near to it as to send a pedestrian expedition to it during the winter. In an expedition from Behring's Straits, the current which so much impedes, on the present plan, the progress of the vessels, would also be found most advantageous. Wherever there exists a current, a ship can go; and even were she only made fast to an island of ice, she would be carried along by the current in perfect safety, since the ice will undoubtedly take the ground before the ship, and would in this manner make considerable way, without availing herself of the usual modes of navigation. There would also exist, in this mode of conducting the expedition, the satisfaction of receiving intelligence, as to its safety; since, even if they were compelled to winter round Icy Cape, a letter might readily be despatched to the Tchuktchi, who would forward it to the Kolyma. Such are the views entertained by Captain Cochrane, on the advantages and practicability of a voyage round the American Continent from the N.E.; and in these he is supported by the opinions of many, if not of most, naval men, who are, of all classes, the best qualified to give a correct judgment on the question.

On another branch of the inquiry, the *circumtrudging*, as Captain Cochrane whimsically terms it, of America, his opinion is deservedly entitled to the greatest weight. The line of the northern coast of America is naturally divided into three almost equal portions, the first comprehending the distance between Repulse Bay and the Copper Mine River; the second, that between the Copper Mine and Mackenzie's Rivers; and the third, extending from this latter point as far westward as Icy Cape. To trace the outline of the first of these, appears to have been assigned to Captain Lyon; and this, according to Captain Cochrane's estimate, he will be able to perform (provided his party be small, and not encumbered with any but the most necessary instruments) in twenty-five days, travelling in sledges drawn by dogs, at the rate of twenty miles a day, and

burying by the way sufficient provision for his return, which may be accomplished in the same space of time. It has, however, been stated, by a writer in the Quarterly Review, that the dogs can travel, with ease, fifty or sixty miles in a day, and in this case, Captain Lyon will be enabled to proceed much further; and hence he is understood to be instructed to continue his route, after reaching the Copper Mine River, and to explore as much towards that of Mackenzie. He will, however, have quite enough to do, in Captain Cochrane's opinion, if he can reach and return from the Copper Mine River to his ship in one season; and it would therefore be more advisable to send a party down Mackenzie's River, with directions to make its way eastward to the Copper Mine River, at the mouth of which it ought to find a depôt of such provisions as Captain Lyon had been able to spare on reaching that point. In this manner two thirds of the coast would have been explored, and it would only remain to survey the third portion, or that between Mackenzie's River and Icy Cape. This appears to have been assigned to Captain Franklin, and it is stated to be expected from him, to return across the country, after having reached Icy Cape, to the source of Mackenzie's River; an undertaking which, according to Captain Cochrane, cannot possibly be accomplished, since the distance and fatigue which must be encountered, are more than can be endured by a single party. Why, he asks, expose Captain Franklin to the peril and labour of going *to*, and coming *from*, Icy Cape? Why not let him start *from* Icy Cape towards Mackenzie's River; and instead of taking him from resources, let him go to resources? In this case, little doubt could be entertained of his success; and he might even, should a depôt of provisions be established at the mouth of Mackenzie's River, continue his course eastward, as far as the Copper Mine.

It is unnecessary to enter into the details, as to the quantity of food required, and the proportions and distances at which it should be buried; these, as the result of experience, will doubtless be referred to by those who may have any share in an undertaking of this description, and will merit their attention. On the spirit which confines the investigation to one course alone, and to one expedition, Captain Cochrane animadverts with much warmth. "If this is to be persevered in," he observes, "it is not improbable that other nations may step forward, and deprive us of that credit which ought alone to belong to the first maritime country in the world; a country which should be so jealous of her naval ascendency, as hardly to permit others to attempt that which she had not previously executed."

LIFE.

Some with affected scorn disdain thee, Life,
Yet live to talk of this their proud disdain;
Some, truly wearied with unhappy strife,
Would not retrace thy fleeting course again;
Some die while living; most exist in vain,
And pass away as if they had not been:
For me, within thy precincts I'd remain
Till with due glory I can quit the scene;
From thee, till then, I can't my fond affections wean.

Thou hast such store of pleasures for the soul,
Pleasures which to have shared we ne'er repent,
And, each day, winding out thy lessening scroll,
Dost heap our knowledge with a sweet consent;
Yet less we value what thy hand has lent,
Than th' unseen remnant which thou dost withhold,
For man's vain race is ever madly bent
To think the future wove of richest gold,
While what is past they hate, as brittle, base and old.

In this I also differ with my kind,
Viewing the far-seen texture of the past
As a sweet bed, on which my soul reclined
While drinking in youth's visions wild and vast;
No look of vain regret I backward cast,
Nor wish one nook of all the scene erased;
But place the passing moment with the last,
And see them trooping off quite unamazed,
As shepherd views his flocks when they have fully grazed.

Thrice happy they, who every day can say,
Would that the present time might last for ever!
And though they know that like a shade away
They pass, relax not in the proud endeavour
To raise the trophy that no time shall sever
From its wide base upon th' eternal world:
What Genius and what Virtue props can never
Stoop to the dust, though Death his missiles hurl'd,
Each shore dispeopling where Fame's banners stream unfurl'd.

New nations faster rise than Death can waste;
As on heaven's champaign, when the warring wind
Drives fierce the clouds, more speedy than his haste
The thickening darking volumes stream behind,
The infinite ocean with the sun combined
Lifting the endless masses from the deep,
Laugh Eolus to scorn, and make him find
How vain his rage! till, tired, his monsters creep
Within their hollow caves to roar themselves to sleep.

This thought adds sharpness to the thirst of fame,
And smooths the toil of many a midnight hour;
For who would not an ark-like fabric frame,
Endued by Genius with the wondrous power,
To bear, in spite of storms and wasting shower,
His freighted name earth's living deluge o'er;
Since Time in vain shall hunger to devour
The growing myriads, and with sceptre hoar,
Shall scan th' eternal race increasing more and more.

BION.

RESEARCHES INTO THE HIEROGLYPHICAL SYSTEM OF EGYPT.*

The obscurity in which the history and the religion of ancient Egypt have been so long enveloped, appears at length to be rapidly dispersing. The sedulous attention which has been of late years devoted to the investigation of this difficult subject by our learned countryman Dr. Young, and the French savant M. Champollion the younger, is steadily proceeding in unfolding to our view the pages in which this interesting information has so long been hidden under the mysterious language of hieroglyphics. The latter gentleman in particular has been eminently successful in his arduous pursuit, with the result of which he is about to favour the public, under the title of Researches into the Hieroglyphical System of Egypt. We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to lay before our readers an abstract of this highly important and curious work from the pen of its learned author.

The graphic system of Egypt was composed of three kinds of writing:

A. The Hieroglyphic or Sacred.
B. The Hieratic or Sacerdotal.
C. The Demotic or Popular.

A 1. The hieroglyphic or sacred writing consisted in the simultaneous employment of three very distinct kinds of signs:

a. Of figurative characters, or characters representing the object itself which they were meant to express.

b. Of symbolical, tropical or enigmatic characters, expressing an idea by the image of a physical object bearing an analogy, true or false, direct or indirect, close or distant, with the idea to be expressed.

c. Of phonetic characters, expressing the sounds themselves by means of the images of physical objects.

A 2. The figurative and symbolical characters are made use of in all the texts in a smaller proportion than the phonetic characters.

A 3. The phonetic characters are true alphabetical signs, expressing the sounds of the words of the spoken language of Egypt.

A 4. Every phonetic hieroglyphic is the image of a physical object, the name of which, in the spoken language of Egypt, commenced with the sound or articulation, which the sign itself was meant to express.

A 5. The phonetic characters combine together in the formation of words like the letters of any other alphabet, but are frequently superposed, and in a manner varied according to the disposition of the text, either in perpendicular columns, or in horizontal lines.

A 6. The middle vowels of words written in phonetic hieroglyphics are very frequently suppressed, as in the Hebrew, Phenician, and modern Arabic writing.

A 7. Each sound and each articulation might, in consequence of the principle laid down (A 4) be represented by several different phonetic signs, but being of like sound (*homophones.*)

A 8. The employment of one phonetic character, rather than another

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* Translated from the French.

of like sound, was frequently regulated by considerations derived from the material figure of the sign made use of, and from the nature of the idea expressed by the word to be written.

A 9. The various phonetic hieroglyphics meant to represent the sounds (*voix*), that is to say, the vowel-signs, have no more a fixed sound than the aleph, the jod, and the vau, in Hebrew; the alif, the waw, and the ya, in Arabic.

A 10. The hieroglyphic texts very frequently present abbreviations of the phonetic groupes.

A 11. The phonetic characters, necessary and inseparable elements of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt, exist in the Egyptian texts of the most ancient as well as of the most modern date.

A 12. I have determined the *value* of more than a hundred phonetic hieroglyphic characters, among which are those which are most frequently to be met with in the texts of all ages.

A 13. All the hieroglyphic inscriptions traced on the monuments of the Egyptian style, are referable to a single system of writing, composed, as has been said, of three orders of signs used simultaneously.

A 14. It is proved, by a series of public monuments, that the sacred writing, at once figurative, symbolical and phonetic, was in use without interruption, in Egypt, from the 19th century before Christ to the conversion of the Egyptians to Christianity under the Roman dominion; at which period all the Egyptian writings were replaced by the Coptic writing, that is to say, by the Greek alphabet, enlarged by a certain number of signs of articulations, derived from the ancient demotic writers of Egypt.

A 15. Certain ideas are at times represented in the same hieroglyphic text, sometimes by a figurative character, sometimes by a symbolical character, sometimes even by a groupe of phonetic signs, expressing the word significant of the same idea in the spoken language.

A 16. Other ideas are denoted either by a groupe formed of a figurative sign, and a symbolical sign, by the union of a figurative or symbolical sign with phonetic characters.

A 17. Certain Egyptian bas-reliefs, or paintings composed of images of physical objects, and particularly of monstrous figures, grouped and placed in relation to each other, do not belong to the hieroglyphic writing; they are purely allegorical or symbolical scenes, distinguished by the ancients under the denomination of anaglyphes, a name which ought to be retained.

A 18. A certain number of images were common to the hieroglyphic writing, properly so called, and to the system of painting, or, if the reader pleases, of writing, which produced the anaglyphes.

A 19. The anaglyphes appear to be pages of that secret writing which the ancient Greek and Roman authors tell us was known only to the priests, and to those whom they initiated in their mysteries. As for the hieroglyphic writing, it was never secret, and all those Egyptians who received any education were acquainted with it.

A 20. Two new systems of writing were, in the process of time, derived from the hieroglyphic, and were invented for the purpose of rendering the art of writing more rapid and useful.

B 21. The hieratic or sacerdotal writing is simply a short-hand (*tachygraphie*) of the sacred writing, and is immediately derived from it; in this second system the form of the signs is considerably abridged.

B 22. It is also, rigorously speaking, composed of figurative signs, symbolical signs, and phonetic signs; but the two former orders of characters are frequently replaced either by groupes of phonetic characters, or by arbitrary characters, no longer retaining the form of their corresponding signs in the hieroglyphic system.

B 23. All the hieratic MSS. extant, and we possess them of the Pharaonic, of the Greek, and of the Roman epochs, belong to a single system, whatever difference may be observable at first sight in the traces of the different characters.

B 24. The use of the hieratic writing appears to have been confined to the transcription of the texts which refer to sacred matters, and to some inscriptions of a religious character.

C 25. The demotic, epistolographic, or enchorial writing, is a system distinct from the hieroglyphic and from the hieratic, from which it is immediately derived.

C 26. The signs employed in the demotic writing are only simple characters borrowed from the hieratic.

C 27. The demotic writing excludes almost entirely the figurative characters.

C 28. It admits, nevertheless, a certain number of symbolical characters, but only to express ideas essentially connected with the religious system.

C 29. The greater part of every demotic text consists of phonetic characters, or signs of sound.

C 30. The characters used in the demotic writing are much less numerous than those of the other systems.

C 31. In the demotic writing, the middle vowels of words, both Egyptian and foreign, are very frequently suppressed, as in the hieratic and hieroglyphic writings.

C 32. Like the writings from which it is derived, the demotic can express each consonant or each vowel, by means of several signs of very different shapes, but entirely similar in sound. Nevertheless, the number of demotic *homophones* is far from being as considerable as in the sacred and sacerdotal writings.

C 33. The demotic, the hieratic, and the hieroglyphic writings were all simultaneously in use, and during a long series of ages, throughout the whole of Egypt.

The numerous applications which I have had occasion to make of these fundamental principles to texts belonging to each of the three species of Egyptian writing, have already furnished to the study of history new facts, data not without importance, and means, the extent of which may easily be appreciated.

The great question of the more or less distant antiquity of the monuments of Egypt, whether temples, palaces, tombs, obelisks or colossi, has been irrevocably decided by the discovery of the alphabet of the phonetic hieroglyphics, and by the reading of seventy-eight scrolls, forming part of the hieroglyphic legends of the Lagides or of Roman emperors; and it is to the time of the latter that the zodiacs of Esné and of Denderah are to be referred.

The reading of the proper names, and the translation of the royal legends of the ancient Pharaohs, given in the present work, show the relative chronology not only of the temples and palaces themselves, but

even of the several parts of these buildings, the works of the kings of the country, and indisputable proofs of the civilization of ancient Egypt. The monuments raised by the piety and the power of the pharaohs or kings of the Egyptian race, are the following, for the most part known by the modern names of the towns or villages near which they are situated. The ruins of *San* (the ancient Tanis,) the obelisk of *Heliopolis*, the palace of *Abydos* or of *El-Arabah*, a little temple at *Denderah*, *Karnac*, *Louqsor*, *Medamoud*, *Kourna*, the *Memnonium*, the palace designated by the name of *Tomb of Osymandius*, the superb excavations of *Biban-el-Molouk*, the greater number of the *Hypogea*, which penetrate in every direction the Lybian mountain at the height of Thebes, the temples of *Elphantina*, and a very small portion of the edifices of *Philæ*, in Egypt. In Nubia, the monuments of the first style, and of the same period as those which we have just enumerated, are the temples of *Ghirché*, of *Wadi-essebouâ*, one of the edifices of *Calabsché*, the two magnificent excavations and the colossi of *Ibsamboul*, the temples of *Amada*, of *Derry*, of *Moharraka*, and lastly that of *Soleb*, towards the frontiers of Æthiopia.

The only well-known monuments of the Greek and Roman period are, in Egypt, the temple of *Bahbeït*, the *Kasr-Kéroun*, the portico of *Kau-el-Kebir*, the great temple and the typhonium of *Denderah*, the portico of *Esné*, the temple to the north of *Esné*, the temple and typhonium of *Edfou*, the temples of *Ombos*, and the largest edifices of *Philæ*; in Nubia, the temples of *Calabsché*, *Dendour*, and *Dakké*. I am unable to determine the epochs of some other known edifices of Egypt and Nubia, not having been able to obtain drawings of the royal legends which they bear, such as the temples of *Hermontis*, of *El-Kab*, of *Taoud*, of *Syena*, of *Aschmounaïn*, of *Fâyoum*, and of the *Oases*.

The national history of Egypt has already acquired the certainty of numerous facts; I have recognized the names of its greatest princes, inscribed on monuments raised during their reigns. The exploits of the most famous of these kings, *Misphrathoutmosis*, *Thoutmosis*, *Aménophis* II., *Ramsès Meiamoun*, *Ramsès the Great*, *Sesonchis*, &c. whose existence has been contested by modern criticism, too much prejudiced against the testimony of the Greek and Latin writers, re-enter into the domain of history, enlarge it, and extend the limits within which it has hitherto been too closely confined. The details even of the principal events of their political lives are not irrevocably lost to us, for exact copies of the historical bas-reliefs, and of the innumerable inscriptions which accompany them on the vestibules, and on the long walls which surround the palaces of Thebes, may enable us to supply the silence of the classical authors on this subject. It will be entirely worthy of a government, friendly to letters, to stimulate and to encourage travellers properly prepared for the task, to snatch at last from oblivion these first and venerable pages of the annals of the civilized world.

Applied to monuments of every kind, my theory of the hieroglyphic system points out their real destination, the names of the princes, or of the private individuals who commanded their execution, whether to honour the gods or the sovereigns of Egypt, or to perpetuate the memory of relations whom they had survived; by my alphabet, likewise, I have distinguished, on these monuments, the Egyptian divinities mentioned by the Greek authors, and that much more numerous class whom they have

passed over in silence; I have found in the hieroglyphic texts, their hierarchy traced in the order of their filiation; the genealogies, moreover, of the royal races, and more frequently those of private families; in a word I have been enabled to collect together a multitude of curious details on various subjects, and of which we find no traces in the writings of the Greeks and Romans who have treated of the Egyptians.

But it is not on the history of Egypt alone, properly so called, that the study of these hieroglyphics is calculated to throw an invaluable light; it already shows us Nubia participating even in the most distant ages, in all the advantages of Egyptian civilization; the importance, the number, and more particularly the antiquity of the monuments of that country, edifices contemporary with the most ancient on the Plain of Thebes, offer to the historian capital facts, which shake the basis of the theory hitherto adopted with respect to the origin of the Egyptians. He cannot fail to ask himself whether the civilization of Thebes ascended the Nile, the Egyptians deriving their origin from a colony of Asiatics; or whether, on the other hand, this civilization, approaching from the south, and descending with the sacred river, did not first establish itself in Nubia, afterwards in the most southern part of Thebais, and whether advancing successively towards the north, and seconded by the efforts of the river, it did not finally expel the waters of the Mediterranean, and subject to the husbandman, the vast plain of Lower Egypt, contiguous to Asia. According to this new hypothesis, the Egyptians would be a race of Africans, proper to that ancient quarter of the globe, which every where exhibits marked vestiges of exhaustion and decrepitude.

It is difficult to conceive how the people, who were the primary stock of the Egyptian race, in however inferior a degree of civilization we may suppose them, could have fixed and multiplied in the first instance, in the Valley of Egypt, between the first Cataract and the Mediterranean, annually exposed as they would have been to a long and complete inundation. It is rather on a more elevated point, in a country never entirely covered by the inundation, that we should expect to find the first establishments, and in this point of view, Nubia, and still better, Ethiopia, at all times offered advantageous localities.

The monuments of Nubia are, in fact, covered with hieroglyphics perfectly similar, both in form and disposition, to those which are represented on the edifices of Thebes; on them are found the same elements, the same formulæ, the same words, the same language; and the names of the kings who raised the most ancient of them are the very same as those of the princes who constructed the most ancient parts of the palace of Karnac at Thebes. The ruins of the beautiful edifice of Soleb, situated on the Nile, near a hundred leagues further to the south than Philæ, the extreme frontier of Egypt, are, as far as we know, the most distant building which bears the royal legend of an Egyptian king. Thus, from the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty of the pharaohs, that is to say, nearly 3400 years ago, Nubia was inhabited by a people, speaking the same language, using the same writing, professing the same creed, and subject to the same kings as the Egyptians.

But from Soleb till near the 15th degree of N. latitude, further and further to the south, ascending the Nile, in ancient Æthiopia, and over a space of more than 100 leagues, a multitude of other grand monuments are dispersed, which offer very nearly the same general system of archi-

tecture as the temples of Egypt and Nubia. They are equally decorated with hieroglyphic inscriptions, and represent divinities bearing in sacred writing the same names and the same legends as those sculptured on the temples of Egypt and Nubia.

The same analogy exists in the titles and in the forms of the royal legends; but the proper names of the kings inscribed on the edifices of Æthiopia in phonetic hieroglyphic characters, which have come to my knowledge, have absolutely nothing in common with the proper names of the kings of Egypt mentioned in the long chronological series of Manetho. Neither is any one of them to be found either on the monuments of Egypt or on those of Nubia.

It results from this state of things, established by an examination of the numerous designs of the monuments of Æthiopia, brought home by our courageous traveller, M. Calliaud, that there was a time when the civilized part of Æthiopia, the peninsula of Meroe, and the banks of the Nile, between Meroe and Dongola, were inhabited by a people whose language, writing, religion, and arts, were similar to those of Egypt, without being dependent on the Egyptian kings either of Thebes or Memphis.

This important fact will, doubtless, become one of the principal elements of all researches into the origin of the Egyptians; and it is no less substantiated, because there are found, at Barkal and at Meroe, buildings of somewhat modern periods. In Æthiopia, as in Egypt and Nubia, monuments of great antiquity are mingled with others which belong to periods approaching nearer to ourselves; it is only necessary to distinguish those which existed in this remote country, before the influence of the Greeks and Romans had corrupted the arts, at the same time with the institutions of its inhabitants.

In conclusion, (says the author,) I may be allowed to express a hope, in which, doubtless, all the friends of science will unite, that, in the midst of the general tendency of men of letters towards solid studies, a prince, sensible to the glory of literature, will collect, in the capital of his dominions, the most important spoils of ancient Egypt; those in which she wrote with unexampled perseverance, her religious, civil, and military history; that an enlightened protector of archæological studies will accumulate in one grand collection the means of working successfully this new mine of history, still almost virgin, in order thus to add to the history of mankind those pages of which time seemed for ever to have robbed us. May this new glory, for every eminently useful institution is also eminently glorious, be reserved for our fine country! Happy shall I esteem myself if my unceasing efforts should contribute to the accomplishment of so noble a design!

ELEGIAC LINES,

To the Memory of Lord Byron.

'Tis passed—of all proud Byron *was*, his grave,
His bust, his name, his lyre alone remain;
His lip has quaffed the dim forgetful wave,
And earth and heaven have claimed their gifts again.

No more the child of feeling, fame, and song
Will weep, o'er ruined hopes, melodious tears,
Or pour, the deep waves of the soul along,
The desolate music of lamented years.

Passed is the dream of all beneath the sky,
And lapped his heart in strange oblivion now;
Quenched is the soul which lit the glorious eye,
And low in dust the pale imperial brow.

Oh, blame the mighty dead in vain no more!
Grief, early grief, like Zaara's wind of fire,
Had scathed the verdure of his heart, before
It breathed immortal madness on his lyre.

Ye, who would brand him with ungentle scorn—
Dream ye how deep the grief of genius sears?
Know ye how frail the flower, how sharp the thorn,
Of roses blooming round the fount of tears?

If not, oh let no rude relentless tongue
Break the still gloom, the mournful calm, which reigns
Around the spot, where one in years so young,
So old in sorrow, rests in unfelt chains.

He sleeps the sleep which must at length be ours;
Ye, who would *then* be spared, oh learn to spare!
Grudge not the grave its cold, funereal flowers,
And mercy's voice for you will whisper there.

Alas! when fading with the farewell breath,
False glory dies, let vain reproach be o'er;
Let truth and pity guard the rights of death,
And plead for those who can offend no more.

In vain! not e'en the golden tears of song,
The solemn harpings of prophetic fame,
Are felt, those bleak mysterious shades among,
Where sleeps the dust which bore a deathless name.

Yet not the less for this, or aught, be paid
The sad sweet requiem o'er the early tomb
Of him, whose frailty should to rest be laid,
Veiled by his fame in amarantnine gloom.

But, where as erst Apollo loves to shine,
On Greece's glory-haunted land and wave,
Crown him with bards and heroes past, and shrine
His memory there with freedom's brightest brave.

Crediton.

REMARKS ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS, AND THE CHARACTER OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS IN INDIA.

In resuming the consideration of a recent work which we formerly noticed under the title of "Sketches in India,"* we are influenced as much by a desire to remove erroneous impressions, as to convey correct ones. The book in question abounds with a singular mixture of the true and the false, the reasonable and the absurd; and as the value of some portions may give undue currency to the worthlessness of others, we feel it a duty to separate the grain from the chaff, and place each before the reader in its true character. The variety of topics which the Letters of the author embrace, offers another motive for our following him to the end of his labours: and although it may appear to many that undue importance will thus be attached to a publication of little value on the whole, yet it should be remembered, that as books on India are "like angels' visits, few and far between," it is of the greater importance that such as do appear should be carefully examined, their errors corrected, and their useful parts multiplied for dissemination, till more accurate notions prevail generally, on subjects which few in England either understand or are prepared to take any pains to inform themselves on. With this view of our duty, as professing and sincerely feeling a deep interest in the improvement and happiness of India, we resume the chain of our examination from the point at which our former strictures terminated.

At the period of these Sketches being first drawn, the great question of the Freedom of the Indian Press agitated all circles in India; and men who would scarcely give themselves the trouble to think on any *other* subject, had made themselves intimately acquainted with all the facts and arguments on this. Yet the author of the work before us is so singularly deficient in information on this question, as not to know even the *facts* of the case: and as to his acquaintance with the arguments, we shall exhibit a specimen of his reasoning, to show that he is in this respect still more deficient.

At page 40, he says, that previous to the removal of the censorship by Lord Hastings, any freedom of writing on the part of Indian editors, "would have been productive of their own ruin." This, however, was not the case; for it was one of the great advantages of the censorship over the present system, that, when an editor wrote too freely, the censor contented himself with suppressing the parts he disliked, and the editor remained safe; whereas, at present, the power of the Government is not exercised to prevent any obnoxious matter from appearing at all; but they suffer what they consider dangerous and mischievous actually to appear, and produce all the harm of which it is capable, and then punish with ruin the individual, who, had they suffered the censorship to remain, would neither have been the instrument of what they consider evil to society, or of positive destruction to himself. It was not, therefore, under the censorship that editors were ruined for the freedom of

* The first article on this work will be found in p. 63 of our second volume.

their opinions; they were merely subject to the mortification of having written in vain. It was reserved for the *present* system of licensing, which is pretended to be an improvement on the former, to bring confiscation, banishment, and death, in its train. After a brief sketch of the press in Bengal, in which the writer admits that the *Calcutta Journal* was carried on in a manner superior to any paper that preceded it, that its editor came off triumphant in a prosecution for libel, and that it became sufficiently popular to admit of its price being doubled, the author has the following remarks:—

> Mr. B.'s writings, upon several occasions, gave Lord Hastings umbrage, and provoked the condemnation of government; however, his lordship had his character to preserve, and would not incur a STAIN upon it, by any thing like an ARBITRARY act. After Lord Hastings's departure from India, IT WAS KNOWN that Mr. Adam, who succeeded him, *pro tempore*, and the other members of government, were, from principle, inimical to the freedom of the press; and also PERSONALLY HOSTILE to Mr. B., owing to an attack which had been made on them formerly, through the medium of his paper. Of course Mr. B's situation became critical.—p. 49.

That censures on the acts of public men should not be palatable to the individuals censured, can excite no wonder in the mind of any one. The evil is, that such individuals should have the power to screen themselves from censure, by threatening a punishment which no Government ought to be able to exercise, without the intervention of a Court and a Jury. The King of England possesses no such power; but, if censured, must proceed legally to inflict punishment where due. Ought, then, the servant of his servants, a man who holds his appointment at the pleasure of the East India Directors and Ministers of the Crown, to possess a power which sets him above all law, and all responsibility? If the Government of England could express their displeasure in the same manner at censures passed on their conduct, not a newspaper would be in existence in the country; for even their warmest supporters have virtue enough now and then to differ with them in opinion. The only questions for consideration in all such cases ought to be—Are the censures deserved or not? Are the facts on which they are founded truly set forth? and are the inferences fairly borne out? Even these questions, however, should never be decided by the individuals to whom the censures applied; for this is to take the administration of justice from impartial hands, and to place it in the hands of those who are sure to exercise undue severity. It is, in short, making a man a judge in his own cause; and, therefore, contrary to the very essence of justice, which requires the entire absence of all personal feelings, or motives of self-interest, in the issue of the case. There are two admissions, however, in this short quotation, which are peculiarly worthy of notice. The first is, that Lord Hastings had a character to preserve, and that an arbitrary act would have cast a stain upon it; from which it must be concluded, that Mr. Adam had no such character to take care of; or that if he had, the arbitrary act committed by him must have stained it deeply. The second is, that it was *known*,—and this, we believe, is now universally admitted,—that *personal hostility* had a much larger share than a regard to public principle, in the vindictive measures pursued towards the press in India, and the fortunes and hopes of all those who advocated its freedom. As to the attack which is said to have been made on the members of Government through the paper, it may have been that in which the

author himself admits the editor to have come off triumphant in a Court of Law. If not this, it was at least something which the law could not punish, as nothing was ever written in it, up to this period, on which legal sentence of condemnation was ever passed. This personal hostility was, therefore, altogether unjustifiable: and to carry this feeling into operation, was to inflict ruin, by their own hands, on an individual whom the law had pronounced innocent—a state of society worse than that of savage barbarism: for in that, men are prepared to protect themselves; while in a professedly civilized country a reliance is placed on the protection of the laws, which are thus despised and trampled under foot.

As another instance of the author's want of accurate information on the topics he discusses, it may be mentioned that he calls the article in the Calcutta Journal, which led to Mr. Buckingham's banishment, a letter, which it was not; and states that it attacked Dr. Bryce for accepting the situation adverted to; which is also incorrect. The following character of this article, from the pen of the author, is worth quoting in his own words:—

> It consisted of mere common-place objections, founded upon his religious duties; and displayed *animosity*, rather than inflicted injury on Dr. Bryce or his character. Government laid hold of this, and ordered him to quit the country, for publishing what they termed a PROFANE WRITING—*nefanda et impia vox*.—p. 50.

The objections were undoubtedly "common-place;" because they were such as every man's mind would have equally suggested as to the improper union of the worship of God and Mammon. But this was their great merit. If they were singular, and such as no man else would have made, they might have been erroneous; but they were such as must have occurred to all minds, and must therefore have been not merely pardonable, but just and proper. It was this, indeed, which obtained for them such extensive sympathy; and subsequent events have shown that the Indian Authorities in England entertain the same opinions as the friends of the Press in Bengal did on this point. It is, however, a gross departure from truth to characterize the remarks as displaying animosity; they were full of playfulness and good humour, and excited only laughter in all who read them at the time. But the fact of a powerful Government pronouncing a harmless comment on the worldly-mindedness of a Presbyterian minister, to be a *profane writing*, and banishing the author of it from the country, is not to be paralleled in the annals of folly and despotism towards the press in any country under the sun. There have been cruelties enough practised elsewhere, for publications that were really dangerous to the safety of the state; but India has the exclusive honour of apprehending an overthrow of her empire from a comment on the incongruous duties of a meddling priest.

Amidst all that has been already written on this fertile theme, there is nowhere to be found so strange a mixture of the reasonable and absurd as in these Sketches of India; of which the following extract will furnish sufficient proof:—

> We cannot sufficiently censure the arbitrary conduct of the Indian government, which annihilated the freedom of the press, owing to the excesses of an individual. When this boon was first granted to India, it surely could not be contemplated, that a LIBELLER would never spring up; the contrary must have been known, and measures should have been taken to meet such an exigence. Whilst government is armed with the penalties of the libel law, AND summary power of trans-

mission, no European can offend with impunity; if a lenient jury should let him escape, they still possess a rod of correction. India differs from England in almost every point—its tenure, its fealty, its administration; the same degree of liberty, the same usages, the same laws, do not answer them alike: whilst, then, I would grant her a FREE PRESS, I would arm government with a power to defend itself against aggression. But it already possesses this over Europeans by the right of transmission; give it one *equally summary* over natives, and the danger evaporates; entrust it with the power of fine or imprisonment to a limited extent, in cases of libellous attack upon its members, or acts, through a specific decree to be approved or cancelled by the supreme court, then no other restraint is necessary; a person born in India cannot be made use of to screen Europeans, by reason of the penalty he incurs himself, and people might be allowed to *publish what they please*.—p. 55—57.

The writer conceives, justly, that no *excesses* of any one individual could justify the extinction of a great public right to all *other* individuals; but this is the only sensible remark in the passage. Libellers would and did spring up; and no measures were necessary to meet the exigence, because the law of England, as administered in India, is of itself sufficient to punish all such. But the most remarkable part of this affair is, that men *convicted* by a Court of Law as libellers, and their writings characterized by the judge on the bench, as atrocious, and not to be thought of without horror, were honoured and rewarded by the Government, and *still remain* in the country; while those who were never once convicted of libel, though themselves so grossly slandered by others, have been subjected to pains and penalties altogether unknown to the law, and such as in no other country on earth would have been inflicted from such a cause. This is the consequence of arming a Government with the power of the law, *and* the power of summary punishment besides. The writer might well say that India differs from England in almost every point: it differs so much in *this*, that its religions are not more dissimilar than the sovereignty of the law over all caprice in one country, and the sovereignty of caprice over all law in the other. The notion of granting a free press, with power to punish without trial any one who uses it, could never have originated in any other country than one ruled for ages by despots; and the magnanimity of suspending a naked sword over the tongue of a man, and then telling him to say whatever he pleases, with a certainty that the sword will fall if he speaks at all freely, can only be understood by those who have lived long enough in the East to reconcile any difficulties, however incongruous or absurd, by yielding implicit acquiescence in whatever may be pronounced by authority. To show, however, that even *this* writer considered a free press to be indispensable for the good government of India, we subjoin the remarks which immediately follow:—

There is no representative assembly in India to express the wishes of the people, and to expose grievances of a particular or general nature. All authority, whether legislative or executive, is centred in the local government without any thing like a counteracting influence upon the spot, and subject only to the powers at home. We have assumed over our Indian territories an authority equal to what the emperors exercised, without a condition annexed that may temper its tyranny; *in such a state of things a free press is the* ONLY *barrier against abuses, fit to resist their domineering, and oppose their progress.* Residents, commanders, judges, collectors, ALL stand in awe of its lash; and whilst a restraint is placed on its licentiousness, as regards the ruling powers, sufficient room may be left for the exposure of iniquities. Every individual under the Indian government possesses considerable power, and finds opportunity to

commit numerous abuses in the exercise of his functions, but *exposure will intimidate him:* as long as he is surrounded by secresy and concealment, there is a wide field for mal-practices; but let the light in, he will shrink from it with horror, and desist through the fear of public disgrace. Therefore, as regards the great servants of government, or its inferior agents, a free press is a NECESSARY institution. The Mogul emperors, in their proudest day of power and lordly sway, stood in awe of the historian's pen, and often refrained from ill actions only because their relation would disgrace them with the public and with posterity; and shall we liberate the British government, almost as absolute; its sultan, vizier, subahs, nabobs, omrous; shall we liberate them all from such a terror? Every rule of policy, every feeling of justice forbids it. I am no friend to licentiousness; I do not wish to see the Indian government exposed to mockery and insult, for this would sap the foundations of our power in that country, but I would not have it an autocrat; men in office are sufficiently screened by it from punishment, even where they act amiss, without being wrapped up in *secresy*, and concealed from the indignation which they often merit.—p. 57, 58.

The almost uniform and disinterested testimony of men *returning* from India, as to the necessity of a local control through the press in the country itself, ought to be considered as infinitely more powerful than the extremely partial and interested opinions of a few who are going *out* to India, and are themselves likely to fill the very ranks to which public strictures are likely to be so troublesome. But there is surely enough of evidence already before the world, for those who will take the pains to consult it, and who are open to conviction, to satisfy every unprejudiced mind on this subject. We proceed, therefore, to the several other topics treated of in the Sketches in India, in some of which this is again nesessarily interwoven; though we shall merely give the language of the author in such cases, and reserve our comment for other points. The Eighth Letter is on the Civil Service of India, and opens with the following remarks:—

The Company's civil servants enjoy, from the highest to the lowest, important and responsible situations; by them the civil duties of our Indian empire are performed, and they possess the most lucrative, as well as most honourable offices the country contains. The management of internal affairs is committed to Boards, which are composed, almost exclusively, of persons who serve under the Company, in a civil or military capacity; these are—the Military Board, the Board of Revenue, the Board of Trade, and the Board of Civil and Criminal Justice; so that, in a military, fiscal, commercial, and judicial point of view, they are the efficient managers and administrators of the country; even the inferior and subaltern offices in this service are important, and the chain, from the highest link to the lowest, is respectable. The members of council, secretaries, residents, and heads of departments, who hold leading posts, enjoy a salary from eight thousand rupees per month downward, and keep up magnificent establishments; experience and local knowledge make them necessary assistants to a Governor General; standing high in trust, and high in authority, the wheel of government, upon common occasions, is moved chiefly by their influence, and affairs are entrusted principally to their management. From a long residence in India, they are deeply imbued with its manners, and acquire something like the pride of nabobs, in their notions of self-importance. Accustomed to a luxurious style of living, which equals that of noblemen in England; to authority over a numerous population; to flattery and submission from underlings; they often acquire a *despotic habit of thinking and acting, totally inconsistent with genuine freedom.* Among these gentlemen a free press is the greatest evil that can happen to India. Why?—Because they stand in awe of it. The slumbering ennui of silence delights them, because it throws a veil over their actions; any thing in the shape of freedom; any thing that resists their will, is disagreeable; they require UNLIMITED SUBMISSION.

Having stated their leading characteristic, there is no occasion to go out of the way in order to find recent proofs of it; their conduct regarding the press, when

Lord Hastings left India, is abundant testimony on this subject. In my opinion an OLD INDIAN should never be entrusted with the reins of government in that country; the tone of his mind is too absolute to hold them with moderation. From Lord Clive down to the present day, no Company's servant, who has held that high office, ever displayed the moderation which characterized Cornwallis, Minto, and Moira. A man educated in Britain, who has lived in Britain, who justly appreciates the value of liberty, is requisite to restrain the despotic temper which prevails in India; the home authorities should endeavour to have a successor upon the spot, before his predecessor has left that country, in order to prevent an inter-reign; civil servants do very well as civil servants, but very ill as governors.—p. 60—62.

Nothing can be more accurate than the view taken by this writer, in the closing portion of the extract we have given above, of the unfitness of the Company's servants for the situation of Governor General; and nothing more true than the fact of such servants having in every instance displayed less moderation than those appointed from England to fill that high and irresponsible office. The administration of Sir George Barlow is fresh in the recollection of all Indian readers, and need only to be mentioned to recall to their minds scenes of turbulence and intemperate strife and contention, disgraceful to the British name and character. The brief administration of Mr. Adam is a still more recent, and equally powerful illustration of the mischief produced by bringing into the judgment seat (for so the office of Supreme Dictator in India may be termed) the prejudices and prepossessions,—the personal likings and dislikings, with all their train of narrow and illiberal views and feelings, which seem to cling to those members of the civil service, who had passed their early years under the close and servile system of Government in India, while the press was fast bound in the chains of censorship, and every thing savoured of uncontrolled despotism on the one hand, and unlimited submission on the other.

But if it be desirable that no Governor General of India should be taken from the civil service of the East India Company, it is equally important that in the individual selected for that appointment, from among our statesmen at home, there should be sufficient firmness to resist the intrigues and influence of the Council and Secretaries by whom he is to be assisted in his duties abroad.

Lord Wellesley was entirely exempt from the yielding weakness which generally characterizes the Governors General of India; and though his own unaided despotism was productive of many evils, and led to some wanton encroachments on the liberties of British subjects; yet it was, no doubt, productive of less evil than would have resulted from the despotism of his Secretaries and Councillors, each of whom, had he suffered him to have his own will, and yielded himself up a ready instrument to the accomplishment of his desires, would have committed even more acts of despotism than himself; and thus evil would have been multiplied at least ten-fold.

A wicked Governor General is undoubtedly a great curse to India; but a *weak* Governor General is a still greater one. The former may do much mischief; but being himself before the world, as a public man, who has a character to make, or to maintain, there is always some check on his conduct from the influence of that Public Opinion which cannot be wholly inoperative, even in countries where it is affected to be despised. The latter, however, submits himself to men who have each of them equally strong motives to exercise their power for the accomplishment of

their own selfish purposes, regardless of the general good; and having no public character to guard, being clothed neither with real nor even nominal responsibility, but sheltered under the protecting shield of the ostensible head of the Government, of which they appear but as subordinate members, they have no scruple whatever to do behind this screen, what even they themselves, profligate and heartless as they are, would yet shrink from performing in their own name and character, if standing before the world in individual responsibility to its censures or applause.

Lord Hastings's career, at first brilliant, but latterly clouded, is a striking illustration of the truth of this position. On his arrival in India, he appeared determined to act for himself—to hear the opinions of his councillors, secretaries, and other officers of his government—to weigh them all—and to form his own judgment on the whole. As long as he did thus, success and popularity attended almost every measure in which he was engaged. We were among the number of those who expressed the highest admiration of his public character: we believed him then, and we still believe him now, to have really *intended* what he professed: —nay, and still further, we believe that he carried many of his good intentions into execution, in opposition to the wishes of those by whom he was surrounded; and that, but for this opposition, he would have carried many more. The greatest offence that Lord Hastings ever committed, perhaps, in the eyes of his Indian colleagues, was his frank and unexpected appeal to the opinion of his fellow-countrymen in India, when he detailed to them the whole of his motives as well as actions, and laid bare the inmost secrets of official mystery and evasion. The abolition of the censorship on the Press, was another unpardonable offence in the eyes of the prejudiced Indians by whom he was surrounded; and the encouragement of a discussion on the introduction of brevet rank into the Indian army, which occupied all ranks of military men in that country for months, though without producing a single evil, was another encroachment on the old system of stupifying despotism, which was laid to Lord Hastings's account. In short, whenever he was disposed, and we sincerely believe that this was often, to concede to his fellow-subjects in India some share of the rights and privileges enjoyed by his fellow-subjects at home, he was sure of being opposed by his council and their satellites, the secretaries, by whom they were each attended.

Had Lord Hastings retired from his office on his return from his campaigns, he would have left behind him a name more honoured than any Governor General that ever preceded him. But, unfortunately for himself and others, he remained long enough afterwards to undo much of the good he had done before, and to destroy nearly all the claims which his previous conduct had given him to the praise and gratitude of mankind. As he became older, he became weaker: as his military career had ceased, with all its powerful excitements to action, he became indolent and indifferent; and partly by the operation of these natural causes, but still more from the influence of others, who seemed at last to have no higher ambition than that of securing good appointments for innumerable relatives and dependants; and the peevish and incessant worrying of his councillors and secretaries, who pretended to see public danger in all that was likely to affect their private interests, and who hated the Press because they dreaded its strictures on their own public character and conduct, he became at last a mere cipher, and

yielded to every caprice by which he was beset, rather than lead a life of contention and cabal, to which his resistance would necessarily have subjected him.

Lord Amherst, the present Governor General, is not, we have reason to believe, either less amiable or less well-disposed than his predecessor; but he has (not to say *less* firmness) scarcely any firmness at all. From his first landing in the country, up to the period of the latest advices from Bengal, he seems to have originated no one good act—and we are willing to exonerate him from the charge of having been the original author of any of the many bad ones by which his short rule has been distinguished. He appears to have delivered himself up into the hands of the Philistines, bound hand and foot; so that the inveterate hatred of liberal principles, and all the angry passions which this called forth against men known to be friendly to freedom of opinion, were "let loose upon the earth," and had become a scourge, which, in the hands of these underlings of office, inflicted torture on all who had the manliness and virtue to stand up in defence of their natural and inalienable rights. We believe Lord Amherst to be a mere passive instrument in all this: but his weakness is even more injurious in its effects than any degree of individual wickedness could be; as it gives unlimited rage and scope to the evil purposes of others, who, but for that weakness, would not dare to carry them into execution. And to the community on whom these evils are inflicted, it can be a matter of but little consolation to learn that they spring from weakness rather than crime, or from many rather than one. To them, the effects are the same, from whatever cause they proceed; except, perhaps, that when they arise from the weakness of one man permitting the wickedness of others to triumph, there is less hope of redress, and less hope of amelioration, than if they sprang from the evil genius of any one individual; because weakness is a vice likely to increase by time and age; while, on the other hand, the active love of evil may relax, and the personal energies necessary for the accomplishment of its designs, diminish in strength and perseverance as old age approaches. A weak Governor General, however, will have a never-ending succession of evil-doers about his person, who having effected their purposes, will move off the stage to give place to others fresh and vigorous in their pursuits of injustice, and likely to grow more insolent and oppressive in every successive renovation of their numbers. It is not necessary that Lord Amherst should, from the most gentle of men, as Mr. Canning supposes him to have been, be transformed either into a tyrant or a tiger, to account for the late events in India. It is sufficient to suppose his gentleness degenerated into weakness, and to admit his being the prey of others, and all is accounted for. The tyrants and tigers were there before he came. It is they from whom these iniquities have sprung, though Lord Amherst, as the nominal head of the state, will of course incur all the odium of such proceedings.

We have said enough, we hope, to show, that if it be desirable (and we sincerely think it is) that no servant of the East India Company should ever be made Governor General of India, it is still more important that no man should be appointed who has not firmness to secure him from being made the tool of these servants; for the mischiefs likely to arise from the last are much greater than even those that are almost sure to spring from the first. We are glad to learn, indeed, that the autho-

rities in this country are so indignant at the late proceedings in India, that they have determined, not only to prevent any Company's servant from becoming Governor General, but to prevent their appointment as Governors of either of the inferior presidencies. No man living entertains a higher opinion than we do of the sterling integrity, honourable feeling, and excellent character of the civil service of India in general; but notwithstanding this, the temptations of power and of wealth, to both of which they are perpetually exposed, are such as to render it almost impossible for them not to imbibe, in the course of their long career, prejudices and habits which totally unfit them for the exercise of unlimited and arbitrary rule—with which most men are apt to become intoxicated, but which, experience has shown us, that men deeply imbued with Asiatic notions of government can least of all withstand.

We find that we have already exceeded the limits assigned to articles of this nature in our publication, and must abruptly conclude; but as the remainder of the volume under review contains a variety of other topics of general interest connected with India, we shall resume and close the subject in an early Number.

THE THANKSGIVING OF ISRAEL.

The camp of the Israelites, after the passage of the Red Sea.

FIRST.

OH, sing ye to the Lord of Hosts, for he hath triumphed now;
The Egyptian arm is powerless grown, unstrung is every bow;
The depths have covered Pharaoh's host, its greatness is no more;
The wreck of the Egyptian power lies withered on the shore;
His chosen captains, men of might, are buried in the deep,
The waters have returned o'er them, they sleep th' eternal sleep;
The right hand of the Lord was raised against them in his wrath,
The floods of the obeying deep 'whelmed the pursuer's path—
Oh sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his proud rider, hath he cast into the sea.

CHORUS.

Praise to thee, O Lord of might!
All Israel bows beneath thy sway,
For thou wert the pillar of flame by night,
And the pillar of cloud by day.

SECOND.

When captive Israel fled the land of bondage and of pain,
'Twas thou O Lord! who ransom'd them, and broke th' oppressor's chain;
Who led them through the wilderness, and with thy mighty hand
Made, in the bosom of the sea, a path of solid land;
Who bade the waters backward flow, the billows cease their roar,
And bore them through this wall of waves, unto the promised shore;
Who, when the Egyptian host pursued thy people through the flood,
Unit'd then the sever'd waves, and slew them as they stood.
Oh, sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his proud rider hath he cast into the sea.

Chorus.

Praise to thee, O Lord of might! &c.

Miriam.

Oh, sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his proud rider hath he cast into the sea;
Oh, sound the timbrels, Israel, now, and raise thy voice on high,
And let the echoing hills unto the prayer of joy reply;
The Lord hath rescued Israel from bondage and from shame,
Oh, sing the song of righteousness, and glorify his name;
The oppressor's arm is beaten low, his mighty host is gone,
Of those who followed in the deep, there now remains not one.
Oh, sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his proud rider hath he cast into the sea.

Chorus.

Praise to thee, O Lord of might! &c.

Moses.

The Lord hath been thy guiding star, through the dark wilderness,
Thy guardian spirit in the hour of danger and distress;
He broke the bonds of Israel, he rent the Egyptian's toil,
And smote the serpent when thou wert in its most deadly coil,—
The God of Isaac and of Jacob, is thy father still,
He guards thee with his mighty strength, and with his mighty will;—
The host of Egypt in its strength he sunk beneath the deep,
And taught th' Egyptian mothers, what they taught our own—to weep.
Oh, sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his proud rider hath he cast into the sea.

Chorus.

Praise to thee, O Lord of might! &c.

All.

Glory to thee, O Lord our God, for thou art with us still,
And wilt the promise, made to us in bonds and pain, fulfil!
Thou scatterest our enemies, they fly before thy face,
Oh glory be to thee, our God, for this thy wondrous grace;
The waters rolled before us, and our enemies were near,
And these thy people, Israel, felt their hearts were smote with fear;
But thou, O Lord, in that dark hour the waters did divide,
And buried Pharaoh's ranks of war beneath its flowing tide.
Praise be to thee, O Lord, for thou hast triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his proud rider hast thou cast into the sea.

Chorus.

Praise to thee, O Lord of might!
All Israel bows beneath thy sway;
For thou wert the pillar of flame by night,
And the pillar of cloud by day.

D.

DESTRUCTION OF LORD BYRON'S MEMOIRS.

The public have already been amused with many specious pieces of reasoning on this subject; and the usual proportion of cant and hypocrisy, which is expended upon matters of this kind, has not been wanting. When the facts relating to the destruction of Lord Byron's Memoirs come to be reviewed by posterity, it is to be feared that the actors will not meet with the degree of approbation which seems at present to be anticipated. As the men of a future generation will not have any other respect for those personages but what may be due to their characters or talents, their judgments will not be swayed by those views and considerations that now warp and blind the understanding of those who are always too ready to decide on such things—the purveyors for the periodical press. A person totally unconnected with all the parties concerned, may have, in some measure, the freedom of posterity; he will certainly be the least tainted with prejudice of any of those who form any judgment at all of the matter. It is because we are thus unconnected that we presume to judge. At the same time we are sensible, that though we should forestall posterity, and in the present moment award, what it will be sure to award at a future day—we are sensible, we say, that even should we do this, there are very few who could be expected to perceive that we had done so, or be able to know with certainty that we had been as impartial as if we were treating of an event which occurred at Babylon two thousand years ago. We are, however, too well convinced of the worthlessness of a partial judgment, to deliver such willingly; and having no motives to give us imperceptibly a wrong bias, we may be presumed to think with complete impartiality. It was necessary to say thus much: we now proceed to the matter in hand.

The first thing to be considered is, whether those Memoirs, supposing them to have contained a confession of crimes and errors, would have had an injurious effect upon the public morals.---The way to decide correctly on this point, is to inquire whether similar confessions have had an injurious tendency. It will be of no use to consult those casuists, who, reasoning *à priori*, determine that every book in which immoral actions are detailed, must prove prejudicial; we know that the decision of experience is in contradiction to such reasoning. Is the Bible the less instructive because it relates the incest of Lot, the drunkenness of Noah, the murders of David, or the lewdness of Solomon? No man will say so. It would be hard to suppose that Lord Byron's Memoirs contained details of crimes worse than these.—But to pass on to compositions more directly resembling what we may imagine his Lordship's Memoirs to have been: have mankind received more injury than benefit from the Confessions of St. Augustin* and Rousseau? Candour in stating their opinions of

* Having mentioned the confessions of St. Augustin, it may be necessary to say what sort of book it is, in order that our readers may see how charitable men were in the earlier ages of Christianity, since they did not refuse to canonize a man because he had been guilty of many errors and crimes. This good man begins to set forth his offences from a very early period of his life, and commemorates amongst his transgressions, robbing orchards and disobeying his parents. But he

books of this kind, is not to be expected from mankind in general; but we may trust to extorted and indirect avowals. Ask any man if he in particular has been injured in his moral character by the Confessions of the Saint or of the Philosopher; he will not allow that he has, but making an exception in favour of such sagacious persons as himself, he will charitably suppose that the understanding of the world at large would not be proof against what he has successfully resisted. Every body will say this. What is the necessary conclusion? Why, that with respect to himself he says true, and only cants about mankind; for by universal consent the book injures nobody. It is to no purpose that a contrary opinion, owned by no one in respect to himself, roams about in society, like a dog in a Turkish city; it is a thing of mere words, set on foot and propagated by silly people;—the real public opinion is the opinion of every man, of which that public is composed, taken separately. This, we find, is altogether in favour of confessions. There is sometimes a sort of collective opinion, which men suffer to grow up and increase they know not how, that is at length mistaken for the sense of the nation; but it is no more than a cloud that has arisen from their folly, which is afterwards tossed about for selfish purposes by the breath of malignity and cunning. This obscures but does not destroy the judgment of individuals.

Now, if Lord Byron had any thing very criminal to confess, (which we do not believe,)—but if he had, it will scarcely be argued that there was as much danger the world should be corrupted by his example as by that of the great man we have been speaking of above. Lord Byron is known to have been no saint; he was an acknowledged unbeliever; his failings, therefore, would have been scanned with double care, would have been placed in the broadest light, and his motives taken from the worst cast that could have been discovered. Where, then, would have been the danger? There could have been none to the public.

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soon passes on to more serious faults,—to lust, seduction, and unnatural crimes: at least one does not know what else to make of his "venam igitur amicitiæ coinquinabam sordibus concupiscentiæ, candoremque ejus obnubilabam *tartarea libidine*, et tamen *fœdus atque inhonestus*, elegans et urbanus esse gestabam abundanti vanitate."* When he went to Rome as a professor of rhetoric, he took an African mistress with him; and he is not sparing of his reasons for acting thus. There he married a child, who not being *nubile*, having dismissed the African, he takes an Italian mistress to console him during the minority of his wife. Thus he goes on book after book, and concludes a part of his confessions with this ingenuous sentence—"Nunc spirituales tui (domine) blande et amanter ridebunt me, si has confessiones meas legerint—Sed tamen talis eram." It should be observed, however, that all this while he was a heretic, a Manichean, which may be accounted a sufficient reason for his going so egregiously astray. But in this instance this is a *non sequitur*, for he is candid enough to confess that changing his belief did not mend his conduct; he apparently persevered in sin until he was tired of it, and then became virtuous with the best possible guarantee for remaining so. In his old age, when habit, reflection, and long conviction, had strengthened his piety and his virtue, it occurred to him that no better method could be found of warning men from vice and error, than pointing out to them the difficulty with which a hardened sinner is reclaimed from his ways, how often he relapses, but with what certainty a virtuous resolution is at length crowned with success. The world has approved of St. Augustin's reasoning, and the truly pious will not fail to draw consolation from the memorial of his frailties, as long as his creed is the creed of pious men.

* Div. Aur. Aug. Conf. lib. iii. c. 1. Wirzeb. 1581. The work is well worth the labour of reading: it is a perfect picture of early Christian manners.

But it may be said, his own character would have suffered by their being made public. What, then, was Lord Byron? a man incapable of calculation? one who shot his arrow no matter where it fell? was he no judge of what was best for his own character? If such he was, it is not only no matter what fate has befallen his Memoirs, but it should be indifferent to mankind what was his character and the conduct and turn of his mind. With his works before us, however, we cannot come to this conclusion. He appears rather to have been one who knew the true value of reputation, and the comparative worthlessness of momentary feeling. It has been seen, notwithstanding, that he was not infallible in the choice of his friends: he mistook Mr. Moore. This was his misfortune. We would not be misunderstood, as if imputing any malignant motives to that gentleman: his conduct can be explained without them, and be shown to have been consistent with the whole tenor of his life, and precisely such as we might have expected from him. Taking into consideration, also, the grounds upon which he must have formed his conclusions, we can even conceive that such an action is highly creditable to *him*, although it would be far from being so to one who possessed the divine enthusiasm that pervaded the mind of Byron and a few who are like him. Mr. Moore, indeed, has disavowed all intention of having the MS. destroyed; and we give full credit to his assertion. But, be this as it may, the character of Lord Byron will unquestionably suffer from their destruction. Niebuhr, the Arabian traveller, mentions a *delusio visûs*, common enough in the desert, by which an Arab upon his camel appeared to him like a moving tower. It is likely, unless some honest man can be found to dissipate the mist which falsehood and calumny have thrown over the name of Byron, that he will appear to future generations as a tower of iniquity—

For thus deluding fame increases all.

If Lord Byron himself had no intention that the MS. should be made public, and if this can be proved to the satisfaction of the world, there could be no one so silly as to express any regret after such proof has been given. Until then, however, it is proper to consider the question in all its bearings; because the mind will draw its conclusions upon such affairs, and these conclusions may have an injurious effect upon human life. Any great man about to die at this moment, who had any wish, to the fulfilment of which the co-operation of those he should leave behind might be necessary, would certainly go out of the world with diminished happiness, seeing that little regard is paid to the wishes of the dead. Men will learn to distrust their friends, to narrow the stream of their affections, to become selfish; but they will also learn to complete their own design, to leave nothing to chance. Friendship may suffer, but calculation will gain by this transaction. As to the question of *right*, in the casual possessors of these Memoirs, it must be apparent to every one that they had none over their existence. The right to any profit that might have arisen from them, should be carefully distinguished from a right to give, or withhold them from mankind. When Lord Byron put them into the hands of Mr. Moore, he gave them to mankind; the only remaining question was, how or when they should be made public. What should we think of the present possessors of the Medicean Venus, the Belvedere Apollo, or the great paintings of Rafaëlle, should they destroy those inimitable works of

art, under pretence that they were their own? The things are the property of the world at large, in whose *keeping* soever they may be. It is of little utility that the retailers of prejudice and false reasoning, who cater for the daily press, attribute high-mindedness, disinterestedness, and what not, to the persons concerned in this transaction: they attach no particular ideas to those terms, and only know in general that they are things people are apt to talk about when there is something suspicious in their conduct. Newspapers, in general, are not vehicles for reasoning and correct views of things; each has been pitched at the beginning in a certain key, and in that they must whistle on to the end. It is certain there are a few exceptions—but such is the complexion of the general mass. In such vehicles, therefore, it can be of little comfort to a man to see his views and conduct approved; things pass so rapidly before the eyes of such persons as write for them, that they appear like dreams, too unsubstantial to awaken the thinking faculty, or allow of comparison. Yet, as these writers have the *ear* of the public as it were in their power, they mistake the world's endurance for approval, and write on with the most self-satisfied complacency. We are led to make these remarks on the present occasion, because the folly and flippancies of these writers were never more apparent. They had been accustomed for many years to give Lord Byron advice, or to feign sorrow at what they denominated his faults and errors; because it was quite certain that their excellent intellects must have been able to perceive moral distinctions much better than he! Fortunate minds! and in this doubly fortunate, that as he never took their advice, it always remained necessary to give it. Thus their enjoyment, and that of their readers, was perpetual. Through the same channel Sir Walter Scott has thought fit to put forth some remarks upon his character. There was not so much delicacy as good policy in his withholding his opinion of the living writer, to pour it forth fresh upon his ashes. Lord Byron was a *liberal*, and whoever praised him heartily might have been suspected of entertaining the same sentiments; but while there is no sympathy, there is thought to be a kind of magnanimity in praising the dead. Polite people always love to be considered magnanimous when it costs nothing. But Sir Walter was fearful lest he should be implicated in that reputation for liberality which had distinguished Byron, even though the object of his praise had ceased to be, and so discovered him to have been an aristocrat, in spite of all he had written, and the cause in which he was engaged. This is being very clear sighted, certainly. Lord Byron was not the friend of mankind, whatever he might have thought to the contrary, for Sir Walter Scott discovers a stanza in Don Juan (let legitimates read it in future) in which aristocratical feeling is predominant; and moreover adds that it was clear from his correspondence he was not a liberal. Here begins to appear the importance of those Memoirs which have been destroyed. Sir Walter Scott knew Lord Byron, had corresponded with him, and declared him to have been an aristocrat. What testimony, posterity will say, can be more decisive? The whole body of his works are likely to last, at least, as long as this false opinion of him, and thus prevent its being believed; otherwise it would be a misfortune that his fame should have been tarnished with this gratuitous blot. It is amusing to see the fellow-feeling with which the indefatigable Novelist talks of his Lordship's not *coddling* his genius! No, he did not *coddle* his genius, it is true; but we believe his

best friends will allow that he sometimes poured forth its productions in too raw a state. In this instance the inward arrogance with which a successful writer often regards all mankind, is too visible. The calculating Baronet was beside himself when he wrote the sentence. But it would be as well if Sir Walter would consider the judgment which Tacitus makes of the fortunate labours of Quintus Haterius:—"Warm and *rapid*," says the historian, "he succeeded more through *happiness* than care. *Diligence* and *depth of thinking*, which give the last finishing to other works, and stamp their value with posterity, were not the talent of Haterius. His flowing period, and that harmonious cadence which charmed in the living orator, are now no longer heard. His page remains a dead letter, without grace or energy." This it is to be a *rapid* writer, and not to *coddle* one's genius. We own it is a misfortune to which popular men are liable, that their careless expressions (and Sir Walter's are evidently careless expressions,) are frequently taken up, and clothed with permanent importance. It may, perhaps, be regarded as pedantry, but we will venture to oppose the opinions of antiquity to this of Sir Walter Scott. We never see them recommending the endless multiplication of books, either for purposes of trade or reputation. The first notion, indeed, never entered the mind of Aristotle, Longinus, or Horace; but with regard to reputation, they did not think that to multiply books, was to multiply the chances of being remembered. However, as we live in an age of improvement, this also may be such; and we hope the hint will not be lost upon the manufacturers of intellectual *bonbons*.

To return, at length, to our Memoirs; had they contained any thing which the feelings of certain individuals could not have well borne, we have the example of Spence's anecdotes, which were kept back sixty or seventy years through delicacy to personal and family feelings. When they came out, indeed, it was found that all the mighty noise they had made was totally unnecessary—there was nothing in them which the robustness of English feelings could not have well endured. But in the present case, there may have been unwelcome disclosures; and if such were the case, the book might have been reserved for posterity. It is clear his Lordship never contemplated its destruction; for we have Mr. Moore's word, that *he* did not, even when he delivered it up to the persons who have perpetrated it. That Lord Byron never could have desired or designed their total suppression, is clear from Mr. Moore's words; for we cannot persuade ourselves, if such had been the case, that his friend would have hesitated to perform his desires. Now that Mr. Moore intended to have made them public, provided they had proved agreeable to Byron's relatives, is certain. That there is the usual quantity of mystification and uncertainty about the affair, is not to be wondered at; it would be out of rule if any thing were now done without such an accompaniment. The public mind is attempted to be driven from simplicity in every thing, and this was a proper occasion for the exercise of that characteristic of the age.*

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* An excellent letter, signed ANNA, has appeared in the Sun newspaper on this subject, which does much credit to the fair writer's judgment. It displays a just view of the question, and is pregnant with very noble feeling.

PHILOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL WORKS OF MR. KLAPROTH.*

Mr. Klaproth commenced his literary career in 1800, by the insertion of two Memoirs in the Geographical Journal of Baron de Zach, published at Gotha. The first was on the Serica of the Ancients, and the other on some Islands discovered by La Perouse in the Japanese sea, near the Eastern coast of Corea.

In 1802, he commenced a Journal at Weimar, under the title of The Asiatic Magazine, being an attempt to diffuse, in Germany, a taste for the languages and literature of the East. The principal articles which appeared in this periodical, were: A Memoir on the Ancient Literature of the Chinese—The Incarnations of Vishnoo—The Baghavad-Gita, with explanatory notes—A Translation of Dr. Hager's Memoir on the Babylonian Inscriptions, with notes—The Gita Govinda, an Indian Poem, by Djagadewa—Memoir on the Geographical Knowledge possessed by the Ancients of the Interior of Asia—and the Translation of a Chinese Comedy or Farce.

Unfortunately, the success of the Asiatic Magazine did not equal the expectations of the editor, and the work was discontinued after the 12th Number.

In 1804, Mr. Klaproth received an invitation from the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh, which he accepted; and, in the following year, he accompanied Count Golowkin on his embassy to China.

In the course of this journey he traversed Siberia, and the country to the south of the Lake Baikal, and to the frontiers of China, which gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all those nations so interesting to the history of the great migrations that have so often changed the face of Asia, and even of Europe itself. He collected vocabularies of their idioms, which enabled him to class the inhabitants of Asia, in other respects so different, in the order of their primitive races. He also became acquainted with their manners and habits; and learned to distinguish the national features, so often erroneously confounded under the vague denomination of Mongol physiognomy. He succeeded also in distinguishing the characteristic features of nations whose race had become mingled with others.

On his first arrival in Russia, he paid particular attention to the study of the Mandchou language, which is of great importance to the cultivation of Chinese literature. At Kiakhta, and at Irkoutsk, he had an opportunity of collecting some excellent materials for his purpose, by the purchase of a number of works in Chinese and Mandchou, as well as a complete Dictionary of the Mongol language, and another, equally useful, of the Thibetian.

On his return in 1806, he went along a great part of the frontiers of China, and traversed the mountains of Altai, in an excursion on the Irtish, to Lake Saisan, in the territory of the Euleuts, during which he collected much information on the inhabitants of Central Asia, respecting whom we had hitherto possessed but very imperfect notices.

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* Translated for this Work, from a late Number of the Bulletin Universel.

On his return from this first journey, Count Potocki, who still continued to interest himself in the object of Mr. Klaproth's labours, made a proposal to the President of the Academy to send him to Mount Caucasus, and into Georgia, to continue his researches on the languages and history of the Asiatic nations. This proposal was accepted, and he set out on his journey in September 1807.

He was now better versed in the Russian language than before, and had learned, during his first journey, the art of travelling with advantage. The route which he now undertook was of infinitely higher interest than the first; besides which, he had had all the necessary time to prepare himself, and to mark out the track he was to follow in his researches.

This last journey brought him much nearer his object. He became acquainted with the different nations who had acted a distinguished part in the history of the middle ages—with the Kazars, the Coumanians, and the Petchenegues. In the Caucasus he found the descendants of the Huns, the Avars, and the Alains, and brought back complete collections of all the languages spoken in the valleys of that celebrated chain; and, among other interesting MSS., a translation of the Georgian Chronicle, a document of the highest interest and importance.

On his return to St. Petersburgh, he published a volume of historical, geographical, and philological Memoirs on Asia, under the title of Archives of Asiatic Literature and Philology: Vol. 14, 1810. It contains the following Memoirs:

I. A Parallel of the principal Alphabets of Asia, with the German Alphabet.—II. The Languages of Mount Caucasus. (This is merely the first part of his work on the languages spoken in Mount Caucasus, and comprehends only the Lesghian.)—III. On the Origin of the Afghans, with a comparative vocabulary of their language, from which it is evident that it belongs to the Indo-Germanic stock, which extends from Ceylon and the Ganges to Iceland. This Memoir has also been printed separately.—IV. Babour Nameh, or the Advice of Sultan Babour to his Son, from the Turkish of Djagataïen.—V. Memoir on Vaccine Innoculation, published in Chinese, by Sir G. T. Staunton, and translated by Mr. Klaproth.—VI. Excerpta ex Historia Satraparune Orbelensium in Majore Armeniâ, ex Armeniacâ versa a M. V. La Crozio.—VII. Historical and Geographical Fragments on the Empires of Ava and Pegu, in India beyond the Ganges, with a vocabulary of the Birman language; the whole translated and extracted from Chinese books.—VIII. The Language of the Islands Lieou-Khieou, situated between China, Formosa, and Japan. (This vocabulary, which is translated from an ancient Chinese work, proves that the language of these islands is a dialect of the Japanese.)—IX. On the Frontier between China and Russia—historical, geographical, and diplomatic fragments.

Mr. Klaproth's departure from St. Petersburgh, in 1810, put a stop to the continuation of the Archives of Asiatic Literature, which was to be published annually.

On his arrival at Berlin, in 1811, he printed a small volume in 8vo. under the title of A Grave-stone on the Tomb of the Chinese Learning of Dr. Hager. This is a critique on the works of the late Dr. Hager, who pretended to understand the Chinese language without having ever learned it.

The Monument of Yu explained, with notes, by Mr. Klaproth, appeared at the same time at Berlin, in one vol. 8vo.

His Memoir on the language and writings of the Uigurs was inserted in the Mines de l'Orient, published at Vienna, in 1812. The Uigurs are an ancient Turkish tribe, from the interior of Asia, who are indebted for their alphabet to Syrian and Nestorian monks. It is from this alphabet, which is still used by many Eastern nations, that the Mongol characters are derived; which, in their turn, have given birth to the Mandchou alphabet. Mr. Klaproth next edited the account of his journey to Mount Caucasus and Georgia, of which the first volume appeared in 1812; the second, with the Appendix, which is entitled, The Languages of Caucasus, was not published till 1814, the printing having been interrupted by the war which then devastated Germany. In this work, he reprinted his Notice on the Russian and Chinese frontier, and his Dissertation on the Uigurs; the latter considerably augmented, and freed from the errors of the former edition.

In 1814, he published, at Weimar, a geographical and historical description of the Eastern part of the Caucasus, situated between the Terki, the Aragvi, the Kour, and the Caspian Sea: in one volume 8vo. This is an indispensable Supplement to the Journey. In the same year appeared, at Berlin, in one volume 8vo. his Description of the Russian provinces situated between the Caspian and the Black Sea; with a map, showing the new frontier between Russia and Persia, according to the treaty of Gulistan in 1813.

Just and grateful to his predecessors, Mr. Klaproth embraced with pleasure the opportunity of publishing a new edition of the Journey of the celebrated Russian Academician Guldenstaedt, who visited Georgia, Imeritia, and Caucasia, in 1770-73. During his stay at St. Petersburgh, Mr. Klaproth had collated the first edition of this work, published after the death of the author, with his own MS., and by this means was enabled to free it of innumerable errors, both of the editor and printer, which had crept into it. Indeed, this edition, which appeared at Berlin in 1815, may be said to exhibit, for the first time, the true text of this traveller. The work is accompanied with a beautiful map of Southern Georgia.

Since the days of Louis XIV. the French government had promised the literary world a Chinese Dictionary; but the accomplishment of this promise did not take place till a century later. Dr. Hager was, at this time, reputed to have a profound knowledge of the language said to be the most difficult in the world; and he was accordingly invited to Paris, to publish a Dictionary, at the expense of the government. However, he did nothing; and after having been at the charge of the French government for five years, he was obliged to be dismissed. The work was then intrusted to M. De Guignes, jun. who merely printed the Dictionary of Father Basil de Glemona, a very useful work, but not sufficient for a thorough knowledge of the Chinese. Besides, it would have required correction before being put to press. From the commencement of his Chinese studies, Mr. K. had made use of a copy of the same work, which he had enriched with notes and additions. On his arrival at Paris, he determined on revising his materials, intending to publish a Supplement to the Dictionary edited by De Guignes. The first part of this important work appeared, at Paris, in 1819, under the title of

Supplement to the Dictionary, in Chinese and Latin, of Father Basil de Glemona. The second and last part, which is in the press, will appear in 1825. The author had suspended the progress of this work, in order to avail himself of fresh materials from China and England.

In 1820, he published a new edition, in folio, of his Memoir on the Language and Writings of the Uigurs. It may be termed a new work, for besides much research not in the preceding editions, it contains the Uigur-Chinese vocabulary sent by Amicot in MS. from Pekin, and preserved in the royal library at Paris. In a postscript, the author determines the position of the country called *Tangout*, and states the reason of the Mongol authors having bestowed on it the name of *Tangoutian*, which is Uigurian, and no doubt derived from the Syro-nestorian.

During his stay at Berlin, in 1811-12, Mr. K. was employed on a *Catalogue Raisonné* of the Chinese and Mandchou books in the royal library of that city; and in 1818, he had the honour of presenting it to his Excellency Baron Altenshein, the Minister of Public Instruction. This enlightened protector of the sciences, who is himself one of the most distinguished literary characters of his country, gave orders for the printing of this important work, at the royal press in Paris. It was published in 1822, in one volume folio. On the subject of the Chinese annals, the author gives a complete table of the *Nian-hao*, or honorary titles bestowed by the Emperors of China on the years of their reign. An accurate knowledge of the *Nian-hao* is indispensable to the student of Chinese history, as the dates are always quoted according to them. Two extracts from historical works, written in Mandchou, will be found useful to students of that language, and afford a specimen of the manner of writing history in China.

On the subject of the Great Mirror of the Mandchou language, Mr. K. gives a dissertation on the origin of this nation, which is not of older date than the 16th century of our era. A comparative vocabulary of the Tangoutian dialects of Siberia, points out their common origin with the Mandchou. The Analysis of the Great Mirror of the Mandchou language, by Mr. K. renders this work useful, and easy to consult by Europeans. From extracts of Chinese works on the natural history of China, we learn the systems by which they are arranged.

The Journey through Georgia and Mount Caucasus having been originally written in German, was almost unknown in France. The author accordingly determined on bringing out a French translation, which appeared in 1823, in 2 volumes octavo. In this edition, every thing has been suppressed which does not directly bear on the scene of his travels; but, to compensate for this, the work has been considerably enlarged, and some errors, which had crept into the first edition, corrected. A fine map of Georgia gives additional interest to the whole.

The Asia Polyglotta forms one volume in quarto and another in folio. The latter contains a coloured map, and the vocabularies, which could not be inserted in the quarto work. The vocabularies serve as a guide to the object proposed—which is, the classification of the people of Asia by families. The author admits 24 of these, including the Malay, following the affinities and shades of language, viz.—1. Indo-Germanic; 2. Semitic; 3. Georgian; 4. Caucasian; 5. Samoyedian; 6. Yeniseian; 7. Finnish; 8. Turkish; 9. Mongolian; 10. Tongasian; 11. Courilian; 12. Youkaguirian; 13. Koriack; 14. Kamtschatdale; 15.

The Polar Tribes; 16. Japanese; 17. Corean; 18. Tibetian; 19. Chinese; 20. Annamese; 21. Siamese; 22. Avanese; 23. Peguian; 24. Malay.

Respecting these races, and the nations which compose them, Mr. Klaproth communicates some historical and geographical remarks, which, for the most part, are original, and are all of them well founded and luminous. The preface establishes the principle of the whole work, and distinguishes the kindred of languages into universal and family. The work contains besides a critique on the Asiatic historians, the Chronology of the Deluge and other great inundations, the life of Buddah, and an universal alphabet.

Mr. Klaproth's Letter to Champollion the younger, on the affinity of the Coptic with the languages of Northern Asia and the North-East of Europe, printed in 1823, presents some new ideas on the origin of the Egyptians; but on this subject we shall let the author speak for himself.

After having sought in vain for some traces of affinity between the Coptic and the language of the Berbers, or the original inhabitants of Mount Atlas, I thought I perceived some resemblance between many Egyptian words and those of the idioms of the North of Asia and the North-East of Europe. Struck with the resemblance, I submitted to a rigorous comparison with these idioms, about 300 Coptic words, designating the most ordinary objects of nature. To my great astonishment, I found a considerable number of them in the language of the Eastern Finns, such as the Wotiaks, the Permians and Zyrians, the Mordouins and Mokchas, the Ostiaks, and chiefly the Tcheremisses and Tchouwachs, dwelling between the Volga and the Oby. Other Coptic words present resemblances with those in the language of the Samoides of Siberia, the inhabitants of Caucasus, and the nations of Northern Europe.—The affinities of the Coptic with the dialects of Southern Asia are less frequent. These researches seem to show that doubts may be entertained of the African origin of the Egyptians, since it is certain that the Coptic words, which are neither Semitic nor Greek, are to be regarded as the remains of the ancient language of that people, whose civilization we know only by those gigantic monuments which reveal their past existence, and by the fragments of those mummies which now serve for fuel, and are used for that purpose by the Bedouin Arabs, who inhabit the borders of Egypt.

In the Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, by Messrs. Eyriés et Malte-Brun, Mr. Klaproth has inserted several memoirs, of which the following are the principal:—Vol. IV. An Account of the Archipelago of John Potocki, situated between China and Corea, on the southern coast of Liao-toung, with a map. This has been printed separately in quarto. Mr. K. discovered this Archipelago on the Chinese maps. European navigators have never seen it, as they always sailed a degree of latitude more to the south. Vol. IX. On the Origin of the Mandchous; Travels to the White Mountain, translated from the Mandchou. Vol. XIII. Examination of Asiatic Historians; Mountains covered with perpetual snow in the Chinese province of Yun-nan. Vol. XVI. Memoir, in which the identity of the Ossetes, a tribe of Caucasia, with the Alans of the middle age, is proved. Vol. XX. Description of the Island of Formosa.

In 1822 the Asiatic Society was formed at Paris. Mr. K. is one of the editors of its Journal of Asiatic Literature, and has inserted in it the following memoirs:—Vol. I. On the origin of Paper Money.* Vol. II.

* This has also appeared in English, London, 1823, and may be had gratis of Messrs. Treuttell and Co. 30, Soho-square.

On some Siberian Antiquities; on the Bukharas and their language, in which Mr. K. proves that both are Persian; Examination of some Extracts of a History of the Mongol Khans, inserted by Mr. J. S. Schmidt in the 6th vol. of Les Mines de l'Orient; Conjectures on the origin of the name of Silk among the Ancients, in which the author proves that the Seres of the ancients were, in fact, Chinese. Vol. III. Extract of a Letter from Mr. Schmidt, with remarks by Mr. Klaproth; Comparison of the Basque with the Asiatic Idioms; Memoir on the Khasars, in which it is proved that this people, who can no longer be traced in history, were of the same origin with the Eastern Finns, and the Hungarians of the present day; Analysis of the History of Khotan, translated from the Chinese, by M. Abel-Remusat.

The Asiatic Society of Paris is printing, at its own expense, Mr. K.'s Mandchou and French Dictionary, and his Georgian Grammar; the first of these works is expected to appear in the course of the present year.

OPINIONS OF SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

Having spoken on many occasions of the sentiments entertained by Sir John Malcolm on the subject of the Press in India, and selected from his writings a motto for our Work, we deem it only an act of justice to that Officer, to publish a Letter addressed by him to Mr. Lambton, with the Reply to which it gave rise. These have already appeared in one of the London prints, but are inserted here, for the information of our Indian readers, to whom they might not otherwise be accessible.

To J. G. Lambton, Esq.

Sir, Hyde Hall, Sawbridgeworth, May 30, 1824.

I observe, from the report made in the newspapers of the 26th instant, of your speech on Mr. Buckingham's petition, that you did me the honour to quote my authority, in support of your arguments for the establishment of a Free Press in India. The sense I entertain of the flattering manner in which you mentioned my name on that occasion, makes me more anxious to correct any misapprehension on this subject.

That part of your speech, given in *The Times* newspaper, which represents me to have stated, "that oppressions were frequently practised in the army, which nothing but a Free Press could remedy," must be inaccurately reported, as I never did and never could have given my name to such a sentiment. If the report of your speech, as given in *The Morning Chronicle*, be correct, and you meant to convey my sentiments, that the prosperity of India would be advanced, and misrule checked, by a free discussion in England of all subjects connected with the administration of our Eastern Empire, the fact is exactly as you assumed. I have written and published my opinion, that publications, *in England*, on the affairs of India, must always do great and essential good. I have also further stated, that, as the nature of our possessions requires that almost absolute power should be given to those intrusted with their government, there can be no better and more efficient check on such rulers, than that which must be established by the full publicity given to their acts, and the fre-

quent discussion of all the principles of rule. But these observations referred exclusively to publications and discussions in England; I thought then, and think still, that the jealous control of the superintending authorities in this country, the vigilance of Parliament, and the expression of public opinion, have the happiest influence on the tone and character of the administration abroad. But with regard to a Free Press in India, my opinion has been, from the first moment the question was agitated, the same as it is at present. I never could understand that the respectable English inhabitants of India, composed as they are of the civil and military servants of the Government, and of persons residing under a license that can be withdrawn at any period, could form what an Englishman would designate a Public, to whose independent sentiments a Free Press, like that which happily exists in our native country, could address itself. Far less could I think that so powerful an instrument for good or evil could (in their present stage of society) be intrusted to our Indian subjects. We should, I am satisfied, by such a premature effort for their advancement in knowledge, incur the most imminent hazard of frustrating all those more rational plans that have been formed, and are in progress, for their prosperity and improvement.

I have the honour to be, your most obedient servant,

JOHN MALCOLM.

To MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN MALCOLM, K.C.B. &c. &c.

SIR,—With the feelings natural to a high-minded man, desirous of being rightly understood by his countrymen at large, I observe, by your letter, inserted in the Papers of this morning (June 1), that you have taken the pains to correct what appeared to you to be an erroneous impression on the mind of Mr. Lambton, when, in his speech to the Commons, on the 25th ultimo, he quoted your name as an authority for the benefit of free discussion in India. As I may consider myself, in some degree, one of the assisting causes, at least, of such an impression being entertained by that Honourable Member, I shall follow your example in hastening to give an immediate explanation of my views on that subject.

During the alarming disturbances in the Madras army, in which you held a commission, the despotism of the Indian Authorities was productive of more evils than could possibly have arisen under a system of free government; and none among that much-injured body felt, I believe, more deeply than yourself, the indignities to which that despotism subjected some of the most noble-minded of your brethren in arms. Adverting, at a subsequent period, to the self-willed and tyrannical obstinacy which marked the conduct of some of the leading members of the Indian Government at that time, you used the following memorable expressions:—

"The legislative power in free states shows a disposition to repeal or modify laws, in reference to the interests, the opinions, and sometimes even to the prejudices of great bodies of the people; while the despot has no maxim but that all must be subject to the authority of Government."

You could not have preferred the maxim of the despot; because it was of the *absence* of that disposition to yield to the opinions, and even prejudices, of the great body of the Indian public, in the particular case in question, that you were complaining. You considered, I believe, that the sentiments of the army, and the feelings of the people, ought to have

been heard and attended to; and it was understood to be the especial ground of your complaint, that both of these were disregarded. On this occasion, therefore, you must have admitted that there *was* a public in India; and further, that the *voice* of that public ought to have been listened to with respect and attention. And if this could happen in a military community, and on a military discussion, involving, as your enemies alleged, the very existence of the state, how much more safe and reasonable is it to contend for the same exercise of public opinion in matters relating to a mixed and mercantile community, and on a discussion which embraces the interests of every individual in the country—the privilege of possessing a press restrained by the laws, rather than the caprice of a despot—to redress grievances of *every* description, and not merely those between masters and servants, which all disputes between the military and those by whom they are paid, must necessarily be considered?

On your return to England, with the true spirit of a Briton and a soldier, you were prompted to tell the world the story of your wrongs, and defend yourself and others from aspersions, or insinuated charges, which you considered injurious to your well-earned reputation. The Press of India dared not admit of your, or any other man's, venturing to censure the conduct of men in authority on the spot; or, undoubtedly, many besides yourself would have published their strictures *there*, where the wrongs were most keenly felt; where the public sympathy would be sure of being excited; and where, if any good were to be produced by such censures, the time, the place, and the state of public feeling at the moment, would combine to heighten its effect. In England the Press was happily free, and you wisely availed yourself of its agency, to produce as much benefit as the distance of the place, the lapse of time, and the general apathy of one community to that which passes in another and a distant one, would admit.

It is from this publication, your "Account of the Disturbances in the Madras Army," that Mr. Lambton and all other men who have read it, have drawn, and must draw, the conclusion that you were an advocate for the exercise of free discussion in *India*. The whole spirit and substance of your book shows that the Indian Government were criminally indifferent to the wishes and feelings of the great body of their countrymen, by whose agency their empire was maintained. It further shows that these wrongs ought to have been heard, or they never could have been redressed. It complains that they were *not* heard, and *not* redressed; and that this obstinate refusal to yield to the "opinions and even prejudices of the great body of the people," (to use your own words) only tended to prolong the contest between power and its victims, and to bring in its train evils which, but for this unwise resistance to public opinion, never would have ensued. Is it possible that you could entertain sentiments like these, and not be an advocate for the privilege of free discussion in the country itself? which, after all, means only the power to lay the statement of every case that can occur before the country at large, subject to the restraints (and they are neither few nor inefficient) which the law of England already imposes on every description of public writings and appeals. If "free discussion" meant the privilege of saying any thing that disappointed malice might dictate, whether true or false, innocent or dangerous, no reasonable man would

advocate *such* discussion, whether in England or elsewhere. But if discussion is already restricted within sufficiently narrow limits *at home*, by the unavoidable bias of Judges, the loyal scruples of Juries, and the convenient ambiguity of the law which these administer; in *India* it must be *still more* narrowed in its range, hemmed around as it is by those powerful guards—Judges paid by the Government, and holding their appointments during pleasure, and under their immediate patronage; special Juries formed of the servants of the Company; and the whole community composed of men whose interests are closely interwoven with that of the ruling power, from whom most of them derive all their present gains, and to whom are directed all their hopes of future advancement and reward. With such checks, and in such a community, no publication that ventured to put forth any thing calculated to endanger the safety of the State, could exist for a week; the readers by whom it must be supported, are nearly all of them functionaries of that very Government, whose destruction would involve them in utter ruin, and lead to the loss of their lives as well as property. The Judges by whom it would be tried, have exactly the same interests in preserving the established order of things; while the Juries are composed entirely of Englishmen, and, if special, of Government servants, from whom an intemperate or a dangerous writer could expect no more mercy than a rebellious slave from a Jury of Planters; so that his career would necessarily be of very short duration.

In the preface to your "Account of the Disturbances in the Army at Madras," you have distinctly stated that "a groundless alarm has been spread of the mischiefs which many conceive must arise from a free disclosure and full discussion of the acts of the Indian Government." Surely, Sir, no man ever conceived that any mischief could arise from such discussions being carried on in *England*. It has always been the practice of the East India Company themselves to discuss publicly questions relating to India, in their own Court of Proprietors, the proceedings of which are published in every newspaper in the kingdom, and through them, distributed over all the world. It never *could* have been doubted that discussions in *England* would do good. It is discussions in *India* that have been dreaded, and respecting which these *groundless* alarms of mischief had gone abroad. When you say, therefore, immediately afterwards, that "this practice," namely, a free disclosure and full discussion of the acts of the Indian Governments, "must produce great and essential good," it is difficult to conceive how you could have meant any where but in *India*; for it is there only that the mischiefs of free discussion on Indian affairs have ever been apprehended.

But, Sir, there is yet another expression in the same page of your book, which stamps at once, and unequivocally, the real meaning of the sentiment which this passage must appear, to those who examine it closely, to convey. It is this—"I am confident," you say, "that every attempt made to *repress* such discussion, is not merely a sacrifice to personal feeling and to momentary expedience of one of the best and most operative principles of the British Constitution, but that it is a direct approximation to the principles of that Oriental tyranny which it is, or ought to be, our chief boast to have destroyed."

If you had not uttered another word on the subject, this sentence would have been sufficient. It is not, surely, in *England* that attempts

are ever made to repress discussions on Indian affairs. It is not in *England* that men in power can sacrifice to personal feeling and momentary expedience the best and most operative principles of the British Constitution. An injured man in England would scorn the attempt to repress a discussion of his grievances through the press; and a Court of Law would prevent the possibility of any ruler trampling on the principles of that Constitution to gratify his personal convenience. No, Sir; India is the only part of the British empire in which these things *can* happen; and it would have been the height of inconclusiveness, (I would fain spare myself the use of the more obvious term,) for any man to designate attempts to repress discussion in *England* as a mode of bringing us back to the principles of that *Oriental* tyranny which it is or ought to be our chief boast to have destroyed. The reader will ask *where* ought we to have so destroyed it? Surely, not in *England*, where *Oriental* tyranny, at least, never existed. The utmost stretch of ingenuity would be, therefore, insufficient to show that throughout the whole of your panegyric on free discussion, your conviction of its utility, and your indignation at all attempts to repress its exercise, your observations could be fairly applied to any other country than *India*, where alone a free discussion on Indian affairs can ever produce the effects which you so forcibly and justly ascribe to it.

The total inefficiency of public opinion in England as a check against misrule abroad, has been felt and acknowledged by the ablest writers on India, of whom, Mr. Mill, the historian, may be placed at the head; and every man who has read his masterly work must be satisfied of the fallacy of a contrary opinion. If discussions on the conduct of the English ministers were entirely prohibited in England—if no public paper dared publish the debates in Parliament, or canvass the merits or demerits of any particular transaction of public interest to the people of *this country*, of what avail would it be to tell them, "You may have these matters freely discussed in *India*, where no mischiefs can arise from the full and free discussion of the acts of the British Cabinet *at home?*"—Reverse the case, and it is exactly what the enemies of a free press in India contend for—namely, the silence of despotism in the country itself, and a full and free disclosure of all that is kept secret there, at the distance of thousands of miles—after a lapse of months or years—and in a community where there is neither the information necessary to understand the merits of the question, the charm of interest to attract their attention, nor the influence requisite to constitute the slightest check or control. It would have been considered a mockery of the most insulting kind to tell the people of England, at the period of the Manchester massacre, that their grievances might be discussed in India, but that they could not be permitted to be inquired into in England. And it is not one bit less the mockery to tell the people of India, Englishmen as well as natives, when suffering under the most grievous oppressions, and without the protection of the laws to shield them, that their grievances may be discussed in England, but cannot be examined into on the spot.

I find that this question would lead me further than the limits of a letter would warrant; but I am willing to meet any man in England in argument on this subject, yourself among the number, if you feel your position strong enough to warrant its defence. I could desire no greater triumph; but before you enter the lists, let me recommend to your at-

tentive perusal, an article written expressly on that subject,* to which I should be ready and willing to insert, in the pages of the same publication, the reply of yourself or any other gentleman who might feel disposed to undertake the task.

As I had the honour, and I considered it no mean one, to be favoured with your name among the earliest and most distinguished supporters of the *Calcutta Journal*, which I believe you continued to read, and, as I have understood, *generally* approved, up to the period of your leaving India; and as I know that you directed it to be sent, by every opportunity, to you in England; I have always been accustomed to associate your name with those who really regarded the interests of the people of India, as likely to be much benefited by discussions on their affairs in the country itself; and I should be sorry to think your present opinions better grounded than your former ones on this subject. It is, therefore, with feelings of habitual, and I may say unaltered respect, that I venture thus publicly to address you on a topic which your own name appears first to have introduced into the public prints; satisfied, as I am, that there can be no possible objection to our meeting in the same arena of discussion, into which neither of us, I am persuaded, would for a moment suffer any private or personal feeling to enter, except to soften and moderate the heat and asperity which too frequently mark the controversies of men, whose differences are not merely those of opinion only.

I may venture, therefore, I hope, to say, that without any diminution of respect for your talents, I cannot but regard your present testimony, on a subject of this nature, as somewhat lessened in value by the well-known fact that you are at this moment a candidate for an Indian Governorship—that you know the sentiments of the East India Directors to be particularly hostile to *all* discussions of their affairs, whether in England or India, but particularly in the latter country; and that though, as the unjustly-aspersed and injured Captain and Envoy of 1809, you might have found the freedom of discussion on Indian affairs to be a privilege worth contending for, yet, as the popular and respected General and Governor of 1824, you might occasionally find this said freedom a little inconvenient, and be *therefore* drawn into an opinion that it might be as well not to restore it, until your expected Governorship should be at an end.

Although I have expressed my readiness, at all times and in all places, to meet the opponents of a free press in India, and put their arguments to that test of public scrutiny which none but those who are conscious of their weakness can ever dread; yet, the object of my addressing you individually was not so much to enter on the great question—"Whether a free press be calculated to produce greater good or evil in India," as to show that there were grounds, and strong ones too, for inferring from your own writings, that YOU were *once* of the former opinion; and knowing the undue value attached even to worthless authorities, by those who are too indolent to think for themselves, I conceived it of the highest importance to dispel the influence which so deservedly respected a name as yours could not fail to have on the minds even of thinking men, if your assertions and opinions, recently put forth, remained unquestioned

* This article is entitled "Necessity of a Controlling Power in *India*, as a Check against Misrule;" and the power here adverted to is a *Free Press*. See *Oriental Herald, No. 5, May* 1824.

and admitted. It was that respect, indeed, which first induced the wish to see your authority quoted, in support of opinions conscientiously believed to be *still* entertained by you, and which, had this been the case, it was naturally concluded that you would have been proud to avow at this important crisis. There was no desire, I am convinced, to press into the service even of truth, an unwilling testimony; for, happily, the opinion of the value of a free press to India is neither so singular, nor so slightly supported, as to need the *borrowed* authority of individuals, however eminent, to sustain it. It stands on a foundation which nothing can shake, and needs only to be discussed and developed, to obtain universal assent from all who discard prejudice, and exercise their own judgments on the question—unless they should have a direct and powerful interest in maintaining a contrary doctrine, when their evidence will be considered, by most men, as liable to a proportionate abatement of value.

Of this last description of witnesses is the late temporary Governor General of India, Mr. John Adam, who has so pre-eminently distinguished himself by his hostility to *all* freedom, whether of person, property, or opinion. Like our Eighth Harry, he may assume and deserve the title of "Defender of the Faith;" and, upon nearly as good grounds, as both pursued a similar course to prevent their infallibility from being called in question. It is, perhaps, known to you, that this Mr. Adam, at the very moment that he denied the existence of a public in India (in terms, of which your own, as given in your letter to Mr. Lambton, on that subject, are by accident, no doubt, nearly the counterpart), and deprecated the practice of appealing to its judgment, wrote a large quarto pamphlet addressed to that very public, whose existence he denied—appealing to that very opinion, the influence of which he deprecated—and published it, not in *England*, but in *India*, in the very country where this book was especially written to prove the danger of such appeals being made! It is true that Mr. Adam first banished his opponent from the country, then fettered the press by regulations which subjected every man to similar banishment who should venture to answer him; and having thus cleverly secured all the argument to his own side, and bound the whole community in chains, he magnanimously put forth his "Appeal to Public Opinion," somewhat in the spirit of the same King Harry's theological controversies, the merits of which none dared doubt but at their peril!

Mr. Adam is thus fairly entitled to be called the "Great Defender" of the fettered press of India; for no man has written so large a book on the subject, and no man certainly could take more pains to prevent his book from being answered. This *volume*, for its bulk might well entitle it to be so called, was printed at the Government press of Calcutta, was sedulously distributed throughout all India, and given to every man in authority there. It was sent home also to this country, and profusely supplied to Members of both Houses of Parliament, Directors of the East India Company, and friends of the author in every rank of life. I have little doubt, Sir, but that a copy of this production was sent to you also, by its distinguished author, although I can hardly persuade myself that it has ever reached you, or if so, that you have read it through; as I think, if this had been the case, your well-known discrimination could not have failed to lead you to the same conviction as that expressed by Mr. Hume and Mr. Denman, in the Commons, and which is, indeed, avowed by almost every one who has given it an attentive perusal; namely,—that even

taking Mr. Adam's own statement, on which he professed to ground his opinion of the danger of a free press in India, as correct in its facts, he has utterly failed in his arguments and inferences, and covered himself with shame; first, for the cruelty with which he presumed to exercise his brief and transitory possession of power, against the friends of free discussion in India; and next, for the unparalleled weakness with which he has attempted to defend what is wholly indefensible on any grounds of reason, equity, or even expediency—the tyrant's ever ready plea.

The effect produced in *India* by this defence of Mr. Adam has been to lessen the previous estimation of his talents to a degree scarcely credible; for *there*, although no man dared *expose* its absurdities, most men were capable of perceiving them; and although *before* he had written this notable defence *many* gave him credit for a good heart and a sound understanding, yet a great number, after reading it, doubted his enjoyment of the former, and *all* must have been satisfied that he had no pretensions whatever to the possession of the latter. In *England*, however, where the mass of the people have but little information on Indian affairs, and where even the more intelligent have such constant demands on their time for other purposes, that they must take much upon trust relating to distant countries and events, the *name* of Mr. Adam, as connected with an opinion of danger from a free press in India, may produce some effect, as *your* name NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME associated with similar sentiments, will no doubt do in the minds of others who have too many claims on their attention to admit of their examining the question for themselves.

For the information of the few, however, who are both able and willing to hear what may be said and written on both sides of every public question, I thought it important to answer this pamphlet of Mr. Adam; and for the benefit of those to whom the original might not be accessible, I have incorporated almost every page of its contents, with the comment to which it gave rise; so that the "bane and antidote" might be found together. I know not, Sir, whether you have ever read this answer: perhaps it has not yet fallen into your hands, and I have therefore requested my publisher, to send you, without delay, a copy of the Review, in which all the facts and arguments adduced by Mr. Adam, to prove the danger of a free press in India, are carefully examined, and met in such a manner, as to have left, as far as I can learn, but one impression on all who have read it.*

* Mr. Adam, at the time of writing his pamphlet, and courting that public opinion to which he would allow no other man to appeal, was exercising the office of Governor General in India, in the receipt of thirty thousand pounds a year, with hundreds dependent on his nod for patronage and place, and a Government press entirely at his command. At this press he printed his work at the public expense, and might, therefore, without any diminution of his splendid receipts, distribute it gratuitously far and wide, till every man in the country was put in possession of his accusations against the friends of the press, whom he denounced as enemies of the country. I regret, however, that I have been unable to follow his example. Ruined in my fortunes,—without a prospect of more than a needy subsistence for the future,—without a press at my command,—except by paying the whole expense of publication,—I am unable to give the same extended circulation to the defence of the press in India, which this great enemy of its freedom has given to his aspersions on its character and fame. Still, however, as far as my means will admit, I shall as willingly extend the remedy as he has done the mischief; and I therefore take this public occasion to state, that on application Mr. Richardson, 23, Cornhill, copies of *The Oriental Herald*, in which this

I will mention only one fact, which will weigh with you, perhaps, more than a hundred arguments, to show the evils of placing the press of India under the *caprice* of its Governors; and I select this from a thousand of a similar kind, which I might easily produce, because you will feel and understand it as well as any man in England can possibly do. You may perhaps remember, that during your residence in Central India, you drew up a Report on Malwa, the substance of which has been since incorporated in your excellent work on that province. You will also, no doubt, recollect that at the same time that the manuscript was sent to England for publication, it was also printed in a large quarto volume at the Government press in Bengal, and, like Mr. Adam's pamphlet, from the same establishment, at the public expense.

This Report of yours on Malwa, was soon in every body's hands, and there was but one general sentiment of praise expressed among all who read it. It was distributed gratuitously to all the servants of Government at Calcutta, and some few were sold; one of these last came into my possession; and as the bulk of the volume rendered it inconvenient for circulation in the interior, where there were hundreds of Englishmen as deeply interested in its contents as at the Presidency, I formed the design of reprinting the most interesting parts of the whole, section by section, in the *Calcutta Journal*, that all my countrymen might equally reap the benefit of your admirable report.

You, Sir, who know well the character of the Indian Government, will perhaps believe me; but I can hardly expect credit from the world, when I say (what nevertheless I am able to prove, if required), that Mr. Charles Lushington, one of the Secretaries of the Bengal Government, after the first section was printed, transmitted to me the mandate of the Governor General in Council, forbidding me, at my peril, to publish another sheet; and this, as I firmly believe, merely to prevent my Paper possessing the additional attraction which such a subject would necessarily have given to it. Lynx-eyed as these Secretaries were to the faults of others, though unhappily blind to their own, they could not have discovered any thing mischievous, factious, or inflammatory in what *you* had written. No; it had already gone abroad to the world under their sanction; but, on the same principle as you yourself *now* appear to avow—the danger of publishing disquisitions on *Indian* subjects in the country to which they especially relate—they ordered the instant suppression of whatever might have been set up in type; and the whole impression of the Journal of that day was accordingly destroyed.

In the subsequent republication of Col. Stanhope's pamphlet, which was little more than a compilation of what had before appeared in the Indian Papers, and which, like your own Report, was in every body's hands, the Indian Government acted with more cunning. In the case of your Report, they said "Let it be suppressed," and it *was* suppressed. In the case of Col. Stanhope's pamphlet, they suffered it to be published,

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pamphlet of Mr. Adam is reviewed, will be delivered FREE OF COST, to Members of either House of Parliament, Directors of the East India Company, or Proprietors of India Stock, who may feel an interest in the great question of the Indian press, and desire to qualify themselves for pronouncing an opinion on the merits of a case, of which both sides will be there found fully examined and discussed; and which cannot fail to become a topic of general interest, during the investigation of Parliament, to which it will be submitted in the ensuing session.

section by section, till all was finished; and then, a week after its close, and without the least warning whatever, they destroyed the whole of my prospects, and blasted all my future hopes of reward from a source of repeatedly acknowledged benefit, which I had laboured as hard as any man in India to establish, for the good of the country, and at the hazard of penury in my declining years. This, Sir, is one specimen from among a thousand, of the evils of having the press made subject to the will and caprice of a Governor in India. Well might you say that all such attempts to repress discussion was a return to that *Oriental* tyranny which it ought to be our chief boast to have destroyed.

One word more, and I have done; and that word, too, shall be your own. I have often quoted your expressions with pride, and I shall still continue to do so, wherever I find, in your earlier writings and speeches (of which I have many in the pages of my own paper), sentiments favourable to freedom and the happiness of man; I shall leave your *later* opinions, if they are of the complexion of those avowed to Mr. Lambton, to those who may more cordially approve of them than I shall ever do. But your past opinions are public property; and until they can be blotted from the record, I shall constantly recur to them with pleasure, at the recollection of their having been once entertained by one competent to judge of their value when they were pronounced. Let me then, Sir, remind you of these from your own pen, which the world will applaud and admire, however much you may regret to be reminded of them:—

"The nature of our possessions in India makes it necessary that *almost* absolute power should be given to those intrusted with governments in that quarter; and there cannot be a better or more efficient check over these rulers, than that which must be established by the *full* publicity given to their acts, and the *frequent* discussion of *all* their principles of rule. Such a practice will expose imprudence and weakness, however defended by the adherence of powerful friends in England; (how admirably illustrated in the case of Mr. Adam!) and it will be more certain to prevent injustice or oppression, than the *general* provisions of law, which may be *evaded*, or the check of superiors, who may, from conceiving the cause of an individual identified with that of authority itself, feel themselves condemned to support proceedings which they cannot approve. This practice, in short, (restrained as it always must be by the laws of our country [and not by the caprice of a governor] within moderate bounds,) must have the most salutary effects. Its *inconveniences* are obvious, but trifling when compared to the *great* and permanent *benefits* which it must produce; and I am satisfied that every attempt to REPRESS such discussion is not merely a sacrifice to personal feeling, and to momentary expedience, of one of the best and most operative principles of the British Constitution, but a direct approximation to the principles of that ORIENTAL TYRANNY, which it is, or ought to be, our chief boast to have destroyed."

In this manly and truly British sentiment I entirely concur; and, with feelings of sincere respect for your public and private virtues, I have the honour to remain,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

JUNE.

The fields are specked with golden flowers,
And blooming trees the glad eye meet;
And birds within their leafy bowers
Sing long and loud and sweet.

The swarthy mower o'er the lea,
With shining scythe plods gaily on;
The ship glides gently o'er the sea
Beneath the cheering sun.

The woods are hushed, the twinkling leaves
Scarce flutter to the gentle wind,
At sultry noon; the heifer leaves
The uncropt grass behind,

To chew the cud beneath the tree,
Or gaze upon the babbling brook,
That glides so sweet and merrily,
With many a longing look;

But low its stony channel lies,
And steep and sharp the envious brink,
And many an effort vain she tries
The cooling draught to drink.

The lazy sheep-boy lying near,
Sleeps sound beneath the linnet's note,
Who emulous, as if crowds could hear,
Strains high her swelling throat.

Within the grove the raven caws;
Without, the basking lizard sleeps;
The hasty traveller, forced to pause,
Thinks noon's warm chariot sleeps:

Released at length, the dusty way
He treads beneath the lengthening shades,
Oft meeting in the cooler ray
The merry milking-maids.

And eve is mild, and ruddy light
Streams broadly o'er the western hill;
And twilight copes with ebon night
To hold the empire still.

And morn steals on th' unended strife,
And shakes her dewy tresses high;
Calling man briskly up to life,
As if he could not die.

And this is wise—for what if Fate
Snatch us at length from this bright scene;
All feel (and some even linger late)
The pleasure *to have been.*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF AN OLD INDIAN CHAPLAIN.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

Sir, May 14, 1824.

I beg leave to offer you some account, such as can now be recovered, of a scholar, who cultivated science in British India several years before Sir William Jones introduced to that injured, ill-governed, but now growingly-interesting portion of the globe, what may be not improperly termed a new intellectual era. Nor can one contemplate the tendency of liberal pursuits to form those minds which shall successfully advocate human rights, and promote a practical knowledge of human duties, without being ready to apostrophize a retarder of human improvement, an *Adamite* Governor of any country, one of those who "meanly seek the blessing to confine," in the glowing and indignant language of the bard—

> Fond impious man, think'st thou yon sanguine cloud
> Rais'd by thy breath has quench'd the orb of day?
> To-morrow he repairs the golden flood,
> And warms the nations with redoubled ray.

Some of your readers, who, like myself, have seen many a summer's sun, may recollect the public interest excited by the loss of the Aurora frigate, which was carrying out to India, in 1760, Mr. Vansittart and his colleagues, as supervisors of the Company's affairs. In that vessel, "nave Musis et virtute inimica," sailed William Falconer, author of the Shipwreck, the story of whose life has deservedly engaged the attention of several biographers. Of another voyager, to whom I have referred, who at the same time unconsciously embarked for "that bourn from which no traveller returns," I am not aware of any biographical notices, except a few in the third volume of Mr. Duncombe's "Letters by several Eminent Persons deceased," published in 1773. There are five letters from the Rev. W. Hirst, F.R.S.; to these with the editor's notes, and the Philosophical Transactions, I am indebted for the following account.

William Hirst was "the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Hirst," chaplain to the Earl of Halifax, who, in 1740, was presented to the rectory of Bengeo and Sacombe, near Hertford, where he died in 1760. The son "was educated at St. Peter's College, Cambridge," and there took his Master's degree. In 1754, he was probably residing at Hornsey, near London, as his first communication to the Royal Society,* of which he became a Fellow in 1755, is dated from that village. He was now a chaplain in the navy, and in that capacity he sailed, immediately after the earthquake in 1755, to Lisbon, the ruins of which he described in a drawing executed on the spot. In 1759, he embarked for India, as chaplain of the Lenox, in the squadron under Admiral Cornish, to whom he was secretary.

The squadron anchoring at Madeira, May 2, Mr. Hirst found that island to be "a very fertile spot, but the generality of the inhabitants

* An account of a Fire Ball seen at Hornsey, communicated in a letter to Samuel Mead, Esq. F.R.S. See Phil. Trans. XLVIII. P. II. 773, No. 91.

poor," because "pestered with swarms of idle priests and monks, mere drones, who live upon the honey of the hive." Here he observed, and described to a friend in England, "a comet in the constellation Crater, from its great southern latitude," probably "not visible in England, as it disappeared before it made any considerable progress to the northward." The "next rendezvous was St. Augustine's Bay, on the west side of the island of Madagascar," where he spent more than a fortnight. It appeared to be "a very fine island, productive not only of the necessaries but even the delicacies of life." The following conclusion of Mr. Hirst's letter to his friend, Mr. Duncombe, dated "Lenox, off Madagascar, Sept. 6, 1759," may deserve to be quoted entire, as the remarks of an intelligent observer on a country which has been lately brought to the notice of your readers.

Madagascar is divided into a number of petty kingdoms or states, the largest of which is that of Brecess, which (as the natives informed me) abounds with gold mines, as does the kingdom of Volambo with those of silver. And there is great reason to credit this assertion; for the teeth of many of the sheep and other cattle, killed on board our ship, were so much covered with a metalline scale as to resemble teeth of brass. This the miners are said to look upon as an infallible indication of a mine being under the surface, on which such cattle graze. I will not answer for the infallibility of this trial, but am sure it is more consistent with reason than the idle tales of the divining rods.

In the first volume of the learned Boerhaave's Elements of Chemistry, (part II. p. 22.) I met with the following observation; the author, treating of gold, says, "In Madagascar there is a very soft sort, which runs like lead with a gentle fire," for the truth of this he refers to Flacourt's History of the Island of Madagascar (ch. 49). I have not this book, yet have often observed a large button of a yellow cast, like those which the Dutch wear on their breeches, tied by way of ornament to the crown of the Madagascar princes' heads. This I found was remarkably soft, which made me think it was base metal, but they all affirmed it was fine gold.

I shall mention but one circumstance more to corroborate the above opinion; not far from Tent Rock in St. Augustine's Bay, in the King of Baubau's dominions, is a mineral spring, which also affords reason to suspect that there are mines of some sort or other in its neighbourhood. However our European *Mammon* has not yet set foot on this rich soil; for he, according to Milton, first taught men to value gold:

——— By him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
Ransack'd the centre, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother earth,
For treasures better hid.*

In a letter to Mr. Fazakerly, dated "off Cape Comorin, Nov. 18," Mr. Hirst thus further describes Madagascar: "We found the shore, for some miles near the sea, surrounded by some mountains of sand, and saw not a foot of earth all the time we were there; but the natives say there is a very fine rich soil in the inland countries." There were alligators, and "tigers, who often leave the print of their feet on the sandy

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* This view of Madagascar, as possessing the precious metals, the editor, Mr. Duncombe, confirms from an "account published in 1729, by Robert Drury, who being shipwrecked on the south side of that island, lived there as a slave fifteen years." Crutwell, in his Gazetteer, says that "there are in Madagascar three sorts of gold;" though he instances only "the country gold, called malacassa, pale, and as easy to be cast as lead; an ounce of which is worth no more than twenty florins."

beach;" also "many bats, so large that some of them measured more than three feet from the extremities of the wings." These were seen "towards the evening, flying over the valleys in great flocks." Our voyager procured also a chamelion, "and a creature called a macawk, of a very harmless nature, and easily tamed. Its shape was between a monkey and a squirrel, but not at all mischievous; its tail very long and beautiful, and diversified with rings of black and white."

Mr. Hirst found at Madagascar "no priests, the chiefs discharging the offices of religion themselves." When these great personages, he remarks, "are at variance, they come to a reconciliation by drinking together seven spoonfuls of bullock's blood, and for differences of long continuance they drink seven drops of their own blood." The editor adds, that "the ceremony which Drury mentions as the usual ratification of treaties, is the roasting the liver of an ox, which is put on lances, and eaten with imprecations by the princes, or their ambassadors."

Admiral Cornish having "joined Admiral Pocock," now proceeded "to Tillicherry." Mr. Hirst was afterwards present at the sieges of Vellore, and Pondicherry, in 1760 and 1761. In the early part of the latter year, he appears to have resided at Madras, from whence he dates his second communication to the Royal Society.

The philosophers of Europe were now preparing to advance the great objects of astronomical science by observations on the expected transit of Venus; which, according to the calculations of Kepler in 1626, and the later calculations of Dr. Halley, would appear in 1761.

This phenomenon was first observed, Nov. 24 1639, at Hool, a village about fifteen miles to the north of Liverpool, by Jeremiah Horrox, a native of Toxteth, near that town, educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was a young astronomer of extraordinary attainments, who died in 1641, at the age of 22, just as he had finished his "Venus in Sole visa," published by Hevelius in 1662. Mr. Horrox, relying on the tables of Kepler and Lansbergius, had exactly calculated the day on which this transit would be visible. These calculations he communicated to his friend, Wm. Crabtree, of Broughton, near Manchester, another early accomplished, but too short lived astronomer. Mr. Crabtree, "invited to this Uranian banquet, very readily complied with his friend's request, and these two were the only persons in the world who observed this transit the first time it had ever been viewed by human eyes."* In 1761, the observations were numerous, no less than ten being on record in England alone.

Mr. Hirst made an observation, probably the only one attempted in the East, June 6, 1761, at the Government House at Madras, where he was assisted by the Governor, afterwards Lord Pigot. The result, he communicated in a letter to Lord Macclesfield, President of the Royal

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* "Mr. Crabtree intended to observe the transit in the same manner with Horrox, but the sky was so covered with clouds that he gave himself up entirely to despair. But, a little before the time of sunset, the sun breaking out for the first time from the clouds, he eagerly betook himself to his observation, and happily saw the most agreeable of all sights, Venus just entered upon the sun.

"Let not any severe Cato (adds Mr. Horrox) be seriously angry with these vanities of ours; for what youth, such as we are, would not fondly admire upon earth *Venerem Soli, pulchritudinem divitiis conjunctam.*" See An. Reg. (1761.) iv. 195.

Society.† He afterwards complained "of the mutilated manner in which his account was inserted, in particular of the omitting his observations of the equal altitudes, and meridional transits for regulating his time-keeper, and his reasons for concluding that Venus had no satellite, as had been suspected by M. Cassini, and the late Mr. Short."‡

"In March, 1762, Mr. Hirst was appointed chaplain to the factory at Calcutta, by the favour of Mr. Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, and resided there in general esteem." In November that year, he communicated to Dr. Birch, Secretary of the Royal Society, "an account of an earthquake at Chattigaon, in the region of Islamabad, April 2, 1762;§ a solar eclipse, observed at Ghyzotty, on the banks of the Ganges; and a lunar one at Calcutta.‖ In December, 1764, he embarked for England, with his friend Governor Vansittart, to whom he gives unqualified commendation for "honour and sagacity," convinced "that *Mene mene tekel upharsin* will never be pronounced against him, not even *in foro conscientiæ.*"

Of Mr. Hirst's occupations, after his return to England, there is no account till June 3, 1761; he then undertook again to make an observation on the transit of Venus. His friend Governor Vansittart was now his assistant, as Governor Pigot had been at Madras. The result was communicated to the Royal Society by Dr. Maskelyne, the astronomer royal.¶ To the following volume Mr. Hirst contributed "an account of several phenomena observed during the ingress of Venus into the solar disc; in a letter to the astronomer royal."* A few days after he communicated to his friend, Mr. Duncombe, his design of returning to India, as chaplain to the commissioners, ascribing his acceptance of the appointment to his connexions with Mr. Vansittart. "I thought (he adds) to have spent the remainder of my days in Old England, under my own vine, and under my own fig-tree, but *diis aliter visum est,* and I must submit. Adieu, therefore, all thoughts of domestic life! Adieu the *domus et placens uxor!*"

Sept. 30, Mr. Hirst bade a final adieu to England.† The last of his five letters, and probably the last letter he ever wrote, is dated "Dec. 19, 1769," and addressed to his friend, Mr. Fazakerley, from "the Dutch town at the Cape of Good Hope," from whence he expected to sail in two days. On the voyage he had "felt his ruling passion" for the advancement of astronomical science, as appears by the following passage:

The comet which we saw in England approaching to the sun, we saw returning from it. I took two observations of its situation in the heavens with respect to

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† See Phil. Trans. LII. 256, No. 40.

‡ Referring in a later communication to these omissions, he says, "Had not this been the case, every one might have judged of the care and pains I took in that distant part of the world, as well in making several of my instruments myself, as in using them when made."

§ Translated from the Persian by Mr. Gulston. See Phil. Trans. LIII. 251, 256. No. 39, 40.

‖ The eclipses were observed by Mr. Hirst, also an earthquake at Calcutta, July 13, 1762. See ibid. 258, 262.

¶ See Phil. Trans. LVIII. 361.

* Dated "Inner Temple, June 2, 1769." See ibid. LIX. 228.

† On this occasion a Latin ode, entitled Ad Amicum Navigaturum, was addressed to Mr. Hirst by Dr. Kirkpatrick, who distinguished himself at the battle of Plassey.—*Duncombe,* III. 158. Appendix C.

the neighbouring fixed stars, and wrote on the occasion a sheet full, which I intended to have sent to my friend Maskelyne at Greenwich; but this, as well as many other papers, I have left or mislaid at sea; and it often happens, as the Earl of Dorset says, that

> Our paper, pens and ink, and we,
> Are tumbled up and down at sea.*

The circumstances which produced and attended the catastrophe of the Aurora, will probably, never be ascertained till "the sea shall give up the dead that are in it." The historian of British India says of the supervisors; "the vessel which carried them never reached her port; nor was any intelligence of her or her passengers ever received." It is, however, related, though without a reference to any authority,† that "on the 19th of November, 1773, a black made his appearance before the East India Directors, who affirmed that he was one of five persons who had been saved from the wreck of the Aurora; that she had been cast away on a reef of rocks off Macao; that he was two years upon an island after he had escaped; and was, at length, miraculously preserved by a country ship happening to touch at that island."

BIOGRAPHICUS.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY OF TEA.

LETTER III.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, London, June 16, 1824.

To offer any apology to your readers for again pressing this subject upon their attention, would be to disparage their public spirit and philanthropy:—their public spirit, by supposing them capable of patiently submitting to an overgrown and oppressive monopoly; and their philanthropy, by imagining them indifferent to the comfort of the poor, amongst whom the more extensive use of this innocent beverage would be attended by the best moral effects.

It will be gratifying to yourself and readers to learn that the discussion of the abuses arising from the East India Company's monopoly has already had the effect of partially lowering the prices at the sale just concluded.

Bohea	fell 4*d*. per lb., including duty, on	500,000	is £8,333
Congou	... 2*d*.	5,350,000	... 44,566
Twankay	... 4*d*.	1,000,000	... 16,666
Hyson	... 4*d*.	400,000	... 6,666
Being a net saving to the public, this quarter, of			£76,231
Or annually, at the above rate, of			£304,924

* Mr. Hirst adds, "We continue to be very harmonious, and consequently very happy on board the Aurora. I know this will give great pleasure to all Mr. Van's real friends, and be the occasion of great chagrin and disappointment to all who expected the commission would be overset by the disunion of the commissioners."

† See Lives of Scottish Poets, v. 76.

I trust, however, that the saving will be much more considerable before the end of the year, as the fall on Congou, the quality generally consumed, has been but trifling, and it must decline with the other descriptions; of which there were strong indications this sale, from the finest and most inferior qualities selling very nearly at the same prices. The fall, it is to be observed, arises more from the apprehension of the buyers, that the East India Company must concede something to the public voice and increase their future declarations, than from any excess of quantity, for the amount sold does not exceed that of many preceding sales. Whilst the East India Company were free to declare what they pleased, the buyers cared not what prices they gave, as they felt confident, from long experience, in the East India Company's disposition to maintain high prices by short supply; now, however, that they begin to think the East India Company are standing upon hollow ground, they very wisely anticipate the coming storm, and prices will find their natural level. It cannot but excite astonishment, that the buyers should so long have been blind to their own interest and that of the public, as to give the East India Company

2*s.* 6*d.*	for Bohea, which they offered at	1*s.* 6*d.*
2*s.* 7*d.* & 3*s.* 8*d.* ...	Congou	2*s.* 2*d.* & 2*s.* 4*d.*
3*s.* 6*d.*	Twankay	2*s.* 5*d.*

except it was for reasons which I have before stated. As a proof of the power which the East India Company possess of regulating the prices of tea, they put up, in the four successive sales in 1821, of Bohea, 700,000, 800,000, 900,000, and 900,000; and in March sale, 1822, 1,000,000 lbs., (the prices all this time advancing from 2*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb.,) since which at no one sale have they declared more than 500,000 lbs.; the consequence has, of course, been the continued exorbitant price of this most inferior quality, which can only be used for mixing with the finer. Of Twankay tea, their declarations have been as much as 1,450,000, and as little as 860,000 lbs. per quarter. Can any thing show more clearly the power which they exercise of raising the prices of tea at their pleasure, or the danger to the public of such powers being lodged with any body of men, however respectable, when shielded by monopoly?

I am apprehensive that your readers will be tired of these almost endless statements to prove what every candid mind must from the first have been convinced of. I shall therefore only show the effect which the high prices of tea have had upon the consumption by the poor, and I think I could have no better criterion than from amongst the men employed at the East India warehouses. From all the inquiries I have been able to make, I am convinced that not more than *one in forty* can afford to drink it; and what will you think is the substitute to which these poor fellows are compelled to have recourse?—*Hunt's roasted corn.* If the Honourable Directors will take the trouble to attend at the breakfast hour, they will find this trash almost universally used: and I am credibly informed that its consumption has been extended to every corner of the kingdom. That it is not a matter of taste or preference, any body may satisfy himself by inquiry, and I am therefore borne out in the assertion that the consumption of tea would be increased in proportion as the price becomes lower. This result, however, cannot be the work of a day.

Consumption, once diverted to another channel, is not so readily restored, and the consumers do not fully participate in the fall of price in any article until the dealers have worked out their old stock.

In my last letter I asserted, that if, by an increase of one seventh, or 4,000,000 lbs. per annum, in the quantity put up for sale, the price should fall 6*d.* per lb., the loss of duty to government could not exceed 200,000*l.*, which would be more than compensated by an increased consumption of other excisable articles in the proportion of 1,400,000*l.*, which would thus be saved to the country. This is easy of proof, for 4,000,000 lbs. more tea consumed would require 16,000,000 lbs. of sugar, or 142,857 cwt. upon which the duty is 27*s.* per cent, or 192,856*l.* In this single article, therefore, the imaginary loss of revenue would be made up, and it is deserving of the consideration of the West India planters, whether the additional annual demand for above 7,000 tons of sugar is not of sufficient importance to induce them to memorialize Government in order to compel the East India Company to declare more tea. I would also suggest to them that the duty is 1*s.* per lb. on raw coffee, equal to 1*s.* 2¼*d.* per lb. on roasted, which is about 150 per cent. on the selling price, whereas the duty on tea is 100 per cent; by which a manifest preference is given to the production of a foreign country over that of our own colonies. Ministers are anxious to assist them, and there never was a better opportunity of creating a taste for coffee in this country, if the Government could be induced to lower the duty to 3*d.* per lb. I am aware that the experiment, tried a few years back, of introducing its use by lowering the duty to 7*d.* per lb. had not the desired effect; but circumstances are so changed, that I am persuaded the result would be more favourable now.

I must revert to the more immediate purpose of this letter. It may, perhaps, be asserted that so large an additional supply could not be procured from China without enhancing the first cost, but my conviction is directly the reverse. The 4,000,000 lbs. extra, or about 50,000 chests, might require three additional ships to be employed: now, I would ask, if it be probable that the East India Company have ascertained the surplus quantity of tea in China to be just equal to fill twenty ships, and not twenty-three? With a tea-drinking population like that of China, has the cultivation been carried to its utmost extent, so as to preclude an additional supply of 4,000,000 lbs.? The East India Company compelling the Hong merchants to take goods in barter for tea at their own fixed prices, may find it difficult to induce them to extend the quantity on such terms, as the Chinese merchants can obtain European goods so much cheaper from the Americans; but this is no proof that dollars would not command any quantity which they might require. In the estimate of the East India Company's profits upon tea no notice has been taken of those on the outward cargoes, but they may fairly be included, and care must be taken that any statement by the East India Company of the cost of tea is divested of this fallacy. When the East India Company can declare of one description of tea, viz.—

		lbs.
Bohea, in all,	1821	3,300,000
	1822	2,420,000
	1823	1,900,000

making a difference of 1,400,000 lbs. between the first and last years,

there can be no doubt that they have it in their power to put up 4,000,000lbs. per annum, additional, if they chose.

Before I close this letter allow me to ask if any attempts have ever been made by the East India Company to introduce the cultivation of tea into our East India territories? If not, it appears to me a great dereliction of public duty, not only to the natives but to this country. I am not aware of any physical impossibilities existing, as there is in India almost every variety of climate, a numerous population, and a proximity to China which would very much facilitate its introduction. Many of your readers, more conversant with the subject, may be able to furnish some information upon it, which I trust they will not withhold, as it may lead to important results, and prove of great public benefit. I shall confine my remarks to the commercial advantages which would accrue as more within my immediate knowledge. The opening of the trade to India has turned the balance very greatly in favour of this country, and specie is imported in large quantities, instead of being sent out as formerly. The exchange notwithstanding has fallen ruinously low, and the result must be either a curtailment of our exports, or India be drained of every pice. A large native population has been thrown out of employ by our manufactures superseding theirs, so much so that the natives have lost the art of making some descriptions of goods. To the short-sighted calculator this may appear an advantage, but the nature of things is more equitable than our narrow commercial views; for, as I have before stated, a people cannot always be buyers, without you take their produce in return. Of all the Indian productions, indigo and silk, and perhaps cotton can be looked to as offering any prospect of increase. Sugar is for the present more likely to decrease, from the protecting duty. Saltpetre must fall off in a state of peace, and the demand for piece-goods is daily decreasing. Most of the other articles imported are the products of foreign India, from which they can now be imported direct. If this view of the trade be correct, does it not behove the Honourable Governors of India to encourage by every possible means its established productions, and to substitute new for those which we have driven out? It is a matter of justice as well as policy; for if we prohibit their manufactures, and allow our own to be admitted there free of duty, we are bound to furnish India with an equivalent, by every principle of honour—I might say, of gratitude: for let it be remembered that from India we derived the art of calico-printing, within the memory of many now alive. Let us not therefore destroy the nurse of our stupendous commercial prosperity, nor deny food to her that has furnished us with superabundance. Were the cultivation of tea introduced, the equivalent would be ample;* it would render us independent of the capricious Chinese, confer the blessing of profitable employment, well suited to their

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* The quantity of tea sold by the East India Company per annum is 28,000,000 lbs., for which the consumers pay, at the very lowest computation, 6*s.* 8*d.* per lb., or 9,333,333*l.* sterling. I do not think the first cost to the East India Company exceeds 1*s.* per lb., certainly not

1*s.* 3*d.* per lb, or £1,750,000

The amount of duty received by Government, say at } 2*s.* 6*d.* ... 3,500,000

750,000 for freight and charges.

6,000,000

leaving in round numbers a balance annually of three millions sterling for the East India Company, or dealers, of which the latter may get a tythe.

habits, to a redundant and impoverished population, and increase the consumption of our commodities by adding to their capability of paying for them. That the attainment of such advantages is most devoutly to be wished, no one can doubt; but I much fear that the exclusive privileges of the East India Company will step in to prevent the attempt. To establish the cultivation themselves I fear is hopeless, and to allow others to do so would injure their exclusive supply: so that here again the evils of monopoly are not only great in themselves, but a bar to all prospective improvement, and the interest of millions here and in India must be sacrificed at the shrine of the Honourable East India Company.

Your obedient Servant,

P. B. P.

EVILS OF MONOPOLY, AND BENEFITS OF COLONIZATION.

We feel indebted to our able and public-spirited Correspondent, P. B. P. for his powerful array of unanswerable facts, which are worth volumes of mere declamation. The progress of sound information on political economy, is fortunately so rapid and so general, that an advocate of monopoly will soon become as great a curiosity as an advocate of sorcery or astrology. Some of the most eminent men among our ancestors were friends of the trial by combat for the decision of guilt or innocence, and firm believers in witchcraft and the dominion of evil spirits. Some among our contemporaries—though we can hardly say the most eminent among them—have also vague notions that monopoly is not altogether without its benefits: but the disappearance of astrologers and soothsayers before the influence of increasing information on moral and physical subjects, is not more certain than will be the total abolition of all monopolies before the increasing knowledge of the great principles of commerce and government developed in the science of political economy. The writings of such men as Ricardo, Torrens, Mill, Maculloch, and Malthus, cannot but prove fatal to the antiquated notions of exclusive privileges, and seal the sure and certain destruction of all the institutions that now fetter the enterprise of England by their pernicious restrictions on free competition; so that the friends of improvement may console themselves with the assurance that such absurd anomalies as these cannot endure much longer.

If any one of the twenty-four Directors of the East India Company could give a good reason why 3000 proprietors of India Stock, among whom are a large proportion of old women and infants, should have an exclusive right to any privileges whatever, from which 15,000,000 of their fellow-subjects are excluded, we should like to hear it. But after having read all that has been written, and heard nearly all that has been said, in defence of this absurdity, we are compelled to confess that the very arguments used to prop up the delusion, have the strongest tendency to destroy it. If these 3000 proprietors possessed within themselves an exclusive enjoyment of wisdom, they might claim some right to the exclusive powers of governing a distant country, for which no other fit governors could be found: but so far is this from being the case, that we really believe it would be difficult to select 3000 individuals out of the

whole population of Great Britain, who would feel less zeal and interest in the prosperity of the country they call their own, who would do less to improve its condition themselves, or who would be more unwilling to let others do it for them. They suffer indeed men of all other lands except that of their nativity to share the benefits of the freest intercourse with their territories in the East, but carefully exclude from thence all those who have an undoubted right to at least a preference over others. But there is no end to the absurdities that arise out of such a state of things as this, and we should never come to a conclusion were we to attempt to enumerate them all. We proceed therefore to the immediate question of the writer of the letter.

The East India Company have not, as far at least as we are aware, taken any pains whatever even to try the experiment of raising tea in their own territories; nor, while their charter lasts, are they ever likely to do so. They do not want to be relieved from a dependence on China for our supply. The very caprice of the Chinese, their dread of interlopers, and the consequent difficulty of Europeans settling in their country, are favourable to the Company's peculiar views, which are to retain a monopoly of the China trade as long as they can, and to make the most of it while it lasts. There are no obstacles but those of the selfish and narrow policy of the East Indian Government to prevent the cultivation of tea, coffee, and every other tropical production in India. But as the Dutch burnt their surplus produce in spices to enhance the value of what remained, so do the English in India throw every possible obstacle in the way of increasing production there, partly to keep up the value of what they already enjoy, but still more to prevent others from participating in benefits, the chief value of which, in their eyes, is that they are confined to their exclusive possession.

The monopoly of trade in tea which they hold between China and this country, is a positive injury to millions of their fellow-subjects at home, without producing a single benefit of a public nature to balance the account. The monopoly of opium and salt, which they retain in India itself, is an injury to millions of their fellow-subjects abroad, without producing a single public benefit there, to make up for the suffering which the oppressions arising out of trade, in the latter article more particularly, have occasioned. But their monopoly of the *land* in their Indian Empire is a far greater evil than all these put together, for out of this arises nearly every other mischief of the system; and nothing but a total annihilation of this monopoly will effect a remedy. They do not, it is true, profess to hold the land for themselves; their "extreme moderation" extends only to an exaction of from five to nine tenths of its produce in different parts of the country. But they will not suffer Englishmen to purchase any portion of this land, though they cannot be ignorant of the fact, that wherever the English have settled in India, even for temporary purposes, they have benefited and improved the country around them.

Fortunately for mankind, however, they cannot altogether prevent this improvement; for as they can only prohibit their countrymen from being the instruments of good, the door is still left open to foreigners of every denomination to effect what Englishmen dare not. The cultivation of cotton is therefore carried on throughout India by Natives, Indo-Britons, and Foreigners; though often with English capital, under feigned names. The cultivation of Indigo was first commenced in Bengal by a French-

man, and can only now be carried on by Natives, Indo-Britons, or Foreigners; no Englishman being permitted to hold lands in his own name and right, though the capital for this is also furnished by English houses, on the risk which necessarily attaches to all illicit and double-dealing proceedings of this nature. The cultivation of coffee has been recently introduced by two Frenchmen, driven to Bengal by the late troubles in Manilla; and set up with British capital, advanced by the merchants of Calcutta; although none of these could hold the lands or cultivate them in their own names, without a violation of the law as it stands.

In short, this prohibition of the free settlement of Englishmen in India, and the necessity of having a license, which no foreigner requires, is the greatest curse that hangs around the fate of that afflicted country: it is a perpetual barrier to all improvement in its condition; and every step of amelioration which has yet taken place is in direct opposition to that law, and in spite of its blasting and destroying influence. The East India Company themselves have no scruple in violating the law which prohibits the importation of opium into China. They assist to smuggle it into Macao and Canton, though it effects a positive evil, by extending the consumption of a pernicious and intoxicating drug; at the same time that they punish, with the utmost rigour, persons, who attempt to violate their own law, by entering their dominions without a specific license, though for the purpose of doing positive good: and under no circumstances whatever will they permit him to purchase land and cultivate the soil, though such a step would give to all who were permitted to take it, the greatest possible interest in the improvement of the country, and the happiness of those by whom he would be surrounded.

The prospect of benefit to England herself, by the extended commerce to which the free settlement of Englishmen in India would give rise, is almost boundless; and the apathy and indifference of the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain as to this matter, to say nothing of patriots and philanthropists, is to be accounted for only by a supposition of their want of information on the subject. The independence of South America, and the consequent extension of British capital and enterprise to that quarter of the globe, while India remains unnoticed, offers matter of deep and serious consideration. We should like to see them both participators in progressive improvement. But we think it behoves the British nation, before it is too late, to direct their attention to this important subject, and do justice to the fifteen millions of individuals in Britain, and the sixty millions under our direct government in India, who are all more or less injured by the operation of restrictions that prevent a free interchange of the industry and produce of their respective countries, which never can take place so long as the East India Company's monopoly exists. Every friend of his country and of the human race, ought, therefore, to unite his efforts to promote its speedy abolition; and, until that can be effected, to lessen, by every means in their power, its pernicious and destroying influence: for which no remedy can be found at once so safe, so speedy, and so effectual as COLONIZATION, or the unlicensed settlement of Englishmen in every part of the British Empire in the East, and the placing them on an equal footing with foreigners of every other nation, who are now reaping advantages from which Englishmen alone are most absurdly and most unjustly excluded.

DESPOTIC CONDUCT OF COLONIAL GOVERNORS.

The history of the last six months appears to have been unusually fertile in instances of the most despotic conduct on the part of Colonial Governors; and we venture to hope that they will go on to commit a few more excesses, till they reach the point to which it seems they must go; before their wanton exercise of arbitrary power is deemed sufficient to call for an entire revision of the existing system by which our distant possessions are governed.

The Governors of Demerara, Jamaica, Dominica, Bermuda, Sierra Leone, Malta, the Ionian Islands, Cape of Good Hope, and Bengal, have lately furnished the Press of England with abundant materials for comment:—and were the Colonial Press, in the two latter more particularly, as free as it ought to be every where, subject only to the laws and a jury, these materials would have been far more rich and copious than they ever can be under the existing restraints. From what little does transpire, however, some faint notion may be formed of what does not; and accordingly we feel it our duty to add the following, without further comment, as another striking instance of the "fantastic tricks," which man, "dressed in a little brief authority" is sure to play, when irresponsible and discretionary power is intrusted to his exercise.

ABOLITION OF THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS IN THE ISLAND OF CEYLON.

In January last, and shortly previous to the arrival of Sir Edward Barnes, the present Governor of Ceylon, the Lieut. Governor, Sir J. Campbell, for what cause it is impossible to ascertain, sent an Officer on board the ship *Madras*, then lying in Columbo Roads, the day before she sailed for Europe, and arrested and brought on shore the surgeon, Mr. John D. Rossier, who was returning to Europe by advice, on account of his health. The ship sailed, leaving the poor surgeon behind, who applied to the Supreme Court of Judicature in Columbo for a Writ of Habeas Corpus, which was issued in the usual course, commanding the Magistrate who had arrested him to bring him before the Court, to explain the cause of his detention. At the Judge's Chambers in the Fort, on Friday, the 9th of January, appeared the sitting Magistrate, who returned that "he had not the person in his custody;" but to all the questions of the Court he declined giving any information of the custody in which the surgeon really was, further than that he was, he believed, in military custody. The Fort Constable, in whose house the prisoner was alleged to be, was then examined upon oath, and it was not until after many questions that the fact was extorted from him, that the prisoner was really in the custody of the Fort Adjutant. The Court being about to direct the writ to the Fort Adjutant, His Majesty's Advocate Fiscal appeared to oppose the direction of the writ to any military person whatsoever, relying upon a construction of a clause in the Charter; but the Learned Judge, after consulting the precedents, and particularly considering the case of Ensign Douglas, discharged from military custody,

by Sir Edm. Carrington and Mr Lushington, decided for issuing the writ. The Advocate Fiscal then desiring time to communicate with Government and to prepare a return, the Court, upon that gentleman undertaking on behalf of Government that *nothing should be done in the interval* to change the state of the case, allowed him until Monday for the purpose. In the interval, notwithstanding the undertaking of the Advocate Fiscal, it pleased Sir J. Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor (who is the sole legislator of the island), to enact the regulation which we abstract from *The Ceylon Gazette*, now before us. It is thereby declared and enacted, that " *It was*, is, and shall be lawful to any officer, civil or military, or other person in whose custody any person may be confined by the authority or order of the Governor or Lieutenant Governor, to certify a copy of such order, in return to *any process* issuing out of any Court calling on such officer to produce such person before it, which copy shall be a *sufficient return to such process without producing the body of such person*, and no further proceedings shall be had by any Court on such process touching such person."

On the Monday succeeding this extraordinary and arbitrary enactment, the case came on before Sir H. Giffard, the Chief Justice of the Island, who was, of course, controlled in his authority by the law passed in the intermediate time. We subjoin some extracts from the eloquent judgment which he pronounced on the occasion :—

" After hearing the regulation just read, the Court might be well excused in pausing before it proceeded in this case. It is obvious that we tread upon ground which ' craves wary walking,' and that caution is our best security. It behoves me that my public conduct, criticised, as it ought to be, should be most particularly guarded and circumspect, and for this reason I have reduced to writing the judgment I am about to pronounce, and that writing shall be lodged with the Registrar, who is empowered to allow copies of it to any person who shall choose to apply."

The Learned Judge then proceeds to detail the facts of the case, and thus concludes :—

" By this regulation the Court is deprived of all right of inquiring into the cause of any person being detained, whom the Governor, the Secretary, or Deputy, by his authority, may have ordered to be imprisoned—it excludes the Court from even a sight of the person so imprisoned, and its operation extends to every human being on this Island, or even on board a ship in its roads and harbours. It would ill become a Judge to make observations upon the spirit of any Act of the Legislature. I may feel that I am myself, as well as the poorest subject in this island, liable to its operation. I may feel that this regulation places Ceylon in the situation of being the only part of his Majesty's dominions in which any thing like such an enactment prevails; but I must acknowledge the power of the Governor to make such, or any other regulation whatever. Yet human power may find a limitation when it seeks to operate upon the mind, and when the regulation undertakes to declare *that* to have been the law of this island, which the Chief Justice representing the Supreme Court, which his Majesty's Advocate Fiscal, his own Law Officer, which the whole stream of precedents, and which the uniform usage of the Supreme Court declare *not* to have been the law; it is no irreverence even of his high authority, to suppose that it may fail of convincing the

understanding. It is not that such a regulation impends over me, as well as every other subject in the Island; it is not because in the possible case of a bad Governor a tremendous use might be made of its power, that I abstain from making any observations; I trust that if personal danger only were to be encountered, I should not fail in my duty; but it is because I bow to the authority of my Sovereign, thus, as I trust, temporarily exercised by his delegate, that I say, this return is supported by the regulation, that this regulation is the law of Ceylon, that we have no right to inquire why this British subject is deprived of his liberty, and that the *Court is reduced to the heart-breaking necessity of saying, that His Majesty's Writ of Habeas Corpus is of no effect.*"

EXERCISE OF THE INDIAN CENSORSHIP UNDER LORD WELLESLEY'S GOVERNMENT.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, Exeter, 19th June 1824.

A FEW days ago I happened to be in a small party of old Indians, among whom the subject of Mr. Buckingham's and Mr. Arnot's recent arbitrary banishment from India was accidentally introduced, and generally reprobated as a monstrous act of persecution, which has few parallels, even under the most despotic governments. They indeed commonly have the grace at once to chop, instead of sawing, off their victims' heads, when forfeited to the infamous caprices of men whose only law is *sic volo sic jubeo;* though even they seldom stoop to the cowardly expedient of starving, worrying, or dungeoning their miserable slaves to death, by destroying their means of living, and exposing them to infectious diseases on board a prison-ship, during a voyage protracted from four to six months, as if in hope that sickness and death might silently perform the official duty of the public executioner.

One gentleman present related the following anecdote, nearly in these words:—"When the news reached Bengal, about twenty-five years ago, that the ferocious Governor Wall had been tried, condemned, and deservedly executed at Newgate, for murder, cruelty, extortion, and various other crimes, while formerly in command on the African coast, I inserted the whole transaction at full length in a Calcutta Newspaper, which was at that period under my management as sole editor; and although Cobbett, in those days, reprobated all the proceedings on the part both of the *ministers and people*, in the most vituperative language, for bringing Wall to condign punishment after a lapse of twenty years, I deemed it my duty to defend *their conduct,* and to condemn Cobbett's exculpation of the wretch, as servile and aristocratic in the extreme. From the present altered sentiments of that well-known writer, it may be fairly inferred, that he would think and write very differently were another Wall, stained with the innocent blood of his fellow-creatures, to come in his way. But to revert to what happened to my lucubrations on this theme, under the sway of the Marquess Wellesley, by whose censor of the press a pen was instantly drawn through two long columns of a newspaper which was to be published within a few hours

after such prohibition. Had we not been always provided against these *censorial* accidents, very unseemly gaps must have disfigured most of our numbers, for it was almost impossible to guess *à priori* what would or would not give offence at head quarters. On the occasion in question, the remarks went simply to congratulate Englishmen on their invaluable birthrights, and constant access to the laws of the land, from the justice of which, neither distance of time nor space, nor difference in rank, would seclude any individual who could prove that he had ever been illegally injured in life, limb, liberty, character or purse, however exalted *pro tempore* his persecutor might have been. Not a word here was intended to apply or give the least offence to the noble Marquess, who, for any thing I yet know, was as ignorant as the man in the moon of the offensive passages in the eyes of his secretary, and the summary extinctions to which they were doomed, lest their appearance might by possibility give a moment's pain to a person in power, which he had no desire to abuse, being no petty tyrant whose fortune was to be screwed out of a regiment of miserables under his thumb, unless he seemed so, to a certain extent, in the eyes of his most confidential subordinates. I always understood that they had no written instructions or rules to guide their anathemas against the press, and that their situations in this respect were truly irksome, because they durst not disturb his lordship's other engagements in cases where they would probably have hesitated to expunge particular parts of any Journal."

If the above facts can be of any use, they are at your service; and I remain, Sir, your very obedient servant,

VIATOR.

ON PURCHASED LOVE.

[*From the Greek of Anacreon.*]

The yoke of Love 's a heavy curse,
Yet not to love at all, is worse,
But to be held in passion's thrall,
And burn unpitied, 's worst of all.
Birth is naught in Eros' train,
Wisdom, Genius sigh in vain;
The Loves, to song as deaf as stone,
Are moved by shining gold alone.

Perish he who first began
To ope this source of grief to man,
This buying love; for now no more
Are brothers friendly as before;
And through the same dire cause the sire
Oft views the son with quenchless ire;
Hence war and furious slaughter rise,
Hence virgin's wails and widow's sighs;
And worse, if worse our thoughts can frame,
Hence lovers perish with their flame.

HISTORY OF A DAY AT THE INDIA HOUSE.

We would recommend all those who have the slightest portion of respect for the East India Company as a body, and for the public character of its Directors, never to be present at what is called a "General Court" of their Proprietors. However powerful the charm in which ignorance holds one half of mankind in respect and veneration towards the other, we believe that a visit to the India House on such an occasion would entirely dissipate it, and completely fulfil the end and purpose of that more extended experience which was meant to be recommended by a father who said to his son—"Go forth, my child, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed."

It was our fate—we will not say misfortune, as it was not wholly uninstructive—to be, for the first time, at the General Court of Proprietors, held on Wednesday last, for the despatch of various matters connected with the public business of the East India Company. By a previous requisition, the Court had been made special, to take into its consideration the state of the Public Press in India, and the recent proceedings arising out of the laws made for restraining its freedom. It was therefore believed, that the ordinary business of the General Court would occupy only the usual space of an hour or two, and that the particular subject, for the discussion of which the Court was made special, would be entered on at an early hour after the period of assembling. The question being one of acknowledged public interest, had occasioned the Court to be well filled, and the gallery to be crowded. The Directors appeared in all their strength behind the bar; and Ex-members of Council, Generals, Presidents of Boards, Secretaries, and Members of Parliament mingled indiscriminately in the body of the Court before them.

The business of the day was opened by the Chairman of the Directors, as will be found in the report of the Debate. The *manner* in which this was conducted, was far more instructive, however, than the *matter*. Even of the last, we doubt whether any or all of the reporters combined could, if it were desirable, give a faithful transcript; but of the first, no pen could convey the least idea; and no pencil, save that of Hogarth or Cruikshank, would be worthy to embody the "dignity" of the scene, and give its "airy nothings" a local habitation and a name. We doubt, indeed, whether the most disorderly and boisterous palaver that was ever held in the market-place of Timbuctoo, could have evinced such an utter disregard of all order, decorum, and self-respect, as was exhibited in this assembly at the India House; to say nothing of the offences offered in it to decency, to logic, and to common sense, which, while they roused the honest indignation of a few, drew smiles and laughter, as the most appropriate answers that could be offered to charges of injustice, trick, and quibble of the most contemptible description, from the many.—But we will not anticipate.——

The first question of importance which occupied the attention of the Court, was that of a proposed increase of salary to certain Commissioners, who being already in receipt of 1500*l.* a year, for devoting *all* their time to the adjustment of the Carnatic debts, were now to have 300*l.* a year in addition, for devoting their *leisure* to the adjustment of

certain Tanjore claims. The folly that was exhibited in the discussion of this plain question is not to be conceived by those who had not an opportunity of hearing it. It was asked, if they were paid for full employment on the Carnatic debt, and their labours in that had diminished, why were not their salaries reduced? It was inquired, if their labours on that had not diminished, how they could find time for another undertaking? And it was doubted, whether, if any other body were to offer them 300*l.* a year, for undertaking something else beyond both the Carnatic and the Tanjore business, they would be permitted to accept it? To all these plain questions, the only answers that were given, were these:—That the Commissioners were paid for full employment; but that they now had some leisure; and being men of high character and unimpeachable integrity, they would not, of course, receive this additional salary unless they were satisfied that they had leisure enough left out of that time, for the full employment of which they were paid 1500*l.* a year, to undertake a new duty, and fully deserve, by employing their idle hours in its despatch, the additional sum offered to them!—*This is a specimen of India-House logic.*

The question of reducing the interest on India Bonds was next touched on, and in this some new and singular views of Political Economy were developed by the several speakers. The issuers of the bonds were told that, as they were at a high premium, it was clear their credit was good, and that they might procure money at a less rate of interest than they were now paying, which, as a commercial body, it was their duty to do. The reply to this was, that it was cruel to reduce the property of annuitants; that it had a tendency to drive men from the country; and that it was the province of the East India Company to take care that its measures did not produce this serious evil. Alas! to what purpose does Mr. Malthus hold his Professorship of Political Economy, when such notions as these can be entertained by a body, the younger servants of which he is paid to instruct, while their masters stand so much more in need of his aid. The emigration of a surplus population—and more particularly of the unproductive classes—can be no great evil: but the blindness, which could not perceive that money, like every other commodity, must find its own level, and that every species of investment in funds, where the stock is abundant, and the security equal, is brought by premium, discount, and the variation of cost price above or below par, to nearly the same value, is not a little surprising, at this time of day. The affectation of feeling and humanity on the part of a body, whose very existence is built on pure selfishness and the illiberal exclusion of others from the common enjoyment of that which should be open to all men, but more especially to their own countrymen at least, excites one's pity as well as distrust. Before they deplore the probability of men being induced voluntarily to quit a country that will not yield them a subsistence, it would be well to alter the law which enforces the certain and unwilling deportation of men from a country in which they *can* find support, and from whence to tear them by violence, is a cruelty which they have it in their power to prevent. Before they object, from pretended tenderness, to a reduction of one per cent. on the property of men who would scarcely feel this slight diminution of their income at home, they should alter the law by which the whole of a man's wealth, and every prospect left to him of subsistence, may be annihilated for ever by the nod of one of their despots abroad. Before they deprecate,

as an evil, the economical management of their own affairs, lest some dozen of annuitants in England might suffer, they should remove the restrictions on the free investment of capital in the soil of India, by which thousands of their own creditors, and millions beside who feel the evil of these restrictions, are hourly sufferers, to an extent altogether unknown at home.—*This is a specimen of India-House humanity!*

The production of papers requisite to obtain a correct opinion of the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, in India, was the next subject entered on. An honorable Proprietor expressed his surprise that a letter, understood to have been written by the Marquess of Hastings himself, as a Summary of the acts of his government in India, and therefore of the highest importance in his view of the case, was not to be found in the list of papers produced; and here the character of the Court was displayed in its true colours. The equity of the demand for this paper—the merits of the question to which it related—and the abstract justice of the claim—were altogether lost sight of, and sacrificed to one of the most paltry and contemptible quibbles that ever occupied the attention of any civilized assembly. The Chairman did not question the authenticity of the document; he even admitted that it had been received by the Directors, read to them, and excited their comment; but though still in their possession, it was not a *recorded* document. Such an answer was little calculated to satisfy any individual, except perhaps the person who could venture to make it:—but it was afterwards admitted that the Court had differed much in opinion on this point, and that though recorded, it was not an *official* paper; because the Marquess of Hastings had resigned his office before it was written, and they were neither bound to receive, answer, acknowledge, nor produce any document that was not official, or coming from persons actually holding office under them at the time of such document being written!—After being driven from this untenable position by a recital of the fact that they had received, acknowledged, and produced letters from Sir William Rumbold, who never held office under them, bearing on this very question, it was at length confessed that the real reason for withholding Lord Hastings's defence was this:—In contrasting the state in which he left India, with the state in which he found it, by which alone a just estimate could be formed of the beneficial changes produced by his administration, he had depicted the condition of India at the time of his taking office (no one pretended to say unjustly) in such colours, as could not but be painful to the friends and relatives of certain Governors General who preceded him; so that, in truth, with a view to spare their feelings, they had recommended the suppression of a statement indispensable to the vindication of his injured honour, and essential to the establishment of his rights, his fame, and his fair claims to gratitude and remuneration.—*This is a specimen of India-House justice.*

In the course of this contest, for it would be unjust to dignify it with the name of a debate, were exhibited some of the most extraordinary instances of self-sufficiency, heartlessness, and insensibility to right and wrong, that were perhaps ever witnessed in any assembly calling themselves men and Senators. The "Collective Wisdom" was so entirely at fault, as to afford an apt and conclusive illustration of the well-known passage—"If a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand." The Chairman contended that the letter of Lord Hastings was

not a recorded document. Several of the Directors insisted that it was. The Chairman said it was not produced because it was not official. A Proprietor read the requisition, in which the word official was not to be found. The men of business said it was of no importance whether it was recorded or official, or neither the one nor the other; it was enough for them that it was acknowledged to exist, and to be authentic, to require its being produced. The law advisers were recommended to be referred to; but their opinion was not asked. Members on the right of the Court rose to say a few words;—the Chairman rapped the table before him with a wooden hammer to command attention;—an impatient speaker on the left rose to call to order;—a zealous disciplinarian in the centre wished to point out a departure from form;—an ungovernable and untameable orator appeared on the upper benches to launch forth the thunders of his vociferation, and the lightning of his incomprehensible wit, which he hurled without mercy on the ears of those below;—a grave and portentous voice on the right attempted to oppose its mediation;—another on the left deprecated this total disregard of order and decorum;—loud laughter echoed from within the bar, and noise and clamour prevailed without, till a short interval of order was restored, and at length gave way again to chaos and confusion.

It will hardly be believed that nearly seven long and weary hours were wasted in this interminable interchange of affirmation and denial, of calling to order, and violating it, of trick, quibble, and imbecility, for which, we venture to affirm, no parallel could be found within the walls of any other edifice in existence. The French debates, during the periods of the revolution, were sometimes stormy; those of our own House of Commons are often heated and personal; and the meetings of Spafields and Manchester were marked by violence and clamour;—but it seems reserved for the "exclusive privilege" of the mode of proceeding at the India House to be at once disorderly and inconclusive, undignified and ridiculous. We give this as our deliberate opinion, after a comparison with every other description of public assembly that we have witnessed. The war councils of the American Indians are marked by displays of noble eloquence and feeling: the musterings of the Desert Arabs exhibit magnanimity, self-respect, and firmness of purpose: the gathering of feudal clans is accompanied with earnestness and attention to the object of assembling: and even the palavers of the untutored Africans evince at least some respect to the justice of the claims discussed in their proceedings:—but in this General Court of Proprietors at which we had the fate to be present, we confess that among the majority of those who composed it, there appeared to us to be an almost total absence of those characteristics which ought to denote a dignified, impartial, and business-like assembly of men, met together for the discussion of serious and important business.

And yet, in this very assembly, one of the leading members took offence at a supposed imputation of "ignorance," and "incompetence," and talked with a grave face and every other indication of really meaning what he said, of the good government of India!—of that being the work of the body to which he belonged!!—and of the insolence of thus bearding these exclusive possessors of so much virtue and wisdom, in their own seats, by supposing any of them capable of coming to an "ignorant conclusion"!!! We had hitherto considered that the Grand Lama of Thibet, and His Holiness of Rome, were the only personages now remaining or

earth who claimed infallibility; but it seems that even to *suppose* a Director of the East India Company capable of coming to an ignorant conclusion, is *bearding** the Infallibles in a manner little short of absolute impiety!

When superior fitness for the duties of government shall be the real ground on which every East India Director obtains his votes for office; when these Directors really and truly govern India, instead of their servants abroad; and lastly, when India shall be well governed through their wisdom and integrity;—it may then be thought presumptive evidence of a man not being altogether destitute of common sense, to say he is an India Director. But, because a man obtains his seat through an influence which would bring the very door-keeper of the House into the same situation, if he had the same wealth and connexions to command it, and without the slightest test whatever of superior fitness for the duties of his office—it is not a little amusing to see a merely hypothetical supposition of a conclusion being made through ignorance, branded with epithets by which the Mogul himself, in the plenitude of his power, would hardly characterize a mere difference of opinion, unless indeed he were under the influence of rage, and blinded by ungovernable passion.—*This is a specimen of India-House humility.*

One honourable Proprietor proposed, that in producing the summary of Lord Hastings's administration, the Directors should be required to accompany it with their collective or individual opinions, as they thought best; and supported his suggestion by contending that it was their undoubted duty, as servants of the Proprietors, and ministers of their affairs, to go into its merits, to examine its details, and to pronounce their decided opinions thereon. That this was their duty is undeniable:—but whether they could execute it without dissolving the charm which mystery always possesses in the eyes of the distant and uninitiated, is another question. We regret, exceedingly, that this excellent proposition was overruled; for nothing could be more acceptable to those who desire to see men in their true and genuine colours, than such a summary, accompanied by the separate comments of the twenty-four Sages who would sit in judgment on its contents. And if, as one of their own body contended, they were above the imputation of ignorance;—if they were actually in possession of sufficient talent to enable them to do, what no other men could certainly effect, to govern a country with which no communication in writing and reply can be had in less than twelve months, and, in official matters, often occupying several years, and to govern it *well*;—there could have been no finer opportunity presented them than this, for displaying those talents to the admiring world. The field would have been ample, though differences of opinion did exist; for each, no doubt, considered his own the best. The opportunity presented itself, and was even pressed on their attention; but while some repelled the charge of ignorance, and others professed their entire readiness to furnish every species of information that could elucidate this important history of the Government of India, during Lord Hastings's rule, not one among them all was found ready to signify his willingness to accompany the Summary

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* The expression is familiar to our Indian readers. They will remember it in the memorable "argument" on the New Laws for the Press, delivered from the Calcutta Bench, 1823.

in question with the observations required.—*This is a specimen of India-House sincerity.*

After this was disposed of, some remarks were made on the studied omission of all papers illustrative of the Military Administration of the Marquess of Hastings; particularly when it was considered that the interests and state of the army were subjects of such importance, and so essential to the forming a proper estimate of a Government, in a great degree military. Something more of candour than was at first displayed having been elicited by the successive dilemmas into which the want of that homely virtue had thrown several of the Directors, it was confessed that this omission was studied, and the reason assigned for this omission was, that it was not considered *prudent* to make public any of their military affairs! This admission involves a variety of important considerations, not easily to be disposed of in the same brief manner as was the question which drew it forth. To say nothing of the unfavourable inferences that must be drawn from unwillingness to produce papers on every subject, when the object is an inquiry into the actual state and condition of a distant, and as the parties themselves say, a well-governed empire; there is this remarkable difficulty: A series of papers are called for to illustrate the character of a certain Governor General's Administration; some of these are produced, with a pledge, that if the mover and seconder, supported by any two of Lord Hastings's friends, desire any others (without excepting any class) to be added, they shall be given. The applying parties are of opinion, that the greatest merit of Lord Hastings's Administration lay in his zealous and happy efforts to improve the condition of the Indian Army, and in his brilliant and successful military career; and they discover with surprise that not a line on this subject is to be found in the evidence produced to the Court as materials on which they are to form their judgment. They ask for their production; and they are coolly and deliberately told, that it is not thought prudent to give them! So then, after all, though the Directors offer to produce whatever may be required, they reserve to themselves the right to withhold any thing they please, upon the ground of its being imprudent or inexpedient to let it see the light.—*This is a specimen of India-House consistency.*

Amidst this endless maze of contradiction, subterfuge, clamour, and confusion, which occupied a grave assembly of self-named legislators, who knew not even the laws by which they should themselves be governed, while they affected to legislate for others, it is surprising that it should not have occurred to any one of the "Elect" to condense the whole of this question, which occupied them nearly seven hours in debating, into something like the following form:—

Lord Hastings has either done his duty during his Administration in India; or he has not.

Those who really believe that he did his duty, must consider that opinion to be borne out by the evidence; and ought, therefore, to vote for the production of every paper that might be asked for, excepting only such as were clearly irrelevant to the subject, which, however, were not likely to be even required.

Those who really believe that Lord Hastings did not do his duty, must be equally convinced that their view of the question would be supported

by evidence; and ought, therefore, to vote for the production of all relevant papers also.

Though the particular motives would differ, yet the general end being the same, namely, to elicit the truth, all parties would thus be unanimous in their willingness to produce every thing that could illustrate the subject, if their purpose were honest.

But if there should be some determined to praise, and others to blame Lord Hastings, each at the expense of truth, they would demand the production of some papers, and resist the production of others, as they might suppose them to bear on their particular views of the question; and these alone would be among the advocates of partial disclosure; while the honest searchers after impartial justice, wherever its light might lead them, might be known by this one infallible test—they would object to no disclosure; they would have "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth:" and by that alone would they form their decision.

It is not, however, the fashion to condense the essence of questions into so small a compass at the India House; and laughter and vociferation seem to be so much more in request than calm and close reasoning, that an argument is less likely to be heard than a stupid joke or an ill-placed story, particularly if accompanied with due extravagance of voice and manner. These seem more suited to the calibre of the hearers and are so sure to "find favour in their eyes," that it is not matter of wonder, though it may be of regret, that they are so much more prevalent.

Proceed we to the termination of this miserable farce, of which it may be truly said that the

> Last scene of all,
> Which ends this strange eventful history,
> Is second childishness, and mere oblivion.

The follies of the day (and they were neither few nor inconsiderable) were as nothing compared with the "crowning mockery" by which the memorable scene was terminated. While the motion of an honourable Proprietor was before the Court, for the production of certain military papers, relating to Lord Hastings's administration, the assembly being then diminished in numbers, and the hour past seven o'clock, a conversation arose, as to the propriety of adjourning the meeting, to which general assent being apparently given, an amendment to that effect was made in these words; "That this Court do now adjourn." It was seconded and about to be put to the vote, when the honourable Proprietor, whose motion had been thus interrupted, reminded the mover that no day had been named, and begged to name the Wednesday following. This was objected to by the Chairman, as inconvenient. Intimation was given that any other day which might suit the convenience of the Court would do, but it was desirable that it should be named before separating, as the principal business for which it had been made special, had not been even touched on. It was at last confessed that all days were equally inconvenient, and that none would be named:—and it was persisted in, that this amendment for general and indefinite adjournment should be put in its present form. The seconder of the amendment declared his intention to have been to vote for adjournment to some fixed day, and added that it was in the belief of the amendment being so framed that he seconded it. The Chairman refused to admit this as a reason for waiving it. The honourable Proprietor who put the original

motion, asked leave of the Court to withdraw it, a request never before known to be refused. The Chairman said that this could not be permitted but by the unanimous consent of the Court; and to prevent all hope of that unanimity, *he* would not consent to its withdrawal. The advocates for indefinite adjournment were asked to state a reason why Wednesday next would not be convenient, but no satisfactory answer was given, and we believe none really existed, except that all Courts in which their conduct was thus exposed must be extremely inconvenient, and no doubt worth some struggle to protract and delay. On this the eloquent mover, in a strain of indignation, asked if they, the Directors, the servants of the Proprietors at large, were to have *their* convenience consulted, at the sacrifice of rights and duties so important as those involved in the great questions still waiting to be discussed, and if the claims of justice were to be thus trifled with and delayed, by a paltry trick scarcely worthy of children, and altogether beneath the dignity of men of business? To this, the only answers offered were sagacious shrugs of the shoulders, and sarcastic smiles,—a fit return from these Infallibles, who cannot even be supposed to be subject to occasional ignorance, the common lot of man, without exciting their high and mighty displeasure.—*This is a specimen of India-House incivility and arrogance.*

It may be well to state, that these servants of the Proprietors of East India Stock, previous to their obtaining their seats as Directors, advertise in the principal newspapers in the kingdom, in terms of the greatest humility, professing themselves zealously determined to perform their duty to all the ladies and gentlemen, whose votes they earnestly and humbly solicit;—that they make the tour of London at least, and sometimes of England at large, to solicit these votes, for which they pay personal visits to individuals of all classes, in order to solicit their patronage and support;—that in attending the India House among the Proprietors on days of ballot, they alone, of all the body, stand uncovered, in token of their humility and deference to those by whose votes they hope to obtain their seats in the Direction. In short, the three years probation of a candidate, is such as some men would not go through to be made a monarch; and yet, when seated in their places, some of them at least, and probably those who were most obsequious in their pilgrimage to this honour, turn round upon those by whose very aid they have been fixed there, and treat them with heartless smiles, and inward indifference and scorn. It should be added, that while Directors, they have each 300*l.* a year salary; the Chairman and Deputy, 500*l.* each; refreshments at the India House daily, cost free; a sumptuous dinner and wines at the Proprietors' expense, at the City of London Tavern, on every Court-day; besides all the patronage attached to their situations; without the necessity of proving themselves in any degree qualified for the due performance of the duties they undertake. The return they make for all this, is to tell those who come to their Court to make inquiry into matters of the deepest interest to the country they profess to govern, that it does not suit their convenience to go on holding Courts for such purposes from day to day, and that therefore they do their best to protract them.—*This is a specimen of India-House gratitude and conscientiousness.*

After seven weary hours, expended in a meeting "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing," this question of indefinite adjournment was at length put; and of the forty members who were then left, twenty were

for, and twenty against it; the division among the Directors, to the honour of the minority, being nearly as great as among the Proprietors themselves: when, notwithstanding the votes of six or seven of the House-clerks being added to the Chairman's adherents, and an ineffectual attempt to introduce two others through a side door, *after* the Court was counted, the chairman was obliged to exercise his privilege of giving the casting vote, in order to adjourn the question indefinitely. If any good purpose, or even a wicked one, were to be obtained by such a step as this, the folly of it would not be so apparent; but no end whatever is gained, save the delay of a very few days. Any nine Proprietors can compel the Directors to summon another Court; and this requisition has been made. The difference to the Company is, that by the first mode, of naming a particular day, time, trouble, and expense, might have been all saved; by the mode chosen, some time is lost, some trouble is given, and considerable expense is incurred, by the necessary cost of advertising this requisition in all the public papers till the day of meeting.—*This is a specimen of India-House accommodation and economy.*

We have enumerated only such of the virtues of this illustrious and honourable body as fell within our observation during a single day; and this has been so fertile that we doubt not we shall discover more as we improve in the intimacy of our acquaintance. If we could have anticipated the impressions with which we left the Court, we should certainly never have entered it: for there is a limit to which it is not agreeable to descend in one's opinion of any body or institution supported by persons of whom one has endeavoured at least to think well. But having once entered, the spell is broken, and for us at least, there might be placed over the door, a version of the line of Dante, which forbids to those who pass a certain threshold, all hope of return, to that state at least in which they entered. We must therefore end as we began, by entreating those who desire to think favourably of the proceedings which take place within the walls of the India House, never to venture within their precincts, but be content to read the reports of the debates in the papers of the day, where the substance of what is worth relating is tolerably well extricated from the mass of incoherence and confusion in which it is lost to all but the reporters, whose written notes supply the place of memory. For ourselves, we must repeat, that though we have witnessed almost every description of public assembly in civilized, savage, and semi-barbarous life, we do not remember any one among them all so truly destitute of every quality that ought to mark a deliberative council, convened to hear and determine matters of the highest moment to society at large, as this General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock. Strange as it before seemed to us, that so much imbecility and absurdity should characterize the system of government by which our Indian possessions are ruled, we can henceforth wonder at nothing that proceeds from the "Collective Wisdom" which is regarded as the source of all it measures; and if we have conveyed a tolerably faithful picture of the scene to others, without imputing corrupt or malicious motives to those whom we believe to be at least as liable to ignorance, folly, and even obstinate perseverance in error as other men, we shall not have passed "a day at the India House" in vain.

CORRECTION OF SOME ERRONEOUS STATEMENTS MADE BY MR. CANNING AND MR. WYNNE IN PARLIAMENT.

To the Right Honourable George Canning.

SIR,

In the debate which took place on Thursday last in the House of Commons, on the Treaty with the Netherlands Government, I observe that you are reported to have stated, that the East India Company had given to the Spice Planters at Bencoolen the *ground* on which their plantations were formed, the *plants*, and the money to carry them on. Now, I beg, leave to state, Sir, that all these *three* positions are incorrect. So far from the Company having *land to give away*, they were themselves obliged to purchase the land on which *their own* spice plantations were formed, from the chiefs whose property it was; and individuals obtained *their* lands from the same source, and in the same manner, viz. by paying for them out of their own pockets, without, in any one instance, having received on that account the smallest pecuniary assistance from the East India Company.

With regard to the Company having furnished the plants, it is true that in the first instance they did so, in furtherance of the great national object in view; but they have ceased to do so for upwards of 17 years, during which period considerable new plantations have been formed, and the planters have invariably purchased seedlings at a very high rate from each other.

As to the other assertion, that the money was furnished by the Company, to enable the planters to carry on their operations, the accounts of the Bencoolen Presidency will show that the only *solitary instance* in which such aid was given to a *single* individual, was that of Mr. James Bogle, a very extensive planter, who, in consequence of the *anxious desire* of Government to introduce into that settlement the culture of *coffee, to rival the Dutch at Java*, expended very large sums in his attempts to effect that object, but having completely failed, and his affairs being involved, the Company made a loan to him, which was subsequently fully repaid with *interest*, at the rate of 8 *per cent.* per annum.

I shall hereafter address you on the subject of the Treaty concluded in March last with the Dutch, my object at the present moment being merely to correct an error into which you have fallen, owing probably to the mistatements made to you by others.

MERCATOR.

18*th June*, 1824.

P.S.—Mr. Wynne is reported to have said, that Bencoolen was *twice* taken during the last war; it may be right, therefore, to mention, that it *never was once* taken during the war, although it certainly was captured half a century ago by the French, but the natives soon drove them from their shores.

LITERARY REPORT.

Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, with Comparative Remarks on the Ancient and Modern Geography of that Country. By William Martin Leake, F. R. S. &c. Accompanied by a Map. 8vo. pp. 362.

To those whose expectations, in opening a volume of Travels, rise no higher than the gratification of the moment, it is but fair to say, that if, in any of their listless fits, they should ever happen, in the absence of other means of passing their time, to dip into the present volume, they will find themselves extremely disappointed; for the relation of a series of surprising incidents and adventures, and the description of novel and singular manners and customs, form no part of the plan of its learned author. But to the geographer, the historian, the scholar, and the man of science, the name of Colonel Leake is a sufficient guarantee that it contains a rich store of learned research and critical labour, and it can scarcely be necessary to assure them that they will find in it an extremely successful attempt to elucidate the geography of a country, the details of which, whether derived from ancient or modern sources, are, with few exceptions, singularly obscure and contradictory. That a country, connected in the minds of all with some of the grandest and most sublime recollections in history, both sacred and profane—the scene of the exploits of Hector and Achilles, and of some of the most striking events in the mission of St. Paul, should have been so imperfectly scrutinized by the inquiring spirit of modern times, is indeed surprising; but such is the fact. "Nothing," says our author, "can more strongly show the little progress that has hitherto been made in the knowledge of the ancient geography of Asia Minor, than that, of the cities which the journey of St. Paul has made so interesting to us, the site of one only (Iconium) is yet certainly known. Perga, Antioch of Pisidia, Lystra, and Derbe, remain to be discovered." And it is well known, that for the last 2000 years a controversy has subsisted among geographers, relative to the position occupied by the Homeric Ilium itself, which can hardly yet be considered as finally settled, although it must be confessed that Colonel Leake has in the present volume brought forward a great many powerful arguments in support of the generally received opinion on the subject. The causes of this lamentable ignorance on a question of geography so highly interesting, are to be found in the degraded and semi-barbarous condition of the inhabitants of this fine portion of the Ottoman Empire, and in the unsettled state of the country, a considerable part of which is almost always involved in rebellion. The obstacles thus opposed to the European traveller, have of late years become almost insurmountable, and the geographer is consequently compelled to restrict himself to a comparison of the routes of former travellers, and of the data which they have been enabled to collect. The present volume contains the Journal of a Tour from Constantinople to the Island of Cyprus, through the central part of Asia Minor, undertaken by Colonel Leake in the year 1800, in company with General Koehler, Sir Richard Fletcher, Archdeacon Carlyle, and Mr. Pink; together with General Koehler's route on his return from Cyprus to Shughut, by a different road. Both of these routes, which were originally published in Walpole's Collection of Memoirs on Greece and Asia Minor, are illustrated by minute and copious inquiries into the ancient and modern geography of the part of the country through which they passed, by means of which the sites of many ancient places have been definitively fixed with the greatest accuracy, and the probable position of many others deduced from a critical comparison of the various authors, ancient and modern, who have written on the subject. This comparative inquiry has in the present publication been extended by the author over the whole surface of Asia Minor, and with the same successful result; and a comparison of the excellent map which accompanies it, with those of all previous geographers, will sufficiently evince the great obligations which geography owes to his labours. Capt. Beaufort's valuable Survey of the Coast of Karamania, Capt. Gauttier's Chart of the Black Sea, Major Rennel's excellent Illustrations of Xenophon's Route of Cyrus, and the Travels of Paul Lucas, Pococke, Choiseul-Gouffier, Kinneir, and others, had indeed done much to illustrate particular parts of this intricate subject; but it was reserved for our author to condense into one volume, and to exhibit at one view, all the existing information upon Asia Minor, and to add to that previous information a vast body of entirely new and highly important matter. It is obviously impossible, consistently with the limits of a notice like the present, to enter into an examination of the facts and inferences contained in such a volume, we must, therefore, content ourselves with

again declaring our opinion of the merits of the work. It is every way worthy of the high reputation of its author, and imperatively claims a place in the libraries of all who are in any degree interested in antiquarian, geographical, or historical researches.

The Private Journal of Captain G. F. Lyon, of H. M. S. Hecla, during the recent Voyage of Discovery under Captain Parry. 8vo. pp. 468. With seven Plates.

The hardy spirit which has directed our adventurous countrymen through their tedious peregrinations, in search of a passage round the northern coast of America, is equally honourable to the country which gave them birth, and to the individuals who have thus proved themselves her worthy sons. Imprisoned for many months together in the trackless regions of the north, where never European foot had trodden before them, cut off from all civilized society, and deprived for many weeks even of the light of the sun, they have persevered in the task assigned to them with unabated vigour; and if occasionally their hopes have flagged, their spirits sunk under the dreary desolation which surrounded them, and their thoughts reverted towards home, and those endeared connexions which they had left behind them, their energies have acquired a renovated strength from the recollection of the discoveries which were expected from them, and of the intense interest with which their proceedings were regarded. Aware that this interest would be extended, on their return to their native land, to even the most minute circumstance connected with their perilous enterprise, they were anxious to repay by every possible exertion the general good wishes which they felt were directed towards them; and they have fully succeeded in satisfying the public that nothing on their parts was wanting to the success of the expedition. The same feeling also induced several of the gentlemen to record in their private Journals, for the amusement of their friends, such circumstances as either related more particularly to themselves, or might be deemed too unimportant to find a place in the official account; and to this we are indebted for the present very entertaining volume of Captain Lyon, already well known to the public by his interesting travels in a very opposite clime, the interior of Africa.

Avoiding as far as possible the dryness of those technical details, which are so frequently devoid of interest to the general reader, Captain Lyon has collected in his Private Journal a great variety of acceptable information, with which his observations has furnished him. The customs of the various tribes of Esquimaux, form one of the most striking features of the work, and possess strong claims on our curiosity. Wandering through regions of almost perpetual ice, and deprived annually for weeks together of the cheering influence of the sun, these singular beings may almost be regarded as inhabitants of another world, and every thing relating to them is invested with a peculiar interest. Their continual gaiety and good humour form a striking contrast to the desolate regions in which they dwell, and appear, by an admirable provision of the Creator of the universe, to be abundantly furnished to them as a counterpoise to the dreariness of the climate which they are destined to inhabit. So addicted are they in general to barter their commodities against the various articles of iron manufactured in more civilized regions, that in three several instances, unless our travellers were much deceived, children of from three to four years of age were offered in exchange for a knife; and a singular custom was observed in these commercial transactions, a bargain never being regarded as complete until the article received in exchange had been repeatedly licked with the tongue. This ceremony was universally made use of, whether the object of it was merely a bead, or whether, to the great terror of the voyagers, the tongues even of children were repeatedly carried along a razor, while gifts were constantly exempted from it. In the tribes which were first met with, a great propensity to begging, and no little disposition to stealing, were prominent characteristics; accomplishments which may possibly have been acquired from their greater proximity to civilized society, as the more remote families were found totally exempt from them. The scrupulous honesty, indeed, of the tribe who wintered in the neighbourhood of the vessels, off Winter Island, was most admirable; not even the dirt heap being searched for such invaluable rarities as broken glass, &c. without permission previously requested and obtained from the commanders of the ships. This latter party were also distinguished from those formerly met with, by the immense size of the boots of the females, which were applied to all the purposes of the pocket or reticule, being amply capacious enough to answer the purposes of each of these appendages of female dress. Some idea may be formed of their vast extent from the detection of a female in the attempt to hide in one of her boots a block 13 inches square. The women are described as very modest,—although the influence of a red coat was remarkable even in these distant regions, and such was the extasy of delight which was exhibited when the marines were first seen in their unform, that Capt. L. himself shone with diminished beams, until, making a decided struggle for precedency, he mounted a flashy

coat lined with yellow baize, which had once decorated the gallant "Major Sturgeon," and thus regained the elevation from which he had so nearly been excluded. Of the exceeding gluttony which is observed among the Esquimaux, numerous details are given, some of which are not a little disgusting. We cannot venture on giving even a list of their delicacies, such as yellow soap, candles, &c. and must totally abstain from any description of their elegant mode of cooking, and their no less exquisite manner of devouring their provisions.

Of the time during which the expedition was absent from England, no less than five hundred and seventy-seven days were devoted to total inactivity, the ships having been frozen up in the ice for two hundred and sixty-seven days during the first winter, and three hundred and ten in the second. Every arrangement was made on these occcasions, which could contribute to the general comfort and health, and such amusements as could be obtained were eagerly sought after to diminish the tediousness and monotony of their forced sojourn. The theatrical wardrobe, which had been purchased by a subscription among the officers previously to leaving England, was brought into requisition, and plays were regularly performed every fortnight by a shivering set of actors to a great-coated, yet very cold audience. The sailors also applied for permission to open an evening school, which was readily granted to them, and assisted much in passing away some part of the time which would otherwise have appeared extremely tedious. Occasional hunting, shooting, and walking, also contributed to diversify the scene, and to these amusements was added, during the second winter, that of sledge driving, in which the travellers soon became very expert; while their frequent communication with the Esquimaux, and their visits to the snow hut villages, furnished a constant resource to the idler.

The effects of the cold were but little experienced during the first winter by Capt. Lyon, although so lately an inhabitant of the most heated regions of the earth. Yet so intense was the degree of cold, that on one occasion, during an excursion inland, it was utterly insufferable under the tents, and the party were compelled to dig for themselves a cave in the ice, which afforded them the warmest dwelling they could procure, and in which they passed the night at a temperature of only 15° below the freezing point!

From the popular nature of the contents of this volume, we readily anticipate for it a favourable reception; yet we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that the talent and perseverance which our Government has thus employed should still continue to be devoted to a service so rigorous in its duties, and so unsatisfactory in its results. We should, indeed, rejoice were we to see them applied to any purpose likely to afford additional facilities to navigation, or increased activity to commerce, but it is really disheartening to witness year after year the useless expenditure of the best energies of man, in a fruitless research after a passage, which either does not exist, or which, if discovered, could never be rendered available to any purpose of general utility.

Some Account of the present State of the English Settlers in Albany, South Africa. By Thomas Pringle. 12mo. pp. 125.

The frequent repetitions which have been laid before the public, through almost every channel, of the melancholy tale of the emigrants to Albany, as the new settlement in Southern Africa has been termed, have rendered every one familiar with its distressing details. Induced by the express sanction and recommendation of the Government to quit their native soil for a far distant shore, accompanied by their families, and taking with them their little all, to them it matters little whether the favourable reports by which Ministers were prevailed on, were derived from the highly coloured statements of those travellers who, in passing through this district, had described it as a spot of the most picturesque beauty and surprising fertility; or whether they were misled by the information of their more immediate servants. To the settlers it is indeed more than sufficient to have learnt from fatal experience, that this second land of promise is, from the want of sufficient depth and the great tenacity of the soil, by no means adapted to tillage, the mode of cultivation to which their labours had been principally directed; and that these permanent obstacles were not the only ones which they were doomed to encounter, since the success of their exertions was further frustrated by the appearance of the rust among their corn, a scourge which had been absent from the colony for more than forty years previous, and which proved fatal to the three first harvests of the settlers. Unable to bear up against these reiterated losses, many of the poorer among them, were compelled to abandon their locations, to seek a subsistence in the towns and in the older establishments, by the labour of their hands; and for the relief of these, and the temporary assistance, until the succeeding harvest, of those whose energies were yet directed to the hopes of a fourth crop, a subscription was commenced at Cape Town. Precautions were taken to procure for this harvest a more successful result, and seed was procured of a nature less obnoxious to the attacks of the rust; but this, though destructive to the pros-

pects of the former years, was an enemy mild in its visitations, to that which now overwhelmed them. A continued and heavy rain produced so tremendous a flood, that many of the habitations were completely washed away by it, together with the flocks, the horses, and the crops. Few, indeed, escaped without injury, while the greater part suffered most severely, and many were deprived of every thing, even of their very clothing. The funds which had been collected in the Colony, were utterly inadequate to meet this new and overpowering evil; but the exertions of the friends of humanity were redoubled with the exigence of the occasion. Aware that the limited means of succour which the Colony could furnish, would be far from sufficient to counteract the distress that had thus been created, appeals were made to the public in England and in India; and it is in support of these, that the present work is chiefly directed. To attain its object it would, however, have been more desirable that the information it contains should have been digested into a cheap pamphlet for general circulation, than that it should have been extended into a distinct and independent volume. To the subscription, the necessity for which it is intended to demonstrate, we most cordially wish every success. No situation can indeed be more distressing than that of the father of a family, deprived of all means of supporting them, at a distance from his native land; and none can, consequently, possess a juster or more powerful claim on the humanity of the British people.

Immediate, not gradual Abolition; or, an Inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual Means of getting rid of West Indian Slavery. 8vo. pp. 50.

Great as are the exertions which the friends of humanity and justice are making for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Negro Slave, we must confess that we entertain no very sanguine expectations of the speedy adoption of any well-digested plan for carrying their benevolent intentions into effect. We were, it is true, twelve months ago, in common with almost every body else, deluded by the Government into a temporary belief, that it was at length their sincere intention to give their efficient support to the attainment of that great object. For what other interpretation could we possibly affix to the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons, moved by Mr. Canning himself, which declared, "that it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty's Colonies." But, alas! the events of the present session have served to convince us of our error, and to demonstrate the futility of professions not founded upon principles. The speech of Mr. Canning, on laying before the House of Commons the Order in Council relative to Trinidad, and the recent conduct of Ministers with reference to the worse than Star-Chamber Proceedings of the Demerara Court Martial, exhibit in its true light their timid and vacillating policy. Such a Government may indeed by turns affect to be convinced by the arguments of one party, or submit to be bullied by the menaces of the other; but it is utterly incapable of adopting that plain, honest, straight-forward line of proceeding, which the exigencies of the case imperatively demand. Gradual abolition, to be effectual, ought to be conducted on a fixed and determinate system, sound in its principles, steady in its progress, and certain in its results. But a system of trifling and shuffling, like that hitherto pursued, can only tend to keep alive, both in the Slave and in the Planter, that spirit of mutual hatred and distrust which it has engendered. Unless a more decided tone be speedily adopted, that unhappy spirit must go on increasing in intensity, amid feelings of disappointed hope and desperate revenge on the one hand, and frantic alarm and aggravated tyranny on the other, giving rise to a train of real or imaginary plots and insurrections, with all their concomitant and consequent miseries, in endless and horrid succession.

With respect to the present pamphlet, its object is clearly indicated by its title. The author considers the Gradual Abolition of Slavery as a measure pregnant with the seeds of mischief, perilous in its progress, and indefinite in its consequences; and endeavours to demonstrate the safety, necessity, and superior policy of immediate emancipation. For ourselves, we are not sanguine in our hopes of such a sudden change in the condition of the negro; but we must confess that, if it could be accomplished, we should think it infinitely preferable to the present system of tampering with the feelings and passions of a miserable race of beings, whom ignorance and oppression have rendered peculiarly liable to excitement, and whom a continuance of such conduct must render desperate; a system which excites in them hopes never meant to be realized, and then punishes the natural indignation which such perfidious treatment cannot fail to awaken in the bosoms of those who are its objects, with a severity of infliction which we shudder to contemplate. That an end should immediately be put to such a system, must be the prayer of every man, whose feelings have not been rendered callous to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, by supposed personal interest, or hastily adopted prejudices. But to what quarter are we to look for the means of effecting so desirable, so indispensable a reformation. From the Planters them-

selves, from the Colonial Legislatures, every day's experience proves more and more unequivocally, that no amelioration can be expected; yet these assemblies tell us, and the Government at home has had the unparalleled meanness to truckle to the empty menace, that they alone have the right of regulating the internal affairs of the Colonies, and that they are determined to run all lengths in resisting the interference of the British Parliament with their domestic concerns. From the Government and the Legislature, which could tamely and in silence submit to such wild and extravagant pretensions, what hope can we entertain of any active co-operation, unless roused from their apathy by the united voice of the British public. Our only hope is then in the people of England; to them we must look for the preservation of their West Indian possessions from the horrid scenes which a fatal system of policy has long been preparing for them. But it is not from the voluntary abstinence of any portion of the people from the productions of these Colonies, as recommended by the author of the pamphlet before us, that we can expect to derive so salutary a result. The visionary nature of this, and all similar schemes, for producing any considerable and permanent effect on the consumption of articles of general use, by means of individual self-denial, has already been amply demonstrated. And even if the means proposed were capable of producing the effect anticipated, it appears to us extremely doubtful how far that circumstance would operate beneficially for the Slaves, or rather whether it would not tend materially to heighten their present state of misery and degradation. It is not, therefore, to the agency of such means that we can look for the attainment of our object; it is from the combined exertion of that "voice potential" which the people of England have more than once raised with success, because the Government dare not resist its call, that we anticipate the ultimate triumph of the cause of reason and justice. Into the hands of the British nation we must commit the task of rescuing their name from the opprobrium of still fostering a system, which they have so often unequivocally denounced; and of preserving alike the Planter and the Slave from the dreadful and inevitable consequences of a continuance of the present state of things.

A Voyage to India; containing reflections on a Voyage to Madras and Bengal, in 1821, in the ship Lonach; Instructions for the Preservation of Health in Indian Climates; and Hints to Surgeons and Owners of Private Trading Ships. By James Wallace, Surgeon of the Lonach. 8vo.

An account of the Discoveries of the Portuguese in the Interior of Angola and of Mozambique, &c. By J. E. Bowdich. 8vo.

A Statement of the principal Facts in the public Life of Augustin de Iturbide. Written by himself; with a Preface by the Translator, and an Appendix of Documents. 8vo.

Six Months in Mexico. By William Bullock. 8vo.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

Mr. Ackerman has published the Prospectus of a Picturesque Tour of the Rivers Ganges and Jumna, which is to appear in Six Monthly Numbers, consisting of 24 coloured Views, a Map, and Vignettes; from original Drawings made on the spot by Lieut.-Col. Forrest.

Mr. White, Lieutenant in the United States Navy, has in the press a Voyage to Cochin China.

A Residence of Four Years in South Africa, by Thomas Pringle, author of the "Autumnal Excursion" and other Poems.

Journal of a Residence in Ashantee. By Joseph Dupries, Esq. late his Britannic Majesty's Envoy and Consul for that Kingdom. Comprising Notes and Researches relative to the Gold Coast and the Interior of Western Africa, chiefly collected from Arabic MSS. and information communicated by the Moslems of Guinea. To which is prefixed an Account of the Origin and Causes of the present War.

A Series of Lithographic Prints of Scenery in Egypt and Nubia, from drawings by Bossi, a Roman Artist, executed by Messrs. Harding and Westall, are about to appear in Numbers.

Mr. Swainson has in the press a small work on the Zoology of Mexico; containing Descriptions of the Animals collected there by Mr. Bullock, and intended as an Appendix to the Travels of the latter gentleman in that country.

Five Years' Residence in the Canadas; including a Tour through the United States of America, in 1823. By E. A. Talbot, Esq., of the Talbot Settlement, Upper Canada. 2 vols. 8vo.

DEBATES AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On *Wednesday, June* 9, 1824, a Special General Court of Proprietors was held for the purpose of considering the drafts of two bills now before Parliament; the first to authorize the East India Company to trade direct from China to the British Colonies in North America; and the second, to continue the several Acts for securing the revenue on goods imported from places within the limits of the Company's Charter, and for continuing the present duties on East India sugar.

The Chairman having taken his seat,

General Thornton said, that he had observed that several other subjects were to be brought under the consideration of the Proprietors at the next Quarterly Court, in addition to the motion of which he had given notice, for the reduction of the interest on India Bonds. He wished to know whether his motion would have precedence of other business.

The Chairman replied, that it was open to the gallant General to bring forward his motion as the business of the day.

General Thornton complained that notice of his motion had not been advertised.

The Chairman said, the usual practice had been observed with respect to the gallant General's motion.

The Clerk, by desire of the Chairman, then read a list of the papers relative to the affairs of the East India Company, which had been laid before Parliament since the last General Court.

AMERICAN TRADE BILL.

The Chairman called the attention of the Court to one of the subjects which they had been specially convened to consider, namely, the American Trade Bill. He requested that the Court would give their attention whilst the Clerk read a letter, which had been addressed by the President of the Board of Trade to the Court of Directors, and also the answer which had been returned to that letter. This correspondence would, he thought, put the Court in full possession of the subject; if not, he would be happy to afford any information in his power.

A letter from Mr. Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, dated the 26th of May, to the Court of Directors, was then read by the Clerk. It commenced by calling the attention of the Court to the state of the tea trade with the British North American Colonies. It stated, that from accounts transmitted from Upper and Lower Canada, it appeared that from 10 to 12,000 chests of tea were annually consumed in those colonies, of which quantity not more than a tenth was supplied from the East India Company's warehouses, the rest being smuggled from the United States. The effect of this was, that a revenue of not less than 90,000*l.* was levied upon his Majesty's subjects in the Canadas, for the benefit of the revenue of the United States. This state of things had attracted the attention of the local legislature, and a report of a committee, who had inquired into the subject, had been transmitted to the home Government. The report suggested three remedies: first, that the East India Company might be authorized to import teas direct from Canton into Canada; secondly, that the merchants of Canada should be allowed themselves to import the necessary quantity of tea direct from Canton; thirdly, that the intercourse now subsisting between the United States and Canada, should be legalized, and teas be allowed to be imported from the former country, on the payment of a moderate duty. So many commercial and political objections existed against the last proposal, that nothing could induce the Government to adopt it. The second proposal was also liable to many objections. Mr. Huskisson, therefore, recommended the Court of Directors to consider whether it would not be advisable for the East India Company to send a supply of tea for Canada in vessels freighted for that purpose by themselves, or by other persons, to whom they might grant licenses, under such regulations as they should think fit. The cheapness of the tea smuggled from America, arose from its not being so good as that supplied by the Company; but as the cheap description of tea suited the consumption in Canada, it was recommended that the Company should supply a similar kind of tea. Mr Huskisson's letter concluded with expressing a confident hope that no considerations of mercantile profit would induce the Company to object to try an experiment which the Government considered desirable to be made.

The answer of the Court of Directors, dated the 29th of May, was next read.

It stated, that the Court had not been unobservant of the extensive and illegal importation of teas into the British North American Colonies from the United States, and that they were perfectly willing to adopt a remedy for the evil, by freighting vessels direct from Canton, with tea suitable for the Canadian market. For that purpose, the Court of Directors had written to their supercargoes in China, to have a suitable supply of tea in readiness from July 1825.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that the correspondence which had been read was so conclusive, that it was unnecessary for him to make any comments upon it. The Court would perceive that they were required to part with no privilege which they possessed; and the public would see that the Company were willing to consent to a proceeding which the Government considered advantageous to the general interests of the empire. He moved that the Court do approve of the Bill.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN seconded the motion.

Mr. R. JACKSON asked whether it was the intention of the Court of Directors that the trade to Canada should be carried on in the Company's own ships, or in the ships of individuals licensed by the Company. He likewise wished to know, whether the West India Colonies were to have the benefit of the proposed new arrangement.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the letter which had been sent to Mr. Huskisson clearly pointed out that it was the intention of the Court of Directors to carry on the trade in ships freighted by themselves. The Court of Directors might, if they pleased, grant licenses to individuals; but at present it was their determination not to do so. The answer to the hon. Proprietor's question, respecting the West India Colonies, was to be found in the Bill, which stated that the trade was to be confined exclusively to the North American British Colonies.

Mr. R. JACKSON said that his reason for asking how the trade was to be carried on, was, that on a former occasion he remembered that great alarm was expressed at the proposal for allowing licensed traders to proceed to China. The hon. Proprietor then proceeded to argue, as we understood, (for he spoke in so low a tone as to be scarcely audible,) that it would be wise in the Company to increase the facilities to private trading, by the granting of licenses.

Mr. CARRUTHERS asked, whether, by the Bill, licenses would be granted to individuals to trade on their own account, or on that of the Company.

The CHAIRMAN replied, that the Bill empowered the Company to grant licenses to individuals to trade on their own account.

Mr. BLANSHARD asked, whether individuals did not already, by the 53d of Geo. III., possess the privileges proposed to be extended to them by the present Bill.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the Act alluded to, gave no power to individuals which it did not give to the Company; and as the Act did not authorize the Company to carry on the trade direct to Canada, it followed that individuals could not do so.

Mr. CARRUTHERS was of opinion that the granting permission to individuals to carry on the trade, must injure the funds of the Company, because the former would obtain the profits which the latter ought to have. He feared also that it would open the door to illicit trading.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the fears of the hon. Proprietor were quite groundless. The Bill did not compel the Company to grant licenses; but only gave them permission to do so if they should think fit. The Company would carry on the trade themselves if it were profitable; if it were not profitable, it was unlikely that individuals would desire to embark in it.

The motion was then carried unanimously.

SUGAR DUTIES.

The CHAIRMAN then submitted to the Court the draft of the Bill for continuing the Duties on East India Sugar, which he moved that the Court should approve of.—Agreed to.

On the question, that the Court do adjourn,

Mr. WEEDING said that he considered it to be a matter of deep regret that the Bill which the Chairman had just brought under the notice of the Court, had not called forth observation from those Directors who had seats in the House of Commons. That Court had, after much discussion, expressed their opinion that the duties on East India and West India Sugar ought to be equalized. Nothing had since occurred to show that the Court had altered its opinion on the subject, and therefore he thought that it was the duty of the Executive to press it on the attention of Government.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that there

was no ground for charging the Court of Directors with any neglect of duty with regard to the Bill before the Court. As soon as he perceived notice of the Bill given in the House of Commons, he applied to the Secretary of the Treasury for information respecting its object. He found that it was only intended to continue the existing duties for one year, with the exception of those on Mauritius sugar. The duty paid last year by Mauritius sugar was 2*l.* per cent.; by the present Bill it was reduced to 27*s.* The Bill had been read a third time in the House of Commons, but it had not yet passed through the House of Lords: an opportunity was therefore presented of petitioning against it, if the Court should consider it objectionable.

Mr. R. JACKSON complained that the draft of the Bill had not been laid before the Court at an earlier period. The object of the bye law, which required that all Bills affecting the Company's interest should be laid before a General Court before they were passed by Parliament, which was to enable the Company to object to any measures which they considered injurious to them, would be defeated, if Bills were not to be presented until after they had passed through the House of Commons.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that the bye laws had been complied with.

A PROPRIETOR, whose name we could not learn, asked, as we understood, whether any alterations were about to be made with regard to Haileybury College?

Mr. S. DIXON rose to order. He had just come into Court, and being much interested in the sugar trade, he wished that the Chairman should repeat the explanation which he understood had been given of the object of the Bill which had been laid before the Court.

The PROPRIETOR who had proposed the question respecting Haileybury College, made some observation which was inaudible. We understood that he did not repeat his question.

The CHAIRMAN then repeated the statement which he had made respecting the Bill.

Mr. S. DIXON said, that it was currently reported in the sugar market, that no alteration would be made in the Mauritius sugar duties for the ensuing year.

Mr. GAHAGAN thought with regard to the present Bill, the letter of the bye laws had been complied with in violation of their spirit. The Court had not been presented with an opportunity of expressing either approval or disapproval of the measure.

General THORNTON made some observations to the same effect.

The Court then adjourned.

On *Monday, June* 14, a Special General Court of Proprietors was held, for the purpose of considering the draft of the East India Possessions Bill, &c.

SUGAR DUTIES.

The CHAIRMAN begged, before the Court proceeded to the business for which it had been made special, to offer some explanation with respect to the Bill laid before the last General Court, for continuing the duties on East India sugar. On that occasion he had stated that the object of the Bill was to continue for one year more the existing duties on East India sugar, with the exception only of those upon Mauritius sugar, which would be reduced. An honourable Proprietor (Mr. S. Dixon) who was not now present, seemed to doubt the correctness of his information with regard to the latter point. He had in consequence made further inquiry respecting the provisions of the Bill, and found that the clause regarding the reduction of the duty on Mauritius sugar had been omitted in the Committee on the Bill. The circumstance had escaped his observation, owing to the Bill having been reported on an unusual day (Saturday). The mistatement which he had made was obviously quite unintentional, and he had taken the first opportunity which offered to correct it. He understood that the clause had been omitted because Government was of opinion that it would be better to legislate for the Mauritius in a separate Bill; but that intention, it now appeared, had been abandoned. It resulted, therefore, that the same duty would continue to be pending for another year upon Mauritius sugar, as was paid upon all sugar imported from the East Indies.

In answer to a question from Mr. R. Jackson,

The CHAIRMAN repeated that Mauritius sugar would continue subject to the same duty as was paid upon all other sugar the produce of the continent of India—namely, 40*s.* per cent.

General THORNTON asked whether Ministers had abandoned the intention of introducing a separate Bill for the reduction of the duty on Mauritius sugar this Session.

The CHAIRMAN said that he understood they had.

EAST INDIA POSSESSIONS BILL.

The CHAIRMAN then called the attention of the Court to the above-named Bill, which had been framed for the purpose of carrying into effect certain exchanges of territory in the East Indies. The Bill had resulted from a negociation which had been made some years, and was concluded by a treaty signed in London on the 17th of March last, by the Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty and those of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands. The object of the treaty was to effect certain exchanges of territory in the East, belonging to the two countries. The full sovereignty of the island of Singapore, a point of great importance in the Eastern Archipelago, was ceded by the Dutch to the Crown of Great Britian, and on the other hand Bencoolen was surrendered to the Dutch. The company having rights in the possession of Bencoolen, which could not be disposed of without their consent, the Court of Directors were informed in 1820 of the negociation which was then going on, and at the suggestion of Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, they appointed part of their body as a committee to consider whether it would be expedient for the Company to agree to the proposed alterations. The Committee closed their labours in February last, and reported in approbation of the negociation; the Court of Directors sanctioned the Report, and the Bill was consequently brought into Parliament. He concluded by moving that the Court do approve of the proceedings of the Court of Directors, and of the Bill in question.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN seconded the motion.

Mr. R. JACKSON was desirous of knowing whether the Court of Directors had been informed of the proposed exchanges of territory before they had been determined on by the English and Dutch Governments.

The CHAIRMAN replied that Government had taken no step before they consulted with the Court of Directors. All that was done had been done with the fullest concurrence of the Court of Directors.

Mr. R. JACKSON said, that although he was of opinion the Court of Directors had violated the bye laws, by consenting to make any exchanges of territory without first submitting the subject to a General Court of Proprietors, yet he would not, on account of the advantageous management which had been made for the Company's interests, dwell upon that circumstance. The honourable and learned Proprietor then took a summary review of the history of the English and Dutch possessions in the Eastern Archipelago, in order to prove the value and importance of Singapore, which might be termed the padlock of the Malacca straits. He was bound to say that the treaty had been conducted in the honest spirit which characterized the dealings between merchants, rather than with the cunning which usually distinguished the transactions of diplomatists. By the conclusion of the present treaty, the grounds of quarrel which had existed between us and the Dutch for upwards of 200 years, would be removed. It had been the opinion of the late Governor General, that it would be advisable even to purchase the possessions which would come under the dominion of Great Britain by the treaty which had been concluded, in order to render less remote the chance of future controversy. Bencoolen, which the Company had given up, although a larger island, had never been of any benefit to the Company; but, on the contrary, had been a constant cause of expense. So untenable was it that it had on some occasions been taken by a single frigate; and the appearance of an ordinary pirate was always sufficient to throw the whole island into consternation. In short, it was a point which required protection, not one that could yield any. (Hear!) Entertaining these sentiments, he was quite disposed to waive what he conceived to be the constitutional point connected with the subject before the Court. He entertained the opinion that the Court of Directors were put in sacred trust over the Company's possessions, and that they had no right to cede one of them, without previously consulting the Court of Proprietors. At the same time he was willing to admit, that if in the present instance the question had been agitated in that Court, the discussions which would have taken place, would have been of such a nature as to awaken the jealousy and vigilance of the Dutch, in which case the advantageous treaty would not have been concluded. He felt that as a Proprietor he owed his thanks to the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, for the share which they had had in bringing the treaty to so fortunate a conclusion.

Mr. WEEDING asked, as we understood, whether, under the new treaty, the Company would be relieved from the

annual payment which they had heretofore made to buy off the competition of the Dutch, in opium.

The CHAIRMAN replied that all payments to the Dutch would certainly cease, under the treaty, as they expressly renounced all claims.

Mr. R. JACKSON asked whether any counterpart to the complimentary paper delivered by the English negociators to the Dutch, had been received from the latter.

The CHAIRMAN replied, that such a paper had been received. He was very happy to hear that the treaty met with the approbation of the honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Jackson), whom he could assure, on the part of himself and his Colleagues, that the Court of Directors were always glad when they could meet the wishes of the Court of Proprietors. He would just allude to one point, which the honourable member had touched upon. The honourable member seemed to think that the Court of Directors had neglected their duty, because they had not informed the Court of Proprietors of the negociation whilst it was in progress. He had no hesitation to say, that the Court of Directors would have defeated their object, by giving publicity to the transaction. But it was not to be assumed as certain, that the Court of Directors had acted wrong. They had a[illegible] legal advice, and upon the statute of King William, which gave them power to make acquisitions or exchanges of territory. There had been no delay in bringing the Bill under the consideration of the Court of Proprietors.

Mr. GAHAGAN was of opinion that it was the prerogative of the King to cede any of the British Indian possessions—even Madras itself, without consulting the Company. He trusted that care had been taken that the interests of the British residents at Bencoolen should not suffer by the change of sovereignty.

Mr. TRANT expressed a hope that at some future period arrangements would be made with the Danes, the French, and the Portuguese, for the cession of their possessions on the continent of India, in order that England might remain in the undisputed possession of the whole.

The motion was then agreed to unanimously, and the Court adjourned.

On *Wednesday, June* 23, a Quarterly General Court of Proprietors was held, which was made special for the purpose, amongst others, of taking into consideration the state of the Public Press in India, the regulations that are now in force respecting it at the several presidencies in India, and also the proceedings which have attended the suppression of the Calcutta Journal, and the banishment of Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnot, two of its Editors.

The discussion on this interesting subject did not however, as will be seen, take place, the Court having been occupied till a late hour with other business. The uncourteous behaviour of the Chairman and his supporters, at the close of the day's proceedings, which evidently resulted from a desire to throw an impediment in the way of the discussion of Mr. Buckingham's case, is, we believe, unparalleled in the history of the East India House debates.

The CHAIRMAN moved that the Court do agree to the resolution of the Court of Directors, recommending that a dividend of 5¼ per cent. on the Company's stock be declared, for the half year commencing on the 5th of January last, and ending on the 5th of July next, which was agreed to.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, the following gentlemen were nominated members of the committee of bye-laws for the ensuing year: Henry Howorth, Esq. Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, George Cumming, Esq. —— Heathly, Esq. Henry Smith, Esq. Grey Grote, Esq. David Lyon, Esq. Robert Williams, Esq. Benjamin Barnard, Esq. Sir Henry Strachey, John Darby, Esq. John Carstairs, Esq. Richard Twining, Esq. Sir J. Shaw.

CARNATIC AND TANJORE COMMISSIONS.

The CHAIRMAN next moved, that the Court should confirm the resolution of the last Court of Proprietors, approving of the resolution of the Court of Directors, recommending that 300*l.* per annum additional should be granted to the Carnatic Commissioners for investigating the Tanjore claims.

Mr. HUME disapproved of referring the consideration of the Tanjore claims to the Carnatic Commissioners. He thought it would be better for those commissioners to finish the business they had in hand, before they undertook any other.

The CHAIRMAN said that the plan proposed was the most economical one which could be adopted. If new commissioners were appointed to investi-

gate the Tanjore claims, they must be paid a salary equal to that which the Carnatic Commissioners received; in addition to which, new clerks and offices must be appointed. He was of opinion, that both the commissions would be brought to a termination within four years.

Mr. D. Kinnaird concurred in the observations which had fallen from his hon. friend (Mr. Hume). He considered it most expedient to appoint a fresh commission to consider the Tanjore question.

Mr. Lowndes supported the motion.

Mr. Crawford said that it would be impossible for the commissioners under the Tanjore deed to make any award to the creditors. By the first article of the deed, the creditors agreed to prove the original consideration which was given for their debts, which it was quite impossible they could do. By the treaty of 1799, the Company had pledged themselves to pay all the registered debts of the Rajah of Tanjore, without any stipulation for their consideration.

Mr. Pattison said that great inconvenience would arise from not approving of the resolution of the Court of Directors, the substance of which had become part of the legislative enactments.

Mr. Hume moved, as an amendment, that the question should be adjourned, in order to enable the Court of Directors to determine whether it would not be expedient to appoint a separate commission to investigate the Tanjore claims.

After a few words from Mr. D. Kinnaird, Mr. R. Jackson, and General Thornton, in support of the amendment,

The Chairman put the question, and declared the amendment to be negatived.

Mr. Hume demanded a ballot, which was appointed for Friday se'ennight.

INDIA BONDS.

General Thornton, after a few prefatory observations respecting the advantage which would result from lowering the interest on India Bonds, moved a recommendation to the Court of Directors to reduce the interest on those Bonds from 3½ (at present paid) to a lower rate.

Mr. Addinell seconded the motion.

The Chairman thought that it was very inexpedient to agitate such a question at the present moment. It was better to leave all financial matters to the consideration of the executive body who would raise or lower the interest on the Bonds as circumstances might require.

Mr. R. Jackson and Mr. Lowndes spoke against the motion.

Mr. Hume suggested that the gallant General should withdraw his motion, and rest satisfied with having called the attention of the Court of Directors to the subject.

Mr. Twining and Sir C. Forbes concurred in the suggestion which had been made by Mr. Hume.

Mr. D. Kinnaird thought that the gallant General had done right in calling the attention of the Court to the subject of his motion, in which, however, he would not advise him to persevere.

General Thornton then, with the consent of the Court, withdrew his motion.

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

The Chairman was about to proceed to some other business of the day, when

Mr. D. Kinnaird rose, and said that he would avail himself of the practice which prevailed at Quarterly Courts, to call the attention of the Court to a subject respecting which he had given no previous notice. A motion had been carried at a former Court for the production of all documents and records on the subject of the Marquess of Hastings's administration in India, which would enable the Court of [illegible]rs to form an opinion respecting the merits or demerits of the Noble Marquess. In consequence of that motion, a list of papers had been laid upon the table by the Court of Directors, which he considered very incomplete. One paper, in particular, was omitted, which he thought the Court of Proprietors could not dispense with. He alluded to a paper drawn up by the Marquess of Hastings, containing an *exposé* of the principal events of the Marquess's administration in India. He remembered perfectly well, that the late Chairman had distinctly stated that the document would be produced. He could not conceive why that omission had occurred. It could not, he presumed, be said, that the late Chairman made the declaration to which he had alluded without the authority of the Court of Directors, for if he (Mr. K.) recollected rightly, that gentleman also stated that he had received previous instructions from the Court of Directors to move for the paper in question.

The Chairman said, that the paper to which the honourable Proprietor had alluded, did not come under the descrip-

tion of a document on the records of the Company, (papers of which description only had been called for by the resolution of the Court of Proprietors) and the Court of Directors had therefore withheld it. On arriving at Gibraltar, after his departure from India, the Marquess of Hastings addressed a letter to the Chairman, dated the 6th of May, 1823, giving him permission either to submit it to the Court of Directors or the Secret Committee. At the same period the Noble Marquess addressed a letter to the Court of Directors; the receipt of the latter letter was acknowledged by them, in a communication in which they stated, that the Marquess of Hastings must be too well acquainted with the proceedings of the Court of Directors to suppose that they could give any opinion with respect to the contents of his letter. The *exposé* had not been laid before the Court of Proprietors, because the Court of Directors were unwilling, by sending it forth under their sanction, to give it a character which did not belong to it. (Hear.)

Sir J. Doyle thought the answer of the Chairman was extremely unsatisfactory. He trusted that a question of mere form would not be allowed to stand in the way of the production of the paper. He concluded with moving for its production.

Mr. D. Kinnaird seconded the motion.

The Chairman said there were many reasons why he wished the paper not to be produced. There could be no doubt that the Marquess of Hastings was at liberty to write a history of the transactions of his government, but it was another question whether the Court of Directors would send forth a paper, as it were under their sanction, which must necessarily call forth animadversions from other quarters. (Hear.) The document contained reflections on antecedent Governors General, which must necessarily call forth remarks from them, if the document should be published under the authority of the Court.

Mr. D. Kinnaird said, that the jealous regard which the Court of Directors seemed to entertain of the character of their Governors General was of very recent date. It had arisen since that memorable day when the late Chairman preserved an imperturbable silence when a question was put to him, having for its object to ascertain whether the Court of Directors had accused the Marquess of Hastings of direct fraud in his administration.

Mr. Pattison said that the hon. Proprietor was arguing as if the opinion which the Chairman had given against the production of the paper, was also the unanimous opinion of the Court of Directors. He begged leave to inform the hon. Proprietor, that the Court of Directors had not expressed any opinion as to the contents of the paper.

Mr. D. Kinnaird was sorry he had misunderstood the Chairman. But in answer to that gentleman he would say that the reasons he had assigned should not operate against the production of the document. His Lordship had stated nothing but facts, and he challenged any man to read the paper impartially, and to say that it was the noble Marquess's intention to injure his predecessors. He believed that the object in setting such a rumour afloat, was to create an unfavourable influence to the noble Marquess, amongst Lord Minto's friends. The Marquess of Hastings had described the crisis in which he had found Indian affairs, but he did not charge Lord Minto with having produced that crisis. That crisis had been foretold by Lord Wellesley, and had been produced by events which were matured even before Lord Minto assumed the government. Those persons who supposed that the Marquess of Hastings's paper contained charges against Lord Minto, had read it ignorantly, he would not say maliciously. In the name of the Marquess of Hastings, and he hoped in the presence of some of Lord Minto's family, he declared that the noble Marquess had intended to make no charge against his Lordship. He had told Lord Minto himself so.

Mr. Trant recollected that the late Chairman had given a distinct promise that the paper in question should be produced, and he therefore thought it would be extremely impolitic to withhold it.

Mr. R. Jackson said that if the want of an official character were the only thing which prevented the Marquess of Hastings's *exposé* from being laid upon the table, that defect might easily be remedied by some friend of the Marquess enclosing it to the Court of Directors as a paper necessary to the vindication of his character: it must then be recorded. He thought that, by the promise of the late Chairman, the faith of the Court of Directors was pledged to the production of the document. If the statements in the *exposé* were wrong, some person who was qualified should point out the errors.

Mr. Impey maintained that the Court of Directors were not to be blamed for

the non-production of the paper, because it really was not a recorded document.

Mr. Mills declared that the document was recorded; he had been surprised to hear the Chairman say that it was not, and wished to take the opinion of the law officers on the subject.

A warm discussion arose on this point, which terminated by the Chairman declaring that the document was not recorded. All papers which came before the Court of Directors were notified, and that course had been pursued with regard to the paper in question. He then read a resolution of the Court of Directors, dated the 5th of May 1824, which declared, that after mature deliberation the Court were of opinion that the Marquess of Hastings's *exposé* should not be presented to the Court of Proprietors because it was not an official document.

Mr. Impey resumed, and said that he was still of opinion that the document was not official, and that the motion, if carried in its present shape, would be nugatory. The paper had been addressed to their Chairman as a private individual, and his permission must be obtained before it could be presented to the Court of Proprietors. But it was principally for the purpose of adverting to a subject of great importance that he had risen. He wished to know whether it was necessary to the reputation of the Marquess of Hastings, that such language should be used as had that day been heard in that Court. At present great differences of opinion prevailed with respect to the Marquess of Hastings's administration; but was that a reason why the Court of Directors and their Chairman should be absolutely bearded by an honourable Proprietor (Mr. Kinnaird)? Was it to be endured that the gentleman in the Chair, who was as able and as honest a man as had ever sat there, should be charged with ignorance, if not with malice, on account of the construction which he had put upon the Marquess of Hastings's paper? (Hear, hear!) The Chairman, it was true, might entertain an erroneous opinion, but was there any man present who supposed that he did not entertain an honest opinion? (Hear!) In conclusion, the hon. Director stated that he had no objection to the production of the *exposé*, which, however, he would view only in the light of a speech by counsel, which was not to be regarded when unsupported by proof.

Mr. Mills warmly urged the production of the paper.

Mr. Lowndes also supported the motion for the production of the document, and indulged in an episode on the case of Captain O'Callaghan, to the infinite amusement of the Court. He knew it had nothing to do with the case, (a laugh); but it was too much that a man should be obliged to live upon bread and water whether he liked it or not. (Laughter.) Loyal as he was, he would do justice to the d——st radical in the country. (Great laughter.)

Mr. Hugh Lindsay thought that the paper was recorded and ought to be produced. He thanked Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Pattison for the part which they had taken in behalf of the Marquess of Hastings, on a former occasion.

Mr. Pattison was one of those who had originally thought that the production of the paper would lead to much inconvenience, but he was now willing to agree that it should be laid before the Court. It was as clear as the sun at noonday that it was recorded.

Mr. Hume maintained that the circumstance of the document having been read in the Court of Directors, proved that it was one which the Court of Proprietors had a right to be put in possession of.

The Chairman again repeated the reasons why the Court of Directors had thought fit to withhold the document, and his own reasons why he thought it would be inexpedient to produce it. In allusion to the remarks respecting himself, which had fallen from an honourable Proprietor, he would leave it to those whom he had served for 24 years to determine whether he deserved them. (Hear.)

Mr. D. Kinnaird disclaimed any intention of saying any thing personally offensive to the Chairman. (Hear.)

Sir G. Robinson said, that he had no objection to the production of the noble Marquess's statement, but he wished it to be understood that if it were produced, those who differed from the Marquess of Hastings's friends, respecting the conduct of that nobleman, would feel it necessary to move for other documents.

Mr. Edmonstone said a few words to the same effect.

Sir J. Doyle wished every paper to be produced, which could illustrate the Marquess of Hastings's government in India.

Sir C. Forbes expressed his surprise, as we understood, that a relative of his own, an honourable Director, whom he then saw in his place, and who was adverted to in the Marquess of Hast-

ings's pamphlet, had not addressed the Court on the present occasion.

Colonial BAILLIE could not remain silent after the appeal which had been made to him. For his own part he was prepared to concur in the motion for the production of the Marquess's *exposé*, but at the same time he felt bound to declare, that it contained statements in the correctness of which he could not concur. One part of the paper contradicted a statement which he had made before a committee of the House of Commons. (Hear.) If the motion were agreed to, he should feel it his duty to move for other papers.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that he understood the production of the Marquess of Hastings's statement was to be conditional upon the production of other papers. (No, no.)

After a long conversation, in which Mr. Impey, Mr. Hume, Mr. Twining, and Sir G. Robinson participated,

The CHAIRMAN put the question on Sir J. Doyle's motion, which was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. EDMONSTONE then moved that the Secret Committee be requested to apply to the Board of Control, for authority to lay before the Court copies of all the minutes of Council and other documents in the Secret Department, between November 1813 and November 1817, having reference to the statements in the Marquess's *exposé*, and also all documents which might serve to exhibit the state of India at the period to which the *exposé* referred.

The motion was agreed to.

Sir C. ROBINSON then moved for copies of all correspondence between the Governor-General in Council and the President at Lucknow, respecting the reform in the administration of the Government of that district, and the employment of British troops in the service of the Vizier, from the 31st of January 1808, to the 31st of December 1815: as also, copies of all papers relating to loans contracted with the Vizier, from October 1814, to May 1815.—Agreed to.

Sir C. FORBES moved that the Court of Directors be requested to accompany the Marquess of Hastings's *exposé* with such observations thereupon as they should think necessary.

This motion was warmly supported by Mr. Kinnaird, but gave rise to considerable opposition from others; and on being put, was negatived.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD next moved for copies of the minutes of Council, and of the despatches of Lord Hastings, relative to the army, in March or April 1819.

The CHAIRMAN said, that he should feel it his duty to oppose the motion.

Mr. R. JACKSON wished, as the motion would be opposed, that, at that late hour, his hon. friend would not press it, but let it stand as a notice for the next Court.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said, he was willing to withdraw his motion, and to renew it at the next Court.

Mr. IMPEY, after complaining that the notice which the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Kinnaird) had given, of a motion respecting the Press in India, was too general to afford any clue as to what he intended to propose, moved that the Court do now adjourn.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said, he could not consent to the adjournment of the Court generally. He therefore moved, as an amendment, that the Court do adjourn to Wednesday next.

The CHAIRMAN said, that Mr. Impey's motion was an amendment upon the hon. Proprietor's motion for the production of papers; he could not, therefore, put what the hon. Proprietor wished to be an amendment.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said, he understood that he had been allowed to withdraw his motion.

The CHAIRMAN replied, that a motion could not be withdrawn without the unanimous consent of the Court; and he would not give his consent to the withdrawing of the hon. Proprietor's motion.

Mr. JACKSON expressed his surprise at the conduct of the Chairman. He had never known an instance in which permission had been denied to withdraw a motion.

The CHAIRMAN said, that it was unusual to adjourn a Quarterly Court to a particular day.

Mr. TRANT said, that he had seconded the motion for adjournment in the belief that a day would be fixed. He wished, indeed, that a day should be fixed for the discussion respecting the Press in India. He thought it desirable that the discussion should take place as early as possible, on account of certain opinions which had gone forth in the public press on the subject.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said, that if Wednesday next did not suit the Chairman's convenience, he might fix any other day for the adjournment of the Court.

The CHAIRMAN could not tell what day would be convenient.

Sir C. FORBES was desirous that some day, be it a week or a fortnight hence, should be appointed for the discussion respecting which notice had been given.

He had come there that day prepared to express an opinion with respect to the case of a much injured individual, who had been unjustly banished from India.

Notwithstanding all that could be said, however, the Chairman was not to be driven from his point. He would have the Court adjourned *sine die*, and in no other way.

At length the Court divided on Mr. Impey's motion, and the numbers were:

Ayes......20 | Noes......20

The CHAIRMAN then gave the casting vote in favour of the motion for indefinite adjournment, and the Court adjourned accordingly, after having sat nearly eight hours, without entering at all on the principal business for which it was specially convened.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES, CHINA, AND NEW HOLLAND.

Bengal.—No intelligence of great public interest has reached us from Bengal, since our last Number was issued, the prevalence of Easterly winds having been unfavourable to the homeward passage of ships, so that though there have been many arrivals since that period, the dates are not much later than before received. One of the most pleasing articles of intelligence which we have to communicate is that a subscription for the relief of the Greeks, had been entered into at Calcutta, and about £2000. sterling, is said to have been raised for that purpose. We rejoice at this indication of public feeling and benevolence, which could not be directed into a more worthy channel; but we hope that while assisting the Greeks to expel their conquerors and oppressors, they will not lose sight of their duty as Englishmen, in endeavouring to prevent a despotism not altogether dissimilar in its origin at least, and founded on no right but that of conquest, from being exercised in such a manner as to lead to similar consequences in India at some future day.

Respecting the proceedings of the Bengal Government towards the press, the late letters communicate some additional facts, worthy of being placed on record. The public are already so fully in possession of all that was developed in the petition, and the debate to which this gave rise in the House of Commons on the 25th ultimo, that it is quite unnecessary to offer any further remarks on what has already transpired. We may venture, however, to add another remarkable fact, as the winding-up of this series of persecution and spoliation, which recent letters from India have communicated, and which was not known when the petition alluded to was presented. That document stated, that, at the date of the last advices from India, the property of the *Calcutta Journal* was in the hands of Dr. Muston, a servant of the Indian Government, and son-in-law of one of its principal Members, Mr. Harrington, under a promise of renewing its license of publication, which was in daily expectation of being granted, but up to that period withheld. The letters last received add this further intelligence:—The Indian Government, unwilling that Mr. Buckingham should receive even the trifling benefit which this ruined property might produce him, if the *Calcutta Journal* were revived, and apparently desiring to cripple all his efforts for redress in this country, by that impoverishment and ruin which renders even the law inaccessible to the injured, intimated to his agents, that so long as this gentleman held any pecuniary interest whatever in the property of the concern, or was likely to derive any pecuniary benefit from its proceeds, it never should be permitted to be resumed. The parties intrusted with its management were therefore compelled to sell under every possible disadvantage; and as no person could be expected to purchase it on any terms without an assurance of being granted a license, no other than a favourite of the Government could ultimately possess it. Accordingly, the individual already named, Dr. Muston, having reason to hope for a license to conduct this journal as his own property, and for his own benefit, though prevented from so doing for the benefit of another, was actually in treaty for the purchase; and was thus likely to be put, by the act of the Indian Government, into the possession of another man's property, by which for a trifling sum, he might realize a speedy and ample fortune. If

this be the mode in which the Indian Authorities are permitted to punish men of independent minds, and reward those whom they select for opposite qualities, it is not difficult to predict what must be the issue.

Mr. Arnot has not yet arrived in England, although some of the ships which sailed from Bengal direct at the same time with the vessel in which he went to Bencoolen, and in which he might have had a passage free of expense, have now been at home more than three months!—The following extract of a letter received from him since his arrival at Bencoolen, will be read with a melancholy interest.—It has already appeared in one of the London papers, *The Globe and Traveller*, the *only* one that thought the subject of sufficient importance to deserve a line of comment. We give the introductory remarks of the Editor of that paper, by which the extracts were preceded.

We insert to-day some extracts from a letter of Mr. Arnot, who was sent home from India, in order to punish him for having some connexion with the Calcutta Journal. We should rather say that he was banished on the principle of vicarious punishment for an alleged fault committed by the Editor of the Calcutta Journal. Mr. Sandys, the Editor of the Journal, being a native of India, could not arbitrarily be sent out of the country—a privilege which, under the law that forms the foundation of the India Company's power, is to be exercised only upon natives of the British islands; and the Indian Government, being thus unable to punish him, banished Mr. Arnot, his assistant. To the principle of this there is certainly nothing to be found parallel since the expedient which Butler attributes to the first puritanical settlers in North America, who being unwilling to punish an active-bodied cobler who had killed an Indian, yet desirous

—————— "to do
The Indian Hogan-Mogan too,
Impartial justice, in his stead did
Hang a poor weaver that was bed-rid."

Undoubtedly, however unjustifiable the motives of the Indian Government might be, they had the power legally to send home Mr. Arnot, under the wise law to which we have before alluded, according to which, a Frenchman, an American, or a subject of any foreign State, may reside in India, without being liable to be arbitrarily removed; but an Englishman or a Scotsman cannot. What, however, is deserving of particular remark in the treatment of Mr. Arnot, is the cruel aggravation of the punishment which the Indian Government has inflicted beyond what the law authorizes. If the law directs that any one found in India, guilty of having been born in Great Britain, may be sent home by the Government, it must manifestly have intended that the English-man convict should be sent home directly, not that he should be tortured by the confinement in a round-about trading voyage in the Indian seas. Yet Mr. Arnot is sent round by way of Bencoolen, in a ship liable, under its charter, to be detained for months. This is, we hope, too gross a violation of the law, as well as of justice, to be passed over without the severest censure from the Government at home, and without some redress to the injured individual.

The following are extracts of a letter from Mr. Arnot, dated on board the Hon. Company's ship Fame, off Bencoolen, Jan. 14, 1824, received by the ship Borneo, which has arrived from Sumatra:—

While dropping down the river Hooghly, in company with the Florentia, bound direct to England, I despatched by that ship a letter, informing you of my actual banishment, without trial, from India; which will no doubt reach you long before I shall be at home myself, as I am forced to go round by this circuitous route. We left the pilot off the Sand Heads, on the 24th of December, and arrived here only yesterday. Before we quitted the river I was led to understand that there was a chance of the Fame being detained here several months, (she being subject to Sir Stamford Raffles, the Lieutenant Governor's, entire disposal, who might have occasion to send her even to Singapore! and that the captain expected confidently to be sent from Bencoolen back to Natal, a place considerably to the north, to get a cargo of pepper. The Fame was chartered to come here expressly, as I was informed, in consequence of Sir S. Raffles's representation to the East India Directors that he was coming home from Bencoolen, and would require a ship to convey him to England. By the stipulation of this charter, he has power to detain the ship here three months for his convenience, without further cost to the Company, and as much longer as his affairs may require, on a demurrage or charge for detention, to be paid by the Indian Government.

Being made acquainted with these facts, and hearing also the most dismal accounts of the deleteriousness of the climate to Europeans, from which I, as a prisoner on board ship, might suffer more seriously than men who are free, in the exercise of their professional duties, and happy in their minds, I transmitted another letter to the Bengal Government by the hands of the pilot, protesting against these aggravated hardships being imposed upon me, while the Act of Parliament only authorized persons in my situation (whom

it thought enough merely to send home, without subjecting them to further punishment*) to be put on board a vessel "bound for the United Kingdom:" and this being a penal statute must be construed strictly, and cannot be interpreted as meaning that British subjects may be sent to England by the way of China or Sumatra, or a circuitous trading voyage, necessarily involving longer confinement and almost unlimited additional hardships.

The Bengal Government, however, took no notice whatever of any of my former letters, and, no doubt, this last was passed by equally unheeded.

After the arrival of the Fame off the coast of Sumatra, I was afflicted with severe bilious attacks, which formed at last into that malignant malady, jaundice; under which I have been labouring ever since the 6th inst. Although the orders of the Indian Government peremptorily forbade the Captain to allow me to leave the vessel until her arrival in England, yet, in consequence of my extreme illness, he has permitted me to go on shore at Bencoolen to endeavour to recruit my health and strength during the detention of the ship at this port; and I have, to-day, written to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, to obtain his sanction to my landing. How the climate on shore may agree with me I know not; but the accounts of it, given on the spot, are as dismal as I had been led to apprehend; the first news on our arriving here being, that "the people were dying like rotten sheep.

I have already learned that all the airy accommodations of the ship will be required for Sir Stamford Raffles and his suite, so that I must give up my cabin on the poop, and go below, in the more confined part of the vessel, where I shall be far less comfortably situated.

But as the boat is going off to the Borneo, which sails for England to-night, I must hastily conclude.

It appears by the following intelligence, the latest from Bengal, that a war is apprehended between our Indian Government and the Birman empire, the Birmans having committed some violence on the person of a British subject. It must not be understood that this outrage on the part of the Birmans is the beginning, or the real cause of the differences between the two Governments. Discussions have long been going on between the two governments, which have taken their rise, we understand, from the following circumstances: A tribe or clan of people, of the very unclassical name of *Mugs*, were subjects of (or rather subjected to the power of) the Birmans, by whom they were much oppressed; and finding themselves, on the whole, very uncomfortably situated in the Birman territory, they transplanted themselves into some wild country within the limits of the British possessions, and established their character as subjects of the Company. The *Mugs*, however, have been perhaps not well supplied—certainly not quiet—in their new habitations; and some of them, not unmindful of their old oppressors, have made repeated inroads on the Birman territory, committing no small atrocities, and carrying off no inconsiderable quantity of spoil. These outrages the Bengal Government, from the nature of the country and the people, have not been able to repress, and the Birman Government have been earnest in their representations; and, no doubt, have had just cause of complaint. The point that has been at issue between the Birman Government and the Government of Bengal in these disputes is this—the Birmans demand that the suspected, or at least some *Mugs*, shall be given up to them; to which the Bengal Government, aware that these *Mugs* would, in the event of compliance, be put to death in the most cruel manner, without any regard to the innocence or guilt of the particular parties, are naturally indisposed to comply. The Bengal Government has always, we believe, professed to be very ready to punish, in the most exemplary manner, the *Mugs* against whom evidence can be obtained of any breach of the peace towards their neighbours; but this nicety does not suit the opinions and temper of oriental governments, and the Birmans have not been satisfied with this show of justice, which they find, from experience, to be ineffectual.—Whether the seizure of Mr. Chew is intended as a measure of retaliation, or arises out of some dissatisfaction which the Birman Government in its present temper may be ready to conceive on some other account, we have not the means of ascertaining. But whatever may be the cause of this hostile act, it requires little skill to predict that in a war the Birmans will share the fate of all other Governments, who have been unwise enough, whether in the right or in the wrong, to attack the British in India.

The intelligence of February, states that his Excellency Lord Amherst was in good health, and all was quiet in the Company's possessions. From these accounts, however, it would seem, that there was every prospect of hostilities commencing with the Birmese, as they

* 53d Geo. III. c. 155, s. 104.

had seized Mr. Chew, a Bengal pilot, and had sent him to the capital, Ammeropporee. A large detachment of troops, with a train of artillery, had marched towards the Birman frontier; and it was reported, that the 13th Light Infantry, under Colonel M'Creagh, was to proceed thither by water from Calcutta. It was feared that this powerful and warlike nation would give the Government some trouble, before they were put down.

Accounts from Sindh, received at Calcutta, state, that the Maha Rajah, Runjeet Singh Bahadur, having encamped at Singh, towards the end of November last, some of his troops, according to order, applied to the Jageerdar (Sultan Khan) of that place for provender for their horses, but the son of the Jageerdar having procured a few native soldiers of that place, attacked the Maha Rajah's men, and having killed and wounded several, put them to flight. The Maha Rajah, on hearing of this circumstance, sent an order to the Jageerdar to surrender up his son, or take the consequences; but when the accounts came away, this had not been complied with.

Letters had reached Calcutta from the Eastern Islands, conveying information, that a detachment of troops from Fort Marlborough, commanded by Captain Crisp, had, with the assistance of some friendly Native Chiefs, taken a small fort to the northward of that settlement, which was occupied by a refractory Rajah. In the attack, four of our troops were killed. The Rajah was the only support of the Padrees in that quarter; and the arrival of the detachment despatched thence in August, it was supposed would effectually check his encroachments.

Letters from the Upper Provinces of India, received at the Bengal Presidency, also stated, that Serja Rao Pholgia had marched against the village of Jageepore, with the cavalry under his command, and two English battalions, and encamped about eight miles distant. The Zemindars of three or four villages, as previously arranged among themselves, made a nocturnal attack upon the troops of Serja Rao; but he being aware of their intention, opposed them readily, and after a conflict of two or three hours, completely routed them. On their retreat to the village from whence they came, they were surrounded by the troops of the victor; and the latest accounts state, that the village of Jageepore had been subdued, and fifteen granaries full of grain, 30,000 rupees in cash, and upwards of five hundred cattle, the property of the Zemindars, had fallen into the hands of the conquerors. The rest of the enemy had retired to a village named Munohurpore, belonging to Jageer of Samneasees, from whence they again attacked the forces of Serja Rao, killed four, and wounded many. In consequence of this, two battalions had advanced against them, and it was thought they must soon surrender.

The Bengal Hurkaru states, that in consequence of some recent instances of private commercial transactions in the Bengal army having been brought under the notice of the Government, an order had been issued, which declared, that any Military Officer who was proved, to the satisfaction of the Governor General in Council, to have engaged in any commercial or mercantile speculation whatever, should be held, *ipso facto*, incapable of serving, and should be forthwith suspended and sent to Europe, with a recommendation to the Honourable Court of Directors that he be discharged from their army.

The accounts from the Chittagong district stated that place to be very tranquil. The health of Mr. Adam was daily improving, and he was returning by easy stages towards the Bengal provinces.

The intelligence from Culnah was very unfavourable. A dreadful storm of hail had been experienced in those parts, which had entirely destroyed the huts of the natives, and the produce of the season. This, added to the damage sustained by the previous inundation, had created a great scarcity of food in that province, and the unfortunate inhabitants were in a great state of wretchedness and misery.

A Suttee had taken place at Sereepore, in the district of Nuddea, on the 17th of November. A young man, an inhabitant of that place, having died of fever, his widow, about 17 years old, having left an infant only two months old to the care of her mother, burnt herself on that very day, on the corpse of her husband, according to the horrid custom of the Hindoos.

A fire broke out on the 14th of January, in the spirit warehouse of Messrs. Baretto, of Calcutta: the whole of the contents of which, as well as the buildings, were destroyed. It was feared the destruction would have been more extensive, but through the exertions of the neighbourhood it was got under. Indian produce continued high, particularly indigo, of which the crop was

not more than one half that of former seasons.

One hundred and fifty eunuchs had been landed from the Arab ships during the season, to be sold as slaves in the capital of British India. Those ships were also in the habit of carrying away the natives of Hindoostan, principally females, and disposing of them in Arabia, in barter for African slaves for the Calcutta market.

Captain Parlby, model-master at Dum Dum, had so far improved the native war-rocket of Hindoostan, as to excel the Congreve rocket.

A Bengal paper states that the Government, adverting to the public welfare and general benefit which will accompany the general instruction of the natives of India, has been pleased to establish a College in Calcutta. A large building is to be erected on the bank of the round Tank, in Putuldangah, for this purpose. The Brahmin boys will be admitted into the College for education in the sciences of India, in the Sanscrit language; namely, Byakurum, or grammar; Sahettee, or poetry; Alunkar, or rhetoric; Pooron, or ancient history; Nyeea, or logic; Vidant, Sankh, Patunjal, and Mymansukh, or Brahminical theology. They will have an allowance of five rupees each per month, for their necessary expenses; and they are permitted to abide where they may think convenient for themselves, but they will attend the College during the time particularly fixed for their education; and eminent professors of the above-mentioned sciences are engaged to teach the students. The institution will commence at No. 66, in Bow Bazar, until the building appropriated to the accommodation of the College is completed.

Madras.—The advices from Madras continue to speak of the famine among the natives, owing to the scarcity of rice in the bazaars, which was not to be procured. Only one warehouse was open for the sale of this necessary article of food, and consequently the rush of people was prodigious. Many European gentlemen were seen struggling with the crowd, endeavouring to procure grain for their servants. Grain of the worst and oldest description was bought up with avidity; and many were reduced to subsist on grain, and even that could not be purchased but in small quantities. Several deaths had occurred among the lower order of natives from starvation, and many children had been abandoned by their parents. At Pondicherry, the inhabitants also suffered from want of food, and no hopes were entertained of a fall of rain saving the harvest, as the crops were all destroyed. The letters from the Shurocroyahs mention the great suffering from want of rain upon the hills, only one shower having fallen during the monsoon.

In consequence of the distress at Madras from the scarcity of grain, the following Notices had been issued, the first dated from the Revenue Department, Fort St. George, 12th December.

Notice is hereby given, that, from this date to the 31st January, 1824, no duty will be levied on grain imported from Bengal to any place under this Presidency, on grain coming from one port under this Presidency to another, or on grain imported by land to any place under this Presidency.

Published by order of the Honourable the Governor in Council.
(Signed) D. Hill, Sec. to Gov.

This was followed by the annexed Public Order, dated from the

Public Department, Fort St. George, Jan. 9.—The hon. the Governor in Council being anxious of affording further encouragement to the importation of rice at this Presidency, in consequence of a failure in the rains of the late monsoon, Notice is hereby given, that a bounty of thirty Madras rupees per Madras gorce will be paid on all rice (of the description of large rice and good quality) that may be imported at Fort St. George from the territories subject to the Government of Bengal, or from the provinces of Malabar and Canara, from the 10th February to the 7th June next.

The bounty will be paid on demand at the General Treasury in Fort St. George, on the production of a certificate from the Collector of Sea Customs, specifying the quantity which the importer or party applying is entitled to claim payment for.
(Signed) E. Wood,
Chief Secretary to Government.

The latest accounts announce the arrival of several cargoes of rice, and from different parts of India, and the measures adopted by Government had been successful in checking the dreadful visitation.

Bombay.—The advices from this Presidency announce the arrival there of his Highness Futteh Oollah Khan from Calcutta, on the 23d Dec. He was received with the customary honours.

Neither papers nor private letters from this quarter contain any mention of particular events of public interest or im-

portance, the information contained in the former being chiefly confined to the civil and military promotions, shipping, &c. and the latter to matters of a commercial nature, without allusion to politics or public affairs.

The following is an extract of a letter, dated Bombay, Dec. 31 :

I suppose you have heard of the late disagreement between the Birman empire and our Government; it is not quite settled yet, but the general opinion seems to be that it will not turn out any thing very serious at present. We have got a body of troops there. I think there is every chance of our having to go to war with them soon, for they are constantly making agressions on our frontiers, the same as the Goorkas did at first. We are all very anxious to see the steam-boat navigation set on foot. I see by the newspapers 58,000 rupees have already been subscribed towards the premium of ten thousand pounds that has been promised to the first company that makes the voyage out in a steam-vessel. This ought to stimulate the people in London with long purses, to risk a capital in the enterprise. The crops in this part of the country have almost entirely failed for want of rain; the whole tract between the Burda river and the Borespout is completely burnt up. Flour is already 10 seers for the rupee, (two or three times the usual price,) but there is no fear of a famine, as the crops were so abundant last year that a great surplus is left. A mounted post has been established from Bombay to Aurungabad, which is found extremely useful; and if it is ultimately successful, will be universally established in India.

China.—A letter from Foghan, the capital of the province of Fokun, states that even in that Empire attempts had been made to introduce secret societies of Freemasons, under the name of "The Society of Heaven and Earth," but as soon as the Emperor was informed of it he caused the members to be arrested, and severely punished, destroying the very house in which they held their meetings. A similar association had been subsequently detected in the Western Provinces, under the name of the "Triple Alliance." Of this also the members were seized and brought to punishment.

Macao.—By our accounts from this port we learn that a great sensation had been caused there by the arrival of a vessel from Goa having a person on board directed by the authorities of that place to assume the duties of Governor of Macao. That Government, however, refused to acknowledge this Pretender, as he was not deputed by the King and Cortes of Portugal. The Goa Commander, upon threatening hostile measures, received notice from the Government, attested by the most respectable of the Chinese at Macao, to depart the waters of the Celestial Empire, which he did, but not without showing his hostility by seizing the Baretto, an Indian merchantman, then in the Roads, having on board a valuable cargo. The Governor seeing no chance of success likely to attend his undertaking, was, on application, permitted by the Government of Macao to remain a few days in the offing. This, however, led to a most important result, for the troops landed suddenly from the frigate, favoured by several Mandarins, who wished to put a stop to the anarchy which prevailed, and took possession of the town, having surprised the Governor in his sleep. This event took place on the 27th Sept. The following is the official account of the landing of the troops from the frigate, and also of the arrest of the former President of the Government, Major Paulina da Silva Barboza, as transmitted by the Commandant:

At four o'clock in the morning, the Lorcha under my command anchored near the Fort of Bomparto, and immediately ordered the signal to be made for the guard to beat to arms, which was immediately answered. In consequence of this, the troops from the frigate commenced landing under the command of Majors Estifigue and Leito, and shortly after they were assembled on the ground near the Fort, when they were immediately joined by the garrison, and after mounting two field-pieces they commenced their march to the town. A detachment of 60 men was ordered by Major Estifigue to take possession of the Town-hall, and he desired me to accompany that detachment in the performance of this duty.

Shortly after, the Major arriving with the remainder of the troops, immediately ordered an officer, with 16 soldiers, to proceed to the dwelling-house of the illustrious member of his Majesty's Council, M. Pereira, and there arrest the Chief of the factious, Major P. da Silva Barboza.—In pursuance of this order, we marched to the house, and the gates being already opened, we proceeded to the apartment of the Major, and found him still asleep. We awakened him, and intimated to him his arrest by an order of the legitimate Government of this city. He appeared a good deal shook, and was so terrified as not to be able to utter a word. We got him out of the house, and conveyed him on board the frigate Salamandro, and there left him in charge of the officer on duty.

A new Senate had been elected, and the troops conducted themselves with the strictest discipline and moderation.

Singapore.—A public paper has been established at Singapore, some numbers of which have reached England; from this we learn the following particulars:

Pontiana.—Trade at Pontiana was dull, but five or six junks were expected there which, it was thought, would make the trade more brisk. The accounts received there from Celebes and the Eastward mentioned that about one hundred Bugis prows had come there during the season, from various parts of the Eastern seas, being a larger number than had ever visited that port before, although the civil war's still prevailing in the interior of Celebes, detained a considerable number of them from coming. They had imported about fifty thousand dollars worth of tortoise-shell, and the usual articles to a considerable amount. The articles of exportation in which they chiefly dealt, during the season, have been fire-arms and ammunition, white British cottons, bombazins, light British cloths, opium, iron and steel.

Batavia.—By advices from Batavia, it appears that M. Van Sevenhoven, Commissioner for Palembang, had just returned to that city, having completed his task, and definitively delivered up the Government to the President previously appointed. He had brought autograph letters from the Sultan and the Soeshoenan to the Governor General, in which those princes not only expressed their entire satisfaction with the new Regulations introduced by the Commissioners, but declared that the good effects which they had already witnessed filled them with confidence that the new mode of administration would give to Palembang a degree of prosperity and tranquillity that it never before enjoyed.—On the 7th of December a smart shock of Earthquake was experienced at Jocjokarta, and on the previous month immense damage was done to the plantations at Preangby, by heavy rains and high winds.—In the Government Gazette of the 1st November, spices are permitted to be exported for Holland, under certain conditions, by private individuals. This may be considered as a first step towards the introduction of a free trade in these articles, which have been for so many centuries subject to a rigid monopoly.

Borneo.—Accounts from Borneo communicate that the Dutch expedition, which sailed last September into the interior of that Island, up the river of Pontiana, to a distance of more than three hundred miles, had returned in the end of November. The object of this expedition was to reduce to subjection the hitherto Native states of Sangao, Santang and Silat. In this they were completely successful, the Natives having yielded without offering the slightest resistance. The Dutch Government, by this measure, have become undisputed masters of all Borneo, from the Eastern confines of the state of Bornjermassin to the Northern boundary of that of Sambas. This includes all the gold and diamond mines of the Island, and not only the Malays, but also the Chinese and Dayaks, or aboriginal population of the country within the limits above described. The ports which are now open to European commerce are Baryermassin, Pontiana, Mompaura, and Sambas, only.

Ceylon.—By the letters from this Island we learn that H.M.S. Hercules, with Sir E. Barnes and family on board, arrived there on the 12th January.—H.M.S. Liffy, with Commodore Grant on board, had arrived there the 17th of the preceding month. The great road constructing by Sir E. Barnes from the Hallolula Ferry into Candy, was proceeding regularly, and the tunnel through the hill had been perforated. During the last twelvemonth, the work had proceeded at the rate of a foot a day, the breadth being about seven feet and the height about six feet.

New South Wales.—By the arrival of the Competitor from New South Wales, with a cargo of Colonial timber, elephant oil, seal skins and wool; we have accounts from this interesting Colony to the beginning of February. All descriptions of European goods were cheap at Sydney, and provisions had declined in value nearly one half since the alteration in the state of the currency, and the great reduction made by Government. Good Green Tea, was 2*s*. 6*d*. per lb. by the chest; Mauritius Sugar, 3*d*. per lb. by the box; and Loaf Sugar 1*s*.; Wheat was 3*d*. 6*d*. and 4*s*. 6*d*. per bushel. Mr. Oxley, Surveyor-General, had returned, in January, from an examination of part of the coast to the North, and succeeded in discovering a river in Mioriton Bay, lat. 28. (which he has named the Brisbane), superior to any yet known in New Holland. He ascended it for fifty miles, and saw its course from an eminence for thirty or forty miles more, being compelled to return

from further examination for want of provisions. It is three miles broad at the entrance, and has usually from three to nine fathoms water up to where he left off the survey; but about twenty miles from the sea it is crossed by a ledge of rocks, over which there is only twelve feet at high water. At the distance to which he penetrated the tide rose four feet and a half, and ran upwards of four miles per hour. The country all around was an undulating level, abounding in very superior timber, the soil rich and well covered with grass, but rather strong. The river came from the S. W. in the direction of the Macquarie marshes, of which it may probably prove the outlet, being at the termination of Mr. Oxley's survey, about 350 miles in a direct line from where he lost the Macquarie among reeds, in his former trip into the interior. The country around was not subject to flood, no marks of it being seen exceeding seven feet above the then level of the river, which was considerably within its banks. It contained abundance of fish, and several parrots were shot in its vicinity, of the same species as has hitherto only been found on the banks of the Macquarie. A river of tolerable magnitude, called the Tweed, was also discovered behind Mount Warning, a little to the southward of the last, with a good bar harbour of fourteen feet, and the country seemingly good around. A smaller one called the Boyne was also found in Port Curteis.

The Governor intended proceeding, in April, to explore the Brisbane, in his Majesty's ship Tees, lately arrived from India. Mr. Oxley's health having been materially injured by his two former hazardous expeditions, the hardships encountered in this last had given it a still severer shock; but he had recovered considerably at the period of the Competitor's departure, and was anxious to set out on a further journey of discovery for the benefit of science and the colony, to which his meritorious and patriotic exertions have already been so serviceable.

Mr. Archibald Bell, jun. of Richmond Hill, had also discovered a new route over the Blue Mountains to Bathurst, by way of Richmond, which passes through a fertile well-watered, brushy country. Besides considerably reducing the distance, the road will be comparatively level, and free from nearly all the obstacles which render the bleak and barren one now used so uninviting to the traveller, and ill adapted for the passage of carts and driving of cattle. The Veteran Corps, lately disbanded, is to be settled along this line.

A stage coach, with four horses, has recently commenced running daily between Sydney and Paramatta, leaving Sydney in the morning and returning in the evening; while a handsome two-horse spring caravan for passengers leaves Paramatta in the morning, and returns in the evening. These conveyances were paying so well, that a second caravan was preparing to run between Sydney and Paramatta daily, a third between Paramatta and Liverpool, and a stage coach between Paramatta and Windsor, so that now travellers may proceed by daily stages to all the well-settled parts of the colony.

The five hives of bees taken out by Captain Wallace, of the Isabella, were thriving well, and had thrown off many swarms, the greater part of which had escaped into the woods, where they will, no doubt, multiply fast, from the climate and country being so favourable to their propagation, so that wild honey and wax may hereafter become objects of interest to the colonist for domestic purposes and exportation, besides what will be produced from them in their tame state.

Mr. Hannibal M'Arthur some time ago imported six young olive-trees from England, from five of which eighty-three young plants have been raised by means of layers, while the parent stems have added a full third to their growth. The soil is a very sandy light loam, of which Mr. M'Arthur was clearing several acres with the view of planting an olive grove, as from the luxuriance of their growth, this soil appeared to be so well adapted to them. Should the production of the olive progressively increase at this rate, Mr. M'Arthur will be able in a few years to disseminate this valuable tree over the whole Colony, where all attempts at propagating it have hitherto failed.

A tread-mill for grinding flour had lately been erected at Sydney, by Government, which answers so well as an object of terror to criminals, and as a means of making their punishment a source of profitable labour, that others were about to be established on a more extensive scale. A quantity of New Zealand flax had also been imported, which the female convicts in the factory were taught to dress in the New Zealand manner, by two natives of that country, after which it is spun and manufactured by the female convicts,

into various descriptions of cloth.—Should this manufacture be properly encouraged, it may not only prove a profitable way of employing the female convicts, whose bad characters unfit them for family servants, but by encouraging the New Zealanders to raise a commodity which they can always barter for European articles, may, in the end, allure them from acts of murder and cannibalism, to that of following a useful occupation by which all their wants may be supplied.

Tobacco had this year been so extensively cultivated, that the Colonists will be independent of all Foreign supply; a duty of 4*s*. per lb. having been laid upon imported tobacco, to encourage that of Colonial growth. This measure had put a complete stop to the cultivation of tobacco in Otaheite, where it had lately been produced of very superior quality. Had the duty not exceeded 4*d*. per lb. upon the Otaheitian, it would have afforded a sufficient protection to the Colonial grower, without annihilating its cultivation in Otaheite, which may be considered in the light of a dependence of New South Wales, and on that account ought to be entitled to some consideration.

The country is rapidly clearing by means of the clearing gangs, the settler paying five bushels of wheat per acre, on open forest land, to make it fit for the plough. A large distillery has just been completed, to distil from grain; and all the common earthenware used in the colony is now made by ten Staffordshire potters, who say that the New South Wales clay is very superior to the English.

Van Dieman's Land.—The Hobart Town Gazettes state, that in the vicinity of that place, eight distilleries had been established, and likewise salt and soap manufactories on Breme Island. They announce also the death of Lieutenant Cuthbertson, of the 48th Regiment, who perished with six seamen in an endeavour to save a government schooner, which had been run on shore near the mouth of Gordon's River. It was contemplated at Hobart Town to remove the Assize of Bread, and leave the price of that commodity open to competition similar to the plan adopted a year or two since in this country. A meeting had been held of the Agricultural Society, and from the speeches at the meeting, it appears that the climate of Van Dieman's Land was capable of producing wool and other staple commodities, equally as good as what is produced in Great Britain. A great increase had taken place in the exports both of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land; which was chiefly owing to the duty being taken off Colonial oil and timber, so that they now afford a remunerating profit to the shippers; but it is also without doubt, partly referrible to the reduction of Government expenses in the Colony, and Government Bills being no longer disposed of at a fixed price, but sold to the highest bidder; so that the merchants find it more profitable to make their remittances in produce, than in Bills which now bear a profit of fifteen to twenty per cent. A great devastation had been made by disease among the poultry during the last season.

AFRICA AND ITS ISLANDS.

Cape of Good Hope.—By the last arrivals from the Cape of Good Hope, we learn that Griqua Town was again threatened with an invasion by foreign tribes. Mr. Hamilton, the Missionary at New Lattakoo, had arrived at Griqua Town with intelligence which he had received from the tribe of Red Caffres, that a few days journey to the eastward of Kurichane, one of their chiefs had seen several foreign tribes which consisted entirely of warriors from the five nations or tribes, and exceeded in numerical amount the Marootses, Wanketsees, Barrolongs, and Bechuanos together. Their professed intention was to make war and be revenged on the people who had killed their friends and relatives. They said they would go to Makabba and then to the town of Thunder and Lightning, meaning Griqua Town, and see the people who rode upon wild horses and carried thunder and lightning upon their shoulders. The general name of these invaders is Malehamagate, and one of their kings is Raseebe, uncle to Chuano, a king or great chief, who was killed at Old Lattakoo. It was further reported they had surrounded a Boqueen Town, and had killed nearly the whole of the inhabitants. The Red Caffres had already removed a few days journey towards Lattakoo, and it was probable they as well as the Marootses and Barrolongs, would fly westward to the Carghanay desert, as soon as the enemy approached.

It was generally thought these accounts were correct, as they were in a great measure corroborated by some Corranas who came down the Orange River, and from whose reports it would appear, that the invaders had crossed it on their way to the north-west; which seems to be the same route that was

taken the last irruption by the Chuana and Mantatees. Having undertaken this expedition without their women and children, it was supposed they would be more expeditious, and the inhabitants of Grigua Town were in daily expectation of hearing of their approach.

Sierra Leone.—We regret to say that the Official Despatches from Cape Coast Castle, which have arrived since our last, confirm the prior information in its most melancholy particulars. As these are of considerable interest to the public generally, we give these documents entire. The following is a letter from Major Chisholm, addressed to R. W. Horton, Esq. dated Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 23, 1824.

SIR,—It is with infinite sorrow I acquaint you, for the information of Earl Bathurst, that since I had the honour of addressing you on the 10th instant, on the subject of the engagement which took place near Assamacow, in the Western Wassaw country, on the 21st ultimo, between a division of his Majesty's troops and native allies, under the immediate command of Sir Charles M'Carthy, and an army of Ashantees, I have ascertained that his Excellency was severely wounded, taken prisoner, and immediately put to death by the barbarous enemy.

I am concerned to state that of 11 officers of the regulars and militia who belonged to his Excellency's division, two only have returned here. Mr. J. T. Williams, secretary, and another gentleman are said to be prisoners, and it is understood that the other seven were killed, either in the action or after they were taken prisoners.

It was my intention to have reported in detail by the present conveyance, but the state of my health prevents my doing so.

My medical attendant gives me reason to hope that I shall be sufficiently recovered in seven or eight days to write, and as I deem it of the utmost importance to put his lordship in possession of a perfect knowledge of the state of affairs in this quarter, I purpose sending the officer next in seniority to myself (Captain Laing of the Royal African Colonial Corps) with my official despatches.

The extensive knowledge of the African character possessed by this gentleman, his uninterrupted intercourse with our principal allies, since the commencement of hostilities, together with his general experience, qualify him well to afford his lordship any information which my letters may fail to convey.

The Ashantees, said to be fifteen thousand strong, have continued at Assamcow since the action of the 21st; but it is rumoured that they are making preparations for advancing on Monday next, the 1st of March.

All the force I have been able to collect does not exceed six thousand muskets, and as I do not consider it prudent to hazard a general engagement, I have determined on taking up positions on the bank of the river Boosom-pra, to dispute the passage of the enemy, and I am sanguine in my hopes that the measure will be attended with success.

The natives of an extensive village in the vicinity of Succondee having fired on the boats of one of his Majesty's ships, disarmed several of our soldiers who were wounded in the late action, and were endeavouring to effect their escape from the Ashantees, and having moreover destroyed Succondee, it was thought necessary by the senior naval officer and myself to attack it, and a force of one thousand two hundred men was accordingly embarked on board the squadron, and the place was taken possession of on the 17th instant without any opposition, and immediately set on fire.—I have, &c.

(Signed) J. CHISHOLM,
Admg. the Govt. & Major Comdg. the Troops.

R. Wilmot Horton, Esq., &c.

The following is an extract of a second letter from the same, dated 16th March.

The most numerous body of our force was encamped at a place called Yancoomassie, in the Fantee country. It consisted of the men of that nation, of a few regulars, of the Annamaboe militia, and of some unorganized natives of that town, the whole under the command of Capt. Alexander Gordon Laing, of the Royal African Corps.

His Excellency having issued orders to Capt. Laing to advance and menace the Assin country, with a view to bring them over to our cause, he had accordingly proceeded about thirty miles, when reports reached him from the officer in temporary command at Cape Coast, of the result of the engagement of the 21st of January, and also of the unfavourable disposition of the Elminas; in consequence of which he made the best of his way to Cape Coast Castle, where I found him on my arrival, with a considerable portion of his force.

A fourth division, under the command of Capt. Blenkarne, of the Royal African Colonial Corps, was on its way to Akine, a country bordering on Ashantee, for the purpose of inducing the enemy to withdraw a part of their force from Western Wassaw; but an unfavourable disposition being shown by the Chief of the Aquapim country, the native chiefs under Captain Blenkarne's command expressed their wishes for his return. Under these circumstances, he did not consider it prudent to endeavour to prosecute His Excellency's wishes, and fell back upon Accra.

Cape Coast, Feb. 26.

SIR,—In compliance with your direc-

tion, that I should detail, as nearly as I possibly can, all the particulars that may have occurred in the division of the army which marched from Djuquah, under the immediate command of his Excellency Sir C. M'Carthy, as well as such circumstances as may have fallen under my observation, relative to the action which took place on the 21st ultimo, in the Wassaw country, between the said division and an army of Ashantees, I have the honour to state, that I marched from Djuquah at seven o'clock on the morning of the 9th, with one company of the Royal African Colonial Corps, 80 strong; one company of Volunteers, 68 strong; three companies of militia, 170 strong, making a force of 318; besides 200 Commendas, 200 of Appia's people, and a company of natives of Cape Coast, about 40 strong, making a total of 440, which were ordered to follow us; this, with the troops which marched under my command, made a force of 758 strong.

Bansoo, a village distant about seventeen miles from our camp at Djuquah, was the place at which we were directed to halt. His Excellency having marched on by himself, we overtook him about half way; the road, or rather tract, was excessively bad, in consequence of which, we did not arrive till a late hour in the evening at Bansoo, much fatigued.

We remained at Bansoo the whole of the next day, the 10th, waiting for the native force to join, which they did not do until late in the day. The next morning, the 11th, his Excellency marched off with the combined force of regulars and militia, and desired I would remain till every thing was sent forward. This I found the greatest difficulty in accomplishing, as I could not get carriers, the people who had brought the things from Djuquah having run away. I was therefore obliged to send a party of the rear-guard to press every person they could find, women as well as men; and after a considerable delay, we succeeded in getting a sufficient number of carriers, and proceeded; but a number of them, as they found opportunities, flung their loads into the woods and ran off. We arrived at a village on the banks of the Boosompra, called Ihimin, late in the evening of that day, having marched eighteen miles, where we remained till six o'clock the next morning, the 12th, when we marched for another village, about seventeen miles lower down on the banks of the Boosompra, named Daraboassie, which, from the extremely bad state of the path, being frequently obliged to pass swamps which took us much higher than above our knees, we did not arrive at till very late in the day, every person excessively fatigued; the native force at this time kept a considerable distance in our rear.

About seven o'clock in the morning of the 13th, we commenced crossing the river Boosom-pra, about 200 yards wide, in small canoes (eight in number), which could only carry two men at a time, besides the person who paddled. As soon as the company of regulars, under the command of Ensign Erskine, crossed the river, his Excellency, who was one of the first that had passed over, proceeded with them on the march, towards Assamcow, in the Wassaw country, distant about twenty miles from the river. To give a description of this road is beyond my ability: suffice it to say, that in my opinion I think it impossible that there can be any thing worse in the shape of a path; we had to cross numerous small rivers, some of which, from their extreme depth, as well as the numerous swampy places we had to pass over, considerably delayed us, and we were only enabled to reach a small village, called Guah, that night, where we slept. The next morning, the 14th, his Excellency proceeded in advance with the company of the Royal African Colonial Corps, and desired I would bring up the rear. We did not find this path so bad as was expected, and we arrived at Assamacow, at about half-past two in the afternoon, where we halted and remained five days, waiting for the native force to come up; we found Mr. Brandon, the Acting Ordnance Storekeeper (Cape Coast), at this place, where he had arrived several days before with ammunition, &c. having come in the Colonial schooner to Succondee, ten hours march, to Assamacow, which was truly welcome now to us, as our men (the regulars and militia) had only twenty rounds each man, a great deal of which, from the badness of the paths, the crossing of rivers, and the rain which fell on our march, was damaged, and which was immediately replaced: at this place we found provisions very scarce. During our stay at Assamacow, we were informed that the Wassaws and Dinkeras were retreating before the Ashantees, and were in distress for provisions: Sir Charles, therefore, immediately on the arrival of part of our native force, despatched Mr. Tasker Williams, the Colonial Secretary and Adjutant-General of Militia, with twelve volunteers, to assure the Wassaws and Dinkeras that he would, in a day or two, march forward with the force under his command to join them, and that he expected the division of the army under Major Chisholm, and numerous parties of natives, would soon form a junction with us, and then we should have sufficient force to meet the Ashantees; but Mr. Williams found them retreating, and it was with the greatest difficulty he persuaded them (they having crossed the small river Adoomansoo) to halt on its bank, and make some preparation for defence, till Sir Charles should join with his force: this was on the 20th, on the morning of which I arrived with the company of the Royal

African Colonial Corps; the company of volunteers, and the three companies of militia, already alluded to, having, by direction of his Excellency, marched from Assamacow on the 19th. On my way to the Wassaws and Dinkeras, I met a very great number of women and children, and, sorry am I to say, men: I asked the men where they were going? they told me they were going to look for provisions, and would soon return; on my arrival on the borders of the aforesaid river Adoomansoo, on the morning of the 20th, having been, from the extreme bad state of the paths, the mud in some places reaching to the middle of our bodies, obliged to sleep one night in the bush: from Assamacow to this river, I should suppose, is distant about 24 miles.

Shortly after my arrival with the troops, Mr. Williams, Adjutant-General of Militia, informed me that he could not get any of the people to cut the bush for the camp. I accordingly went to the Chiefs of the Wassaws and Dinkeras, and told them the necessity there was for the bush about the place, intended for a camp, to be cleared, and which ought to be done immediately; they promised to send people over to the opposite bank of the river, where we expected the Ashantees to attack us, and to have all the wood cleared immediately. Shortly after this the Wassaws mustered their force, and were moving off with every thing they had. I inquired where they were going? They said they were going to clear the wood on the other side of the river. I stopped where they had to cross over, for a considerable time, to see if they really intended to go over; but at last I could plainly see their intention was to retreat; I therefore put a strong guard of militia to prevent their doing so, till Sir Charles should arrive. I then sent for the chiefs or headmen, and asked them what they intended to do—whether they intended to fight or not? They said they intended to fight. At this moment an alarm was given that the Ashantees were advancing, and every one went to his station, where we remained for about five hours, exposed to a most tremendous shower of rain; it being by this time nearly dark, and as it is a rule with the Ashantees never to fight at night, we called in the troops, leaving sentries where necessary. Immediately on the alarm being given, I despatched a messenger to his Excellency to request he would send all the assistance he could; at this time it was supposed his Excellency was at a croom with two huts, about four or five miles from us. Both officers and men slept this night without any covering, as there was not time to erect huts, and the men were much fatigued. Next morning, the 21st, his Excellency arrived with about 200 of Appia's people, and 40 of the natives of Cape Coast, the Commendas having halted on the way. I acquainted him with the manner the Wassaws had behaved. After he had taken a little rest, he sent for the chiefs of the Wassaws and Dinkeras, but before he had got half through the palaver the alarm was given, and every person repaired to his station. His Excellency then went round with me to see how the men were posted.

About two o'clock the Ashantees, about ten thousand in number, marched up to the opposite bank of the river, when the action commenced on both sides with determined vigour, and lasted till nearly half-past four o'clock. It was reported before four o'clock that the regulars, volunteers, and militia, had no ammunition left, only twenty rounds per man having been previously issued to them, on which I immediately went to the Ordnance Storekeeper, Mr. Brandon, who had received his Excellency's positive orders always to have forty rounds for each man, packed up in kegs, and which was always to accompany him; but he acquainted me that he only had with him one small keg of ball and one of powder, which was immediately issued to the men, but which, it may be supposed, did not last very long. The enemy perceiving that our fire had become slacker, attempted to cross the river, and succeeded; they had frequently attempted the same thing before, but were repulsed with great slaughter; they at the same time sent a very considerable force round our flanks to cut off our retreat, which they completely succeeded in doing, from their superior numbers: the whole now became one scene of confusion, the enemy having intermixed with us. In my retreat I observed his Excellency a considerable distance before me: soon after which some guns were fired from the direction in which he was going, and there was a general rush back of the people who were following him, but after which I saw no more of his Excellency; the people took different directions, and a number of the wounded men followed me into the thickest parts of the woods, through which, with the assistance of a Wassawman, who undertook for a reward to guide us, we travelled the whole of that night and half the next day, frequently going a considerable distance through a stream of water, for the purpose of hiding our track. When we got into the wood leading to Assamacow, and proceeded about five miles, a party of the enemy was reported to be before us; we therefore retreated, and got into another path leading to the same place, but we had not proceeded above three miles, when we had again to retreat, as a party of the enemy was just before us. Just about sunset I fortunately fell in with a party of Wassaws, who were in search of their wives and children, whom the Ashantees had taken; they said they were going towards the Boosom-pra, and that

they would conduct me over to it. We, however, slept in the woods, and about three o'clock in the morning we commenced our march. We observed a number of infants lying in the bush gasping for breath, the Ashantees having taken their mothers to carry their plunder, and obliged them to throw their children away; we, however, recovered a number of the women, and killed about twenty of the enemy. I unfortunately lost my shoes in the mud on the 22d, and had to travel the whole of the 23d without shoes, a distance of about 30 miles. I shall say nothing of the hardships I underwent, as you could be able to judge from the state in which you found me on the 24th.

Before I close this, I conceive it my duty to state, that the conduct of the company of the Royal African Colonial Corps, the volunteers, and militia, was highly creditable; in short, they behaved bravely. It was reported, that Quashie Yaccoom's people (the Wassaws) left the field early in the action.

Annexed is a return of our loss in killed, wounded, and missing. The enemy's loss must have been very great, as one of our balls, from their crowded state, must have killed and wounded two or three at a time. The force we had engaged (including the Dinkeras and Wassaws) did not amount to two thousand. The Commendas were not in the action.

I have, &c.

H. J. RICKETTS, Capt. and Maj. of Brigade.

Maj. Jas. Chisholm, R. A. Col. Corps, Comt. Cape Coast Castle.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Regular and Militia Force in the action with the Ashantees, on the 21st Jan. 1824, in the West Wassaw country:—

KILLED.

Officers.—Capt. Heddle, Royal Cape Coast Militia.

Men.—Number not ascertained (see return of missing.)

WOUNDED.

Officers.—Capt. Ricketts, 2d West India Regiment, Brigade Major to the Forces, slightly. Ensign Erskine, Royal African Colonial Corps, slightly.

Men.—2d West India Regiment, orderly Sergeant to Commander of the Forces, 1; Royal African Colonial Corps, 17; Royal Cape Coast Militia, 58; Royal Volunteer Company, 14.—Total, 90.

MISSING.

Officers.—His Excellency Brig. Gen. Sir C. M'Carthy, Commander of the Forces; Ensign Wetherill, 2d West India Regt.; Dr. Beresford Tedlie, Surgeon 2d West India Regt.; T. S. Buckle, Esq. Colonial Engineer and Colonial Aide-de-camp to his Excellency; Capt. Jones, Royal Cape Coast Militia; Capt. Raydon, Royal Cape Coast Militia; Capt. Robertson, Royal Volunteer Company; Mr. Brandon. Acting Ordnance Storekeeper.—(Supposed to have been killed.)

Men.—2d West India Regt., orderly to the Brigade Major, 1; Royal African Colonial Corps, 41; Royal Cape Coast Militia, 81; Royal Volunteer Company, 54.—Total, 177.—(Supposed to have been killed or lost in the woods.)

We have also some further accounts of the death and last moments of Mr. Belzoni, contained in a letter, addressed to Lieut. Scott, of his Majesty's brig, Swinger, by Mr. Houtson, a British trader at Benin.

Gato, Dec. 6, 1823.

My dear Sir,—It is with feelings of deepest distress that I announce to you the death of our illustrious friend, Mr. Belzoni, who paid the debt of nature at Gato, on the 3d instant, at fifteen minutes before three, p. m.

I wrote to you from this place on the 2d, and on despatching your canoe, set off for Benin. On my arrival, I found Mr. B. much worse, with every symptom of confirmed dysentery: from the first day of his arrival at Benin, he lost his wonted spirits, and told me the hand of death was on him: on receiving the medicine chest from Gato, on the 28th, he took large quantities of castor oil, but without any benefit. I strongly recommended a course of calomel combined with opium, until a slight salivation should be effected, but he declined it, as too hazardous in his so weakly state.

On the morning of the 2d, he begged of me, as a last request, that I would send him down to Gato, and thence to Bohee, in the hopes of the sea breeze having a beneficial effect; to which, although most reluctantly, I at last consented, believing that a change of air might possibly have some good influence, although I had but little hopes. I accordingly got the people ready, and sent him off at eight o'clock, by R. E. Smith, intending to follow him myself the moment the hammock bags returned from Gato. They reached the place late at night: on the path the flux abated, and on his arrival, Mr. B., although much fatigued, conceived himself better, and appeared in very good spirits. He ate a piece of bread, and drank a cup of tea, after which he slept until four o'clock, when he awoke, with a dizziness in his head and coldness of the extremities, with a rattling in his throat. He drank some arrow-root gruel, and continued in a quiet state until his death, suffering but little pain, apparently.

On the morning of his leaving Benin, he called me, and desired, in case of his death, I would send home what articles could not be sold in the country, by your vessel. I requested he would have the

goodness to sign a few lines to you on the subject; I wrote them down to his dictation, and he afterwards felt well enough to copy the whole himself. He then wrote to his agents, Messrs. Briggs and Brothers, and was going to write to his wife, but his strength failed him. However, he desired me to bear witness that he died in the fullest and most affectionate remembrance; and begged I would write to her, with the ring he then wore. He was perfectly collected, and spoke with calm fortitude of his approaching death, as an event certain,—and declared, when he had finished, that he was satisfied, and committed his life and spirit to the will of God.

I arrived at Gato on the afternoon of the 4th. Mr. Smith had already prepared the body for interment, and I went and arranged with the Governor, to bury it under the large tree that you and I cleared away last year for a cool retreat from the heat of the sun. We made the grave six feet deep,—it was finished at nine o'clock, when we committed his remains to the earth, paying every mark of respect the situation and time permitted. I read the church service, and after the conclusion, my canoe-men fired three volleys of musketry over his grave.

Thus died, my dear Sir, this celebrated and intrepid traveller, in the flower of his age, and every arrangement made, for his setting out on his daring enterprise, with the fullest prospect of reaching, in a short period, that famed Timbuctoo and Houssa, which has been the object of so many travellers, and in which they have been hitherto unsuccessful and unfortunate.

I had considerable difficulty in allaying the King's jealousy, and more particularly that of the rascally Emigrams and Fieddors (that is, nobles), but at last succeeded in recovering them—got the King's messenger, the boatswain of my factory, and Rob and Two, to accompany Mr. Belzoni as far as Houssa—to wait there his return from Timbuctoo, and bring letters for myself and his friends in Europe, on the receipt of which I was to give my note for a fine present to the King, and to pay the messenger according to the report the letters should give of his conduct. This was the plan I mentioned to Mr. B. on his first coming into the river; and on no other could he have gone forward.

I am still of opinion this is the only practicable path to Timbuctoo. I know the point of departure must be from some powerful King in the Gulf of Guinea,—as the distance is not great, and the communication is frequent. Dahomey to Lagos, Jabos, and Benin, although less to Benin than the former. But the King's name is feared and respected to the borders of Houssa, so that I should consider myself perfectly secure, going and returning with his messenger. I am, &c. J. HOUTSON.

MEDITERRANEAN.

Constantinople.—The sailing of the Turkish fleet from the Dardanelles for the Morea, is the only political news of importance from the capital of the Turkish Empire, which has arrived during the month. The private letters speak of its equipment in terms of great irony, as serving only to expose more the weakness of the Ottoman power. The greater part of the seamen had been forced into the service, and, with the exception of the Algerine vessels, there was scarcely an effective ship in the squadron.

Smyrna.—The accounts from Smyrna hand us nothing of any material importance; that city was tranquil, and no outrages either against Greece or humanity had stained its annals since the prior accounts.

Egypt.—The accounts from Egypt present little new. An Arabian fanatic had appeared in Upper Egypt, who gave himself out for the Visir, or the Precursor of the Prophet El Mokodi, who died a thousand years ago. This Chief had collected a numerous band under his standard, and had marched from Kassein to the Nile, of which he had made himself master. The Pasha had caused the corps of troops which occupied Sidul to march against him, in hopes of stopping his progress.

Greece.—Every thing, by the last accounts, appeared to remain stationary in Greece. Colocotroni, his sons and partisans, had not only submitted themselves to the orders of the Senate, but their influence and exertions had been restored to the service of their country; for the Senate, when convinced of his sincerity, had directed him to resume the investment of Patras, and also directed one of the General's sons to proceed to Candia, with reinforcements; and, if possible, to liberate that Island from the yoke of barbarism. The consequence of the submission of Colocotroni was the occupation of Napoli di Romania by the Senate. The greatest unanimity prevailed among all classes of the Morea, and preparations had been made, on the most extended scale, to repel the Turkish invasion.

A letter from Napoli di Romania communicates some details of the mode of carrying on the elections in Greece. They are said to be founded on the mode of universal suffrage, every Greek citizen, above 21 years of age, being permitted to vote. The voters do not,

however, directly nominate their own representatives, but appoint deputies, who meet and vote for the members who are to serve in the Senate.

A private letter from Greece states, that the Turks have effected a landing in Candia and Negropont, but that at the first-mentioned place they were repulsed with great slaughter. The force of Ulysses at Negropont was considerable, and it was fully expected that the utmost extent of the evil of the arrival of the Turkish troops, would be to prolong the resistance of the fortress of Negropont. No details are given of the affair in Candia.

According to this letter, the Turks have abandoned all idea of invading the Morea this summer.

A press had been established at Napulia, which was sent to the Greek Government by M. Firmin Didot.

Ionian Islands.—Letters from Zante state that great preparations had been made for conveying the body of Lord Byron to England; but Lord Sydney Osborne, whose opinion on this subject was to decide those who intended to show this respect, had expressed his objections to the plan, and a wish for the interment of the body at Zante.

The following proclamation, issued by Sir Frederick Adam, upon assuming the function of Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, appears in the *Corfu Gazette*, of the 10th ult. :—

PROCLAMATION.

Sir Frederick Adam, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, Commander of the Order of the Bath, Knight of the Austrian Military Order of Maria Theresa and of the Russian Order of St. Anne of the First Class, Lieutenant-General, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Troops in the Ionian Islands, and Lord High Commissioner for his Majesty in the United States of the Ionian Islands, &c.

His Excellency having received a despatch from Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, in which he is informed that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint him, in the room of the late Sir Thomas Maitland, to the post of Lord High Commissioner for the Supreme Protector of the United States of the Ionian Islands, and his Excellency having officially announced this nomination to the President and Senate, his Excellency communicates it to the public by the present proclamation, which shall serve as a guide to the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, and to all whom it may concern.

His Excellency, on entering upon the office graciously confided to him by his Majesty, and thereby becoming the organ of his Majesty's unceasing paternal care for the inhabitants of these islands, cannot conceal his want of confidence in his ability to execute these benevolent intentions; and this distrust is the more increased, when he reflects that he has been chosen by his Majesty to succeed the distinguished person whose memory will be ever dear to these Islands, and whose loss can be no more adequately repaired than sufficiently lamented.

But, while his Excellency is profoundly and sincerely penetrated by these feelings, he cherishes the confidence that he shall be able, at least to a certain degree, to fulfil the benevolent intentions of the Supreme Protector, as his efforts will be directed to act on the same principles, and in the same spirit, which guided all the actions of his esteemed predecessor in fulfilling his Majesty's intentions.

His Excellency the Lord High Commissioner also derives courage from the perfect conviction that every endeavour which has for its object the welfare and prosperity of the Ionian people, will find an effectual support in the wisdom of the Executive Power, and the patriotism of the Ionian Parliament, and that the zeal of the Government in promoting the welfare of the Ionian people will produce the happiest results, seconded by the fidelity and attachment which this people have always manifested towards their Government, and their Supreme Protector, to whose paternal care they are indebted for the Constitution under which they live.

The present Proclamation shall be printed in the English, Greek, and Italian languages, and made generally known to the public.

Given at the Palace, Corfu, April 10, 1824.

By command of his Excellency,

(Signed) THOMAS LANE,

Priv. Sec. to the Lord High Commissioner.

The following notice was published on the 13th of April, by order of the Senate and of Sir Frederick Adam, the new Lord Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. It is subjoined to the re-published Proclamation of Sir Thomas Maitland, of the 7th of June 1821, in which all Ionian subjects were cautioned against taking any part in the hostilities then pending between Greece and Turkey :—

It is hereby notified that it shall no longer be permitted to any individual or individuals, not being Ionian subjects, to reside in the Ionian territory, if they shall take part, during their residence in the said territory, in the present hostilities in Greece, by giving aid to either party.

By order of the Senate,

(Signed) SYDNEY G. OSBORNE,

Corfu, 13th April. Secretary.

Algiers.—There is nothing of any consequence from Algiers; the port still continues blockaded, and additional bomb vessels have been sent out, but no accounts of any actual attack have yet reached us. The following is an extract of a letter from an officer of the English squadron off Algiers:—

Our force off Algiers, at this moment, under the command of Sir Harry Neale, consists of the Revenge, 78; Glasgow, 50; Cambrian, 48; Active, 46; Naiad, 46; Ranger, 28; Weazel, 10; and schooner Express. The Sybille is daily expected.—News having arrived here to-day, by the Weazle, from Marseilles, that the bombs cannot be expected here for six weeks, we purpose distributing our provisions and water amongst the ships to be left here, and proceeding ourselves to Malta to refit, and thence, after displaying our flag on the coast of Italy, return to the blockading squadron, to await their arrival. The Cambrian accompanies us to Malta, and it is expected will shortly sail for England. A Dutch frigate and brig joined us this morning; having stated their only intention to be that of endeavouring to get their Consul off, they have permission to communicate. A Neapolitan frigate and French schooner, are (having obtained our permission) at an anchor at Algiers—the latter in the Mole. Our blockade has been excessively well conducted, nothing having either arrived or sailed without submitting to our search. The war is known to be very unpopular, amongst the Algerines, and is only prolonged on their side by the stubborn will of the Dey. It is now four years since he has stirred out of the fortifications enclosing his Seraglio, and during that time there has been as many unsuccessful revolts; they yearly menace and besiege him about the time of the Bairam, but this wary old Mohammedan having, *by some masterly stroke of Turkish policy*, made his interests, and those of his Janissary guards coincide, all attempts to depose him have as yet proved abortive. Matter is much in *statu quo*, gaiety rather increased by the exertions of Lady Neale, but her endeavours have been much retarded, by the absence of the Revenge.

MEMORIAL OF THE SPICE PLANTERS OF BENCOOLEN TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

It appears by a paper lately printed by order of the House of Commons that, on an average of 16 years, the annual consumption of nutmegs is 42,630 lbs. and of mace 24,860 lbs.; and a Memorial, of which the following is a copy, has recently, we understand, been presented to his Majesty's Ministers, as well as to the East India Company.

London, June 10, 1824.

That your Memorialists are possesed of considerable property at Bencoolen, and particularly of extensive plantations for the cultivation of nutmeg and clove trees, on which large sums have been expended, without as yet having yielded any adequate returns.

That those plantations were originally commenced with the immediate sanction and strong encouragement of your Honourable Court, communicated through the Governments in Bengal and Bencoolen, and have since been greatly increased, under repeated assurances of their continued support and protection.

That in addition to these powerful incentives to their enterprise and industry, your Memorialists were from the beginning taught to believe, that, in establishing in Sumatra a counterpoise to the Dutch spice monopoly of the Moluccas, they were rendering an acceptable service to Great Britain, and were, in fact, promoting a great national object; and although your Memorialists disclaim the affectation of having allowed greater weight to this consideration than, as men of business and merchants, they may be supposed to have done, yet they do assert that it has operated throughout strongly on their minds as an additional encouragement to persevere; nor could they anticipate that an object which had long been deemed so important in Europe would be lightly or abruptly abandoned, or that the interests of individuals, embarking their fortunes in such an undertaking, would fail to receive due consideration at the hands of the British Government.

Under this confidence, and with these prospects, the Bencoolen planters have gone on, for the last twenty years, extending their cultivation and increasing their outlay, until, through their individual exertions and at their individual cost, a sufficient quantity of the finest spices is now produced at Bencoolen for the consumption of Great Britain; and every prospect exists that, with due encouragement and protection for a few years longer, that settlement might divide with the Moluccas the supply of the world.

In this state of things, and when your Memorialists were looking forward with confidence to some remuneration for the great sacrifices of the preceding years,

they learn, with the utmost surprise and alarm, that Bencoolen has been ceded to the Dutch, and under circumstances which must involve your Memorialists in utter ruin.

For, on referring to the Treaty between the two Countries, your Memorialists do not find any specific stipulations for the security of their interests, nor for indemnity against the losses which must overwhelm them, when the Dutch shall again be put in undisturbed possession of a monopoly which they have ever exercised most rigorously, and to which they have always attached the highest importance.

As to the general assurances of protection which the Treaty contains, your Memorialists know too well how to appreciate them; for without wishing to attribute to the Netherlands Government any vindictive feeling towards your Memorialists (however natural it is that such anticipations should exist in the minds of your Memorialists), still less meaning to question the good faith and sincerity of the Dutch negotiators who signed the Treaty, your Memorialists cannot forget that all experience shows the utter improbability of a jealous commercial state abandoning a profitable and favourite object to which she has invariably attached so much value, and to which she still evidently clings with equal pertinacity, merely because the interests of a few unprotected foreigners happen to be at variance with her own, and require for their security a different and more liberal line of policy.

Yet if the Dutch spice monopoly is to be upheld in all its strictness (as the Treaty declares that it shall be) and if the same principle is extended to Sumatra, (without which, indeed, the declaration would be nugatory,) the Bencoolen planter is as effectually ruined as if every tree in his possession were torn up by the roots.

The spice plantations of Bencoolen are still for the most part in their infancy—the clove and nutmeg trees requiring 8 or 10 years of incessant care before they bear any thing, and then becoming only gradually productive until the 20th year, when they attain maturity. They are not therefore by any means as yet in a state to compete with the longer established and more favoured culture of the Moluccas; and so sensible were your honourable Court and the British Government of this important fact, that when the Spice Islands were restored to the Dutch at the last peace, a protecting duty equal to 30 per cent. was granted to the spices of Bencoolen when consumed in Great Britain; while throughout the British possessions in India they were relieved from all duties whatever when imported in a British ship.

Your Memorialists conclude, that these indulgences and protections, both in India and in England, must cease with the transfer of Sumatra to an alien Power; and if to this be added, as must naturally be anticipated, the exaction by the Dutch of the same export duties at Bencoolen as are levied at all their other possessions in the East, instead of a free export which is now permitted, the impossibility of your Memorialists carrying on their trade for even a single year must be apparent to any one at all conversant with the present situation of the Sumatran planters.

Under so many depressing circumstances, as unexpected to your Memorialists in the midst of profound peace, as they are calamitous to their interests, your Memorialists see but one course to pursue; they throw themselves on the justice and liberality of your Honourable Court, and of the British nation, and claim indemnity for their losses. The transfer of Bencoolen will undoubtedly relieve the East India Company from a heavy annual expense, and the arrangement may also possibly be productive of political and commercial advantages to Great Britain; but it is inconsistent with good faith and common justice that these results should be purchased at the expense of individuals who had been led on, by the warmest encouragement of the Government under which they resided, (even up to the date of the last advices from Sumatra,) to invest their fortunes in an object once deemed of high national importance, although now no longer thought worthy of support.

Your Memorialists therefore most humbly but earnestly pray, that the necessary measures may be taken for ascertaining the loss which will be sustained by your Memorialists, by the depreciation of the value of their respective plantations and other property, and that a fair and reasonable indemnity may be granted to them, according to the universally admitted principle, that when the interests of individuals are sacrificed to national objects the sufferers are entitled to equitable compensation.

The quantum of depreciation which their property will sustain, your Memorialists submit, may easily be ascertained, under the superintendence of fit and impartial Commissioners, by putting up the estates of such proprietors as are desirous of relinquishing them to public sale, after the transfer of the Colony shall have taken place, and comparing the price then *bona fide* obtainable for them with that at which they were respectively rated, in an official survey valuation of British property in Sumatra, made very recently under the orders of the Superintendent of that settlement, Sir Stamford Raffles; a valuation which your Memorialists conclude to have been a fair one at the time, although certainly not including in its amount one half of the sums actually expended on the different properties.

HOME INTELLIGENCE.

Sir John Malcolm.—A paragraph has appeared in several of the London papers, stating on authority, the appointment of Sir John Malcolm to the Government of Bombay. We have reason to believe, however, that this is premature. It is true that Mr. Lushington has declined accepting the appointment: but his successor is said to be a gentleman not now in England, though we have not learnt distinctly who this individual is, except that he was not a candidate for the employment, but has been selected for the office, by those in whose patronage the gift is placed. We should be glad, however, to see Sir John Malcolm obtain the object of his honourable ambition: because, notwithstanding his recently avowed opinions on the subject of Free Discussion in India, we believe he would make a liberal, popular, and an upright Governor: and as the Press at Bombay is already free under Mr. Elphinstone, though fettered by a Censor at Madras, and a Licenser in Bengal, we should have sufficient reliance on his *earlier* notions of freedom, to believe that he would not invade that freedom by imposing fetters which his predecessor had not thought wise or even expedient.

Sir Edward West.—In the midst of a discussion of Mr. Peel's Jury Bill, which took place in the House of Commons in the early part of June, Mr. Scarlett incidentally brought forward the case of Sir Edward West and the Barristers at Bombay, which drew forth some observations from Sir Charles Forbes; who thereupon gave notice of his determination to move for papers on this subject, in order that all the facts of the case might be accurately known. On the day fixed for this purpose, a long and animated discussion took place, in which Sir Charles Forbes, Mr. Jones, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Trant, Sir James Mackintosh and others took a part; but though the debate lasted more than two hours, the Newspaper Reporters, have comprised the whole matter in less than a dozen lines; and it would appear that there must have been some general understanding between them for its suppression, as the same brief notice is given in all the papers, Ministerial and Opposition. We have heard it suggested that as there is among the majority of the Reporters a feeling towards the Bar, they might have been *insensibly* led to conclude, that the publication of what fell from the speakers would not be necessary. Be this as it may, we regret the omission, and can only promise to supply it to the best of our ability, by the publication in a succeeding Number of some choice portions of the correspondence which passed between the Barristers and Attorneys on this subject in Bombay; attested copies of which are in our possession.

We have before given it as our opinion that the insatiable and grasping eagerness of the Barristers after enormous and unwarrantable fees, was the entire cause of this difference between the Bench and the Bar; and without at all shrinking from the honest expression of our sentiments, as to the doctrines avowed by Sir Edward West, on his suspension of the whole Bar of Bombay, we must again repeat that his motives, which were to give cheap justice to the Natives, afford a pleasing contrast to those of the lawyers, which appear to have been to fleece their unfortunate clients without mercy or moderation.

It may serve as some guide to the English reader, as to the enormous and unjustifiable expenses of suits in India, to state the following facts, which we have from good authority, and believe to be founded in truth:—A short time ago, a suitor in the Court at Bombay had bills for law expenses presented to him for payment, the amount of which exceeded 12,000 rupees. He insisted on their being taxed by the proper officer, and they were reduced to 4,500.

In another case, a demand was made for a sum exceeding 14,000 rupees; and the payment being refused on the ground of excessive charges, the parties claiming the sum, accepted, as a compromise, 5,000 rupees, not because of the poverty of the individual, but to avoid his threat of bringing the bill of costs before the notice of the Court.

These facts cannot require a word of comment from us:—We shall, perhaps, add others to them in our next.

Tea Trade.—Accounts relating to the Tea Trade of the East India Company, from 1819 to 1823 inclusive, have been presented to Parliament.

The China trade being the only monopoly now remaining in the hands of the East India Company, its operation upon the price of tea has been the subject

of much observation; for though it cannot be denied by any one, that by means of the monopoly a tax is levied upon the people of England for the benefit of the India Company, the amount of that tax is disputed. That it is of no trifling amount the accounts before us would lead us to believe. The Company exported from Canton, it appears, in the year 1820-21, 1,964,527 lbs. of Bohea tea, the prime cost of which was 75,330*l.* which makes something between 9d. and 9¼d. a pound. The average price at which this quality of tea was sold in England, in the sales of 1822, was 2s. 5d. 8-10.—2s. 6d. 3-10.—2s. 5d. 5-10. and 2s. 4d. 7-10. On Congou, the species of tea of which the greatest quantity is consumed (about 19 millions out of 27) the sale price at the Company's sales in England is about 2s. 8d., while the prime cost has been about 1s. 4d. The Government duty, moreover, is regulated by the price at the Company's sales—95 per cent. on that produce; so that the Bohea, which is bought in China at 9d., costs, duty included, about 5s. at the *wholesale* price in England; and, when duly intermingled with ash and blackthorn, it may fairly go into the tea-pot at 6*s.* The Company must levy about two millions a year upon the tea-pot. The enormous tax which is thus levied upon tea-drinkers does not go all directly into the pockets of the proprietors of India Stock, for the mode of conducting the trade seems to be wasteful in the extreme. The freight paid by the Company from China in the years 1822 and 1823, has been, on the average, at the enormous rate of 21*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* per ton. There is also a pretty establishment kept up at Canton, in which eight gentlemen, under the modest name of *supra-cargoes* and *writers*, receive various salaries and emoluments, from 4,600*l.* to 10,500*l.* per annum each; while eleven others, who, from the comparative moderation of their salaries, we suppose are not full-grown writers, are paid at various rates—rapidly ascending from 70*l.* to 2,500*l.* per ann. It is not to be supposed, however, that these gentlemen maintain themselves on their salaries; for a sum of 13,000*l.* to 14,478*l.* a year, is set down for their maintenance. It must be extremely consolatory to the drinkers of bohea, at 6*s.* a pound, that the business of shipping it at Canton is managed, among others, by two Baronets! We shall give our readers the salaries of these gentlemen in 1821-22, which are as follows:—

Sir T. J. Metcalfe, Bart.	£8,741
Sir J. B. Urmston	10,489
James Molony, Esq.	8,741
James T. Robarts, Esq.	8,741
Sir W. Frazer, Bart.	7,285
F. Toone, Esq.	6,556
William Bosanquet, Esq.	5,682
W. H. C. Plowden, Esq.	4,953

Quantity of Tea sold by the East India Company, in 1823:—

	Pounds.	Average Price.
Bohea	1,904,435	2s. 5d.
Congou	18,681,884	2s. 8d.
Campoi	408,769	3s. 6d.
Souchong	1,285,230	3s. 6½d.
Pekoe	46,005	5s. 7d 1-10
Twankay	4,158,355	3s. 8d.
Hyson Skin.	319,425	3s. 4½d.
Hyson	916,846	4s. 4d 1-10
Total...	27,720,949	

Tea exported from Canton, in 1823, 27,478,813 lbs., at the prime cost of 1,924,738*l.*

Total value of British imports into Canton, for the year 1823, 604,975*l.* They would have amounted, but for the loss of the Regent outward-bound ship, to 738, 598*l.*

Presentations at Court.—Among the Indian officers and gentlemen presented at the King's Court and Levee, on the 9th of June, we notice the following:

Lieutenant-Colonel Wesselin, on his return from India, by the Lord in waiting.

Rev. Charles Burlton, on being appointed Chaplain to the Russian Company at Cronstadt.

Colonel Frederick, on his return from India, by Sir J. Malcolm.

Colonel Hunter, Grenadier Guards, on his return from the West Indies and America, by the Honourable Colonel Townshend.

Colonel Henry Thornton, 40th Regiment, on his departure for New South Wales.

Mr. E. Lefroy, Judge of the Mixed Court for the repression of the slave trade at Surinam, on his return to that colony, by Mr. Canning.

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, on going to the Continent.

Mr. Spankie, late Advocate-General for Bengal, on his return from India, by Mr. Williams Wynne.

Cession of Territory.—By accounts from the Hague of the 24th May, we learn that, on that day, in the Second Chamber of the States General, the Central Section brought the report on the project of law relative to the treaty of

London, of which the following is the tenor:

All the Sections have highly approved the Treaty concluded at London, March 17, 1824, between the British and Netherlands Plenipotentiaries. Most of the Sections have made no observations whatever.

Some Sections required a guarantee that the 100,000 pounds sterling which England is to receive, according to the 16th Article, shall fall entirely to the charge of the Indian possessions.

The Government referred them to the explanatory memorial, which other sections rightly understood, and had expressed their satisfaction with the security that was obtained.

The 5th Article gave rise to the observation, that by the British laws, the slave trade is placed on a par with piracy, and that in the Legislation of the Netherlands, there is no enactment, which can authorize a Judge to affix to the traffic in slaves the punishment of piracy.

The Government replied, that this observation is in itself well founded, but that the piracy here alluded to, is not so much that of which the subjects of the two Powers may be guilty, as that which is constantly carried on by Indian provinces and nations against their subjects themselves. So far, however, as this observation may imply a wish for a more positive law on the slave trade, the Assembly is informed that the Government is actually engaged in planning a measure of this kind, and that it may probably be laid before their High Mightinesses in the following sitting.

In the sitting of the following day the discussion of the Treaty was concluded, adopted unanimously, and ordered to be sent to the First Chamber.

By the accounts from Brussels we learn that the following note was delivered by the English Plenipotentiaries to those of the Netherlands on the day when the Treaty was signed.

On proceeding to the signature of the Treaty which has been agreed upon, the Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty feel a lively satisfaction in expressing the justice which they owe to the spirit of good will, and liberality, manifested by their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of the Netherlands, and their conviction that both parties are equally disposed to execute sincerely, and in good faith, the stipulations of the Treaty in the sense in which they have been negotiated.

The differences which give rise to the present discussion are of the nature of those which it is difficult to arrange by formal stipulations, consisting, in a great degree, of jealousies and suspicions, and occasioned by the acts of subaltern agents, they can be terminated only by a frank declaration of the intentions of the Governments themselves, and by a mutual explanation of the principles which guide them.

The disavowal of the measures which had retarded the execution of the convention of the 13th August, 181‸, will have proved to their Excellencies, the Plenipotentiaries of the Netherlands, the scrupulous exactness with which England always fulfils its engagements.

The British Plenipotentiaries recollect with real pleasure the solemn disavowal, on the part of the Government of the Netherlands, of every project to aspire at either political supremacy or exclusive trade in the Indian Archipelago.

They readily acknowledge the promptness of the Plenipotentiaries of the Netherlands to enter into arrangements calculated to encourage the most complete liberty of commerce between the subjects of the two crowns, and their respective dependencies in that part of the world.

The undersigned are authorized to express the entire adherence of his Britannic Majesty to the enlightened views of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands:

Appreciating the difficulty of suddenly adapting to a long established exclusive system the principles of commercial policy which have just been established, the undersigned have been authorized to agree that the Molucca Islands shall be excepted from the general stipulation of a free trade, as the Treaty describes it. The hope, however, that since the necessity of this exception is caused only by the difficulty of abolishing at the present moment the monopoly of the Spice Trade, the effects will be strictly confined to that necessity.

The British Plenipotentiaries consider the term Moluccas as applicable to the whole of that Archipelago which is bounded on the west by Celebes, on the east by New Guinea, and on the south by Timor; but that these three islands are not included in the exception, which would never have been extended to Ceram, did not the situation of that island with respect to the two principal ones for the cultivation of spices, Amboyna and Banda, require a prohibition of traffic during the whole time that it shall be necessary to maintain the monopoly.

The exchanges of territory which have been judged necessary, in order to avoid all collision of interests, imposed on the Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty the duty of giving and requiring some information respecting the subjects and allies of England in the island from which it is going to withdraw. A treaty concluded by British Agents in 1819, with the King of Acheen, is incompatible with Article 3 of the present Treaty; the British Plenipotentiaries, therefore, promise, that the treaty with Acheen shall be re-

duced, as speedily as possible, to the terms of a simple arrangement, for the hospitable reception of British ships and subjects in the port of Acheen. But as some of the conditions of this Treaty (which has been communicated to the Plenipotentiaries of the Netherlands,) will be advantageous to the general interests of Europeans settled in the Eastern sea, they confidently hope that the Government of the Netherlands will take measures to place these advantages above all violation, and they likewise express their conviction, that no hostile measure towards the King of Acheen will be adopted by the new possessors of Fort Marlborough.

It is not less the duty of the Plenipotentiaries to recommend to the kind and paternal protection of the Government of the Netherlands, the natives and colonists subject to the ancient English factory of Bencoolen. This request is the more necessary, as at a period so late as 1818, conventions were made with the native chiefs, in consequence of which the situation of the natives has experienced essential amelioration. The compulsory system for the cultivation and supply of pepper has been abolished; encouragement has been given to the cultivation of rice; the relations between the agricultural class and the chiefs of the districts have been regulated; the property of the soil has been adjudged to the latter, and an end been put to all interference in the details of the internal administration, by removing from the advanced nations, the European residents, and putting in their place native officers: the object of all which measures was to favour the interests of the inhabitants. In recommending these interests to the care of the Government of the Netherlands, the undersigned request the Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands to assure their Government, that the British Authorities will on their side show particular attention to the inhabitants of Molucca and the other possessions of the Netherlands ceded to Great Britain. In conclusion, the Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty congratulate their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of the Netherlands on the happy issue of their conferences. They are convinced, by means of arrangements which have just been concluded, the commerce of the two Nations will prosper, and that the Allies will be able to preserve no less entire in Asia than in Europe the friendship which has so long subsisted between them.

Now that an end has been put to the disputes which for two centuries have occasionally produced irritation, there can no longer be any rivalry in the East between the English and Belgian Nations, but for the more solid establishment of those principles of liberal policy, which they have this day solemnly recognised in the face of the Universe.—The Undersigned being, &c.

In the debate on this Treaty Messrs. de Celles, Beelaerts, and Van Alphen, spoke at some length on the freedom of commerce, and expressed a hope that the example given in this respect by the Netherlands, may be followed by other Powers. M. Beelaerts spoke of the importance of the Cape of Good Hope, and concluded with a wish that circumstances might again restore it to the Netherlands.

RECEIVING MONEY FOR PROCURING A CADETSHIP IN INDIA.

In the Court of King's Bench, June 21, the following case was tried and adjudged.

The King v. *Bascom*.—This had been an indictment against Taggart and Bascom for receiving 100*l*. in consideration of obtaining a Cadetship in the East India Company's service. The indictment was founded on the 49th of George III. Taggart had been acquitted, and Bascom found guilty. Mr. Taggart was an opulent gentleman retired from business, and Bascom was his confidential servant. Mr. Taggart had used his influence to get a cadetship for a Mr. Pritchard, afterwards, on his death, to transfer it to a Mr. Bennet, who went to India as a cadet in consequence. Bascom had received 100*l*. for his services on this occasion. Mr. Taggart was charged with knowing and conniving at this bribe to his servant, but the jury acquitted him. Bascom now appeared to receive judgment.

The Lord Chief Justice read his notes of the trial.

Mr. Common Serjeant appeared for Bascom, and put in an affidavit by the defendant, denying parts of the evidence, and deposing that his exertions had been from friendship, and that the transaction respecting the 100*l*. was only an accommodation. Several affidavits, some from persons of station and respectability, gave a very high character of the defendant. The learned Gentleman then addressed the Court in mitigation. He inferred, from a comparison of this statute with another, passed in the same Session, that the great object was to prevent the corrupt election of Members of Parliament, which was found to have often been effected by a barter of appointments in the East India Company's service. There was no imputation against Mr. Bebb, the Director, through whose influence the appointment was obtained; nor was there any evidence that the other defendant, Mr. Taggart, was privy to any promise of money.

The Lord Chief Justice.—Not the least.

Mr. Common Sergeant.—A Mr. Mor-

gan, of Cardiganshire, had written to Bascom, who appeared to have acted entirely from friendship. It was true Morgan had promised 150 guineas, but there was no evidence that Bascom had paid any attention to that promise. Bascom had received a promissory note for 100*l.* from Morgan, but Morgan had become bankrupt, and not a shilling had to this hour been paid. Bennet's brother had paid the money to Morgan, and Mr. Taggart had very materially exerted himself to recover payment of the note for his faithful servant, who had served him for 30 years.

Mr. Chitty followed on the same side.

Mr. Gurney spoke in aggravation, and said he thought it good fortune for Mr. Taggart that he was acquitted.

Mr. Justice Bayley pronounced the judgment of the Court. It did not appear that the defendant had sought out persons to give money, but that he had been drawn in by his friend Morgan. Had he known his duty, the letter of Morgan ought to have been thrown into the fire, and all friendship to have from that moment ceased. It appeared that his character was good, and that he had a family. Under all the circumstances, the Court ordered and adjudged that Henry Bascom pay to the King a fine of 200*l.* and be imprisoned in the custody of the Marshalsea until that fine be paid.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT RELATING TO THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

On the motion for going into a Committee on the East India possessions bill, on the 18th June, in the House of Commons, there was considerable discussion.

Mr. Secretary Canning rose and said: In pursuance, Sir, of the promise I made a few nights back, I propose, in moving that you leave the Chair, to open very shortly the nature of the transaction out of which this measure arises. I take the liberty of presenting myself to the House on the present occasion, although the Bill is in the hands of my Right Honourable Friend, the President of the Board of Control (Mr. Wynne), because the treaty originated at the time when I had the honour of holding that office, and therefore I am responsible for the principle upon which it is founded. In order to judge of the transaction fairly, Gentlemen will please to recollect the situation in which things stood at the conclusion of the war. It will probably be remembered, that at that period all the possessions which had been taken from the Dutch were restored to them. I am not now called upon to discuss the policy or expediency of that measure; but I think I am prepared to show that in the existing circumstances of the times, it was highly desirable not to press too hardly upon that country; and at all events the treaty with the Netherlands received the approbation of Parliament. In this state things stood until some time in the year 1816, when I came into office as president of the Board of Control. There were many stipulations than in progress—many had not been fully explained—many were left open to discussion; and from the natural eagerness, on the one hand, to obtain repossession of those settlements from which they had been driven by conquests, and from the slowness natural to the transaction, great delay took place, and considerable difficulties arose on account of the great distance from home. In consequence of this a degree of ill humour had sprung up, which required a great deal of management and forbearance to appease. I trust I shall not be supposed unkind in wishing to disparage those who were employed in our own service; but I must state, that there was a view taken of the transaction by the subordinate agents of the East India Company, inconsistent with their capacity of subordinate agents—they questioned the policy of the Treaty, and seemed more disposed to look into the stipulations than to carry them into execution. At a considerable distance from any control, agents are apt to forget the relation in which they stand to those who intrust them with power; and so it happened, that these Gentlemen placed the Government at home in this perplexing condition. They must either be pledged to support them in all their extremities, or be reduced to the necessity of rescinding their acts; and I think I speak within bounds when I say, that there were at that period, in the year 1816, no less than half a dozen treaties in progress of negociation, without any authority whatsoever (hear, hear). At that time I received constant communications that a design was entertained by the Government of the Netherlands to retake all the possessions and recover all the advantages which they had formerly enjoyed; and to exclude the English from all participation in the trade in those seas. As was my duty, I frequently required, in answer to those representations, some specific act which could be substantiated by evidence, so that the question might fairly be brought under consideration. But to all my demands I never could get any thing like a distinct answer; I received constant reiterations of the intentions of the Dutch Government, abundance of vague insinuations, and even, by way of illustration,

an obscure reference to the massacre of Amboyna (a laugh). On the other hand, complaints reached me from the Netherlands of the tardiness of our agents to make restitution; and it happening very unfortunately at that time that a most distinguished Gentleman, of considerable talents and great zeal for the public service, the then Governor of Java, was sent to Bencoolen, and having been raised from the humble title of Resident, which, in fact, meant nothing more than Superintendent of Pepper (a laugh), to the rank and station of Lieutenant Governor, a suspicion was entertained that there was a design on the part of the English Government to form a new empire in the Indian seas, of which Bencoolen was to be the capital. Out of this state of things arose a feeling of ill humour between two Powers, which, in my judgment, had every reason of sound policy for agreeing, and, in fact, there seemed to have been no prospect of bickering. As the greater part of the imputation against the Indian Government was a design of exclusive trade and an intention to keep the commerce in the Indian seas to themselves, the first step towards a negociation was to get a disavowal of the principle, although no act had been committed. I am aware that such a course is unusual in diplomatic intercourse; but as the great question was the principle to which I have alluded, our first object was to have this principle disavowed. In the course of these mutual animosities, by the enterprising spirit and sound judgment of the Gentleman I have already mentioned, we became possessed of the Island of Singapore, the advantages of which must be too well known to require now to be explained. It may, perhaps, be expected that I should explain the nature of our title to this possession. As facts and documents are necessary to a clear title, I individually was certainly of opinion that we could not substantiate our title; but as all titles in the East are not of a very accurate and defined nature, I thought it would be a mistake to apply to this particular case the general principles of European policy, or any high romantic feelings of morality (hear, hear!). Amongst the charges against the Netherlands, it was urged that they had entered into treaties with all the Eastern Islands, excluding all other European Powers from commercial intercourse. This was a species of Treaty which it was obviously our interest to annul; but, at the same time, I could not help remembering, that we ourselves had entered into similar Treaties with other States. However, the existence of this fact did not take away my desire to abrogate the Treaties to which I have alluded; but, then, there were considerable difficulties to be encountered. This consideration led me to look at the means whereby we could repair the error, and undo the advantages which the Dutch possessed, and accordingly a Treaty was entered into at the restoration of peace to restore to the Dutch some Islands, amounting to 12 in number. These Islands were not of very great size or extent. They were trifling in point of income, and most inconvenient as to the rights and claims which they set up; in every one of which they were the subjects of constant discussion and irritation, and were sure to continue, so long as our intercourse with them was maintained. It was, therefore, thought desirable to remove these annoyances, and to avoid all mutual recriminations, for each party could justly upbraid the other with the charge of "*et tu quoque.*" The results of this Treaty were—an admission of the principles of free trade—a line of demarcation was drawn, separating our territories from theirs, and thus avoiding all differences arising from immediate contact—ridding them of their Settlements on the Indian Continent (hear!). All these objects are now attained—we have obtained Singapore, we have got a free trade, and in return we have given up Bencoolen. So far from Bencoolen having been advantageous in point of revenue: it was a most onerous and inconvenient possession, and when the question of abandoning it altogether was mooted, and the Company ultimately came to the determination of retaining it, it was not on account of its importance, but from their not being able to say into whose hands it might fall. The Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hume) opposite, will remember that it cost this country 85,000l. annually over and above its income, for the maintenance of that barren possession, and the only return we received was the cultivation of spices. But the Indian Government gave the ground, gave the plants, and gave the money for cultivation; and when the question was whether the possession should be abandoned, it is a little hard to quarrel with the abandonment when we got something for it (hear, hear!) But it is said we have given away a valuable possession to the Dutch, because it was considered favourable to the cultivation of spices; but with this I have nothing to do—with this the Treaty has nothing to do. But, in fact, Bencoolen yields very little spice, and the East India Company has at this moment in its stores as great a quantity of every species of spice as will do for five or six years' consumption, which will supply the period within which will arise the re-consideration of the Charter. The whole danger then to be apprehended is reduced to this, that the country may, perchance, run short of nutmegs, cloves, and cinnamon, for our puddings (a laugh). By the way, I said cinnamon by mistake, for when we talk of their monopoly in nutmegs, we have the monopoly in cinnamon (hear, hear!) I could not have the face to argue with the

Dutch on the subject of monopoly. If I said, "You have a monopoly of spice,"—they would answer, "But you have a monopoly in opium." "We have salt," "but you have cinnamon" (hear, hear!) It would really require considerable powers of face to reproach the good people of the Netherlands with doing that which we practise ourselves. But to these who mourn over the loss of those savoury ingredients, it may be some consolation to know, that Singapore possesses a soil and climate admirably suited for their production (a laugh); and they may take comfort in the assurance, that long before any new appetite can be created in this country greatly surpassing any thing which has hitherto been experienced, we shall have a plentiful growth of our own, even if the Dutch should be mad enough to maintain a monopoly so unprofitable (hear, hear!). What the real value of Singapore may be, I am not prepared to say, but this I know, that in all discussions on this subject, it has ever been considered the one thing necessary, the *unum necessarium*, to render our Indian possessions complete (hear, hear, hear!). Be its value, then, what it may, that object is now secured. The cession of Malacca now gives us the continuous possession of the Malaya peninsula, and by the acquisition of Malacca and Singapore, we have the complete command of the Malacca Straits to the Chinese Sea (hear, hear!). We have further secured the extinction of the Dutch title on the continent, and we have given in return a barren settlement, which cost us 85,000*l.* annually to maintain. We have given a profession on our part of a sincere disposition to pursue the principles of free trade, and we have gained in return the same professions from a Power at all time supposed to be adverse to those points, and they are now pledged in the face of the world to maintain free trade to a greater extent than was even yet known in Asia, and to full as great an extent as any other Power in Europe (hear, hear!). Having therefore laid the foundation of a friendly understanding between the two countries, and obtained for England all that she required; I cannot think that the treaty has done any disservice to the country, having purchased all that we wanted, at no other sacrifice than the surrender of a settlement, which from principles of policy we were called upon to abandon. It is out of these transactions, Sir, that the present Bill arises; and it is proposed to place the new settlement under the control of the East India Company, subject, of course, to the same responsibility as for all the other Indian possessions. I now move, Sir, that you leave the Chair.

Mr. Hume said, the giving up of these possessions to the Dutch was one of the grossest blunders that diplomacy had been guilty of. We had, by our attention to the interests of the natives, brought Java to a state of civilization equal, he would say, at least to that of the people of Ireland. The Dutch, on the contrary, had never, while they had possession of that island, employed any other measures to civilize the people but those of brute force, and were completely hated by the natives, as those governments always would be who relied on such measures; and now, hated as they were, had our Government, with a violation of good faith, delivered the natives over to them bound hand and foot. The present cession was directly contrary to the policy which was vaunted of by the Noble Lord in 1814. We had acquired Banca under the express condition, we had received it from the natives under the stipulation, of not giving it up to the Dutch. And what were the privileges we had obtained for this violation of good faith? The privilege of selling two hundred chests of opium, which under the most favourable circumstances, could only produce a trifling profit. We had obtained, in fact, nothing for what we had given up. By giving up Banca, we gave up the only port we possessed. One day the Ministers magnify, when it suits their purposes, the honour and good faith of the nation, and tell us not to think any pecuniary sacrifice too great which allows them to be preserved; and on another, they sacrifice both good faith and the interests of the country. What the Right Hon. Gentleman had this night stated, was directly at variance with what the Noble Lord had stated in 1814, and directly contrary to the line of policy he then recommended. The Right Honourable Gentleman had attempted to throw ridicule on a public servant, Governor Raffles, stigmatizing him as a superintendent of pepper. Other gentlemen might, perhaps, agree with the Right Honourable Gentleman, but he could tell both them and him, if this Gentleman's plans had been attended to and followed, the Government and the Country would have escaped the obloquy which they would now receive. The Government had blundered, and now the Right Honourable Gentleman ridiculed those plans which would have saved them from blundering. Gentlemen high in office might be disposed to look with great contempt on agents and servants at a distance, but it very often happened that their plans were better adapted to the wants of the people they were acquainted with than those of higher officers who were not on the spot. They knew the interests of the parties better, and he was persuaded that Governor Raffles' plans were better than those of the Right Honourable Gentleman. He wished the Right Honourable Gentleman would look at the History of India (hear, hear! from Mr. Canning), and he would find the whole policy formerly pursued by this country was the reverse of that which

he was now following. He did not know why, because he had all of a sudden turned round, that he should ridicule Governor Raffles for following the principles which had so long guided our Indian Government. The Right Honourable Gentleman, too, throws ridicule on the romantic principle of keeping faith, and adhering to our engagements (No, no! from Mr. Canning). The language of the Right Honourable Gentleman implied that; and every cession we had now made, was a gross violation of public faith and public honour. He (Mr. Hume) had formerly proposed that our extensive establishments at Bencoolen, and Prince of Wales's Island, should be got rid of, and this might have been done without any violation of faith; but he would never agree to the proposal of giving these places up to the Dutch. All the treaties we had concluded since 1785, would show that we were delivering over our friends and allies to the most hated and most detested Power of all the Europeans that were ever in India. He himself had seen this. The Malays were so exasperated by the treatment of the Dutch, that it was not safe for any ship of any other nation to encounter a Malay vessel. By a different treatment we have succeeded in pacifying them, and making them so civilized that it became safe to trade with them. At Bencoolen, up to 1818, the natives had kept the possession of the territory, giving up to us only the fort, and a short distance around it, for a commercial establishment. We had acquired no rights of dominion. On a particular occasion, the Attorney-General at Bengal had been appealed to, and gave as his opinion that we had acquired no right of dominion. He (Mr. Hume) had no objection to abandon the country —let the Government do so; but we had no right to give it up to the Dutch, making over to them rights we had ourselves never possessed. In 1818, the Independence of this place was secured by Treaty; and he did not suppose the Right Honourable Gentleman would deny the validity of this Treaty; and the present Treaty with the Dutch was a direct violation of that Treaty with the natives: we had no right whatever to make over the possession of the Fort to the Dutch. He would also contend, that handing Achem over to the Dutch was another breach of good faith. By doing what we had done, also, we had restored that monopoly the Dutch formerly possessed of the spices, and at the end of six years, when our present stock was exhausted, we should have to pay the same high prices as formerly. It would be the ruin also of all the settlers who had gone there, relying on the good faith of our Government. Their plantations were now in a thriving state, and by our own act we were ruining them, and giving up the natives to a power that had made itself hated throughout India, and was detested. He happened to know that a Memorial had been sent to the Government on this subject, and no answer had yet been given to it. By the present cession, we left ourselves no port in the Straits of Sunda in case of war (hear, hear, hear!). Honourable Members might say, "hear!" but we had given up the island to the Dutch, and had only preserved Malacca, which was no better than a pig-sty. The Dutch, he would contend, had no right whatever to Singapore. They had never settled it. We had excluded ourselves from the Eastern Archipelago, and could not trade with a single Dutch port there. We had lost all these advantages for that pig-sty Malacca and two hundred pounds of opium. The great advantages of this Eastern Archipelago were well known from that work, by Mr. Crawford, which he recollected to have been quoted by a Noble Lord in another place. The Honourable Member read a small extract from Mr. Crawford's book, to show the value of this Archipelago. The present treaty was contrary to our interest, and he was quite sure that all the merchants in India would cry "shame!" He contended that the House ought not to pass the Bill. The Right Honourable Gentleman had said something of monopolies. Nobody was more opposed to them than he (Mr. Hume). The monopolies of salt and of opium possessed by the East India Company were infamous. Their treatment of Holkar, with regard to the monopoly of opium, was most disgraceful. They would not allow him to sell it to any body but themselves, and they were obliged to send it to China to find a market for it. He thought this ought not to be supported; but the present cession was not doing away a monopoly, it was only changing the monopolists. He entreated the House not now to pass this Bill; there was no hurry; the measure might be postponed without injuring any body, and he should therefore move, as an Amendment, that the House, instead of now going into a Committee, should go into a Committee that day six months.

Mr. Robertson condemned the Treaty altogether. By the surrender of Bencoolen, we gave up a most valuable settlement, and endangered the security of the China trade. The revenue arising from that trade amounted to three millions, and it ought to be a question with the Government, whether upon light grounds it would endanger such a trade?

Mr. Bright observed, that we were called upon by this Treaty to give up a part and parcel of the British dominions to the Dutch, a nation that history recorded to be the most oppressive masters, at least in the East Indies, of all the nations that got dominion there. Bencoolen was a part of the British dominions, and he could not recognise any power in the Executive Government to alienate it.

Mr. Astell contended that there was nothing in the treaty to create alarm, and that the concessions on the part of the Dutch were at least equal to those made by our Government.

Mr. Trant observed the line of arrangement which the treaty had sanctioned, had received the approbation of the commercial houses in India who were in the trade of the Indian Archipelago. The cession of the Dutch settlements on the Continent of India was of great importance in relation to policy as well as revenue, and he suggested that it would be highly desirable, by treaties with the French, Danes, and Portuguese, to obtain from them the cession of the other European settlements on that Continent, which were much more injurious to us than beneficial to them.

Sir C. Forbes, in allusion to what had been said of the grasping spirit of the Dutch Government in India, said, that, in this respect there was not much difference between the Dutch and English Powers in that quarter. It was six of one and half a dozen of the other, (a laugh). The ruling principle of both of them was rapine. The treaty now under consideration was a division of the spoil without the least regard to the millions of natives whose interests were implicated, each party giving and taking what they had no right to render or to receive. By the last arrival from Singapore, he had received the first number of a paper published there, which contained intelligence of considerable importance, as showing what the conduct of the Dutch was likely to be under this treaty. The magnitude of the Island of Borneo was well known; it was the largest in those seas, and contained a vast population. The intelligence stated that an expedition sent out by the Dutch in Borneo, had just returned, after reducing several hitherto independent states. The natives had, in fact, yielded without the least resistance; for the name of the Dutch was as terrible in the Islands as the English on the Continent of India. He doubted whether the fact of this expedition was known or contemplated by the negociations on the part of England. The trade with Borneo was in the hands of the Dutch, who imposed a duty of twelve per cent. on other European vessels importing goods, while their own paid only six. He had considerable doubts, whether the Dutch Authorities in India would act up to the spirit of the treaty, though he had no doubt of the good faith of the negociators in Europe. A very imperfect control was exercised over the Dutch Governors, whose conduct was often the subject of complaint in their own countrymen, as well as others. The conduct of our own Company in India was calculated to diminish the advantages which should result to England from our Eastern possessions, and was grasping and monopolizing in the extreme. In Singapore, which had been considered a free port, the Bengal Government had imposed an additional duty of 6s. per lb. on Turkey opium, in order to secure the trade for the opium which they monopolized in India. There had also been a report of their extending the salt monopoly, which existed in Bengal, to the Western part of the Continent of India. As to the treaty, he thought, after the delays respecting it, the final conclusion of it was precipitate. It would have been well, after having delayed it so long, to have waited for the arrival of Sir Stamford Raffles, who could have supplied the Ministers with information respecting the Indian Islands, of which they were necessarily deficient. He objected, too, to the cession of Cochin, with the Sovereign of which we had a defensive alliance. He felt some satisfaction to find, on the part of the Dutch, a disposition to give up the spice monopoly.

Mr. Money differed from his hon. friend (Sir C. Forbes) and highly approved of the treaty. He remarked that an article in the treaty particularly guarded against the repetition of such an occurrence as his hon. friend had mentioned in the case of Borneo. In Borneo the Dutch had only a few military settlements at the mouths of rivers, and we were left at full liberty to trade with all that great island, abounding in population, and the richest productions of the earth. The native trade to Singapore, from the Eastern Archipelago, was very considerable; 100 vessels had arrived at that port from the Eastern Archipelago, manned by from 30 to 80 men each. The Dutch settlements on the Indian Continent ceded by the treaty, had been represented as insignificant. Territorily they were so: but these settlements, 15 in all, might be most mischievous as affording a refuge to disaffected subjects, and the means of clandestine trade. What should we think if a foreign nation had one settlement at Richmond and another at Gravesend? Yet this was parallel to the case of two Dutch settlements in India—one was above, another below Calcutta. He contended that there would be no danger, on account of the cession of Bencoolen, of the interruption of our commerce through the Sunda; and as to the alleged want of a harbour, he could state, that near Singapore an island had been surveyed, which was found to contain an excellent harbour, where line-of-battle ships could lie close to the land.

After a few words from Colonel Baillie, the Amendment was negatived without a division, and the House went into the Committee.

Mr. Hume wished to know whether that was the proper time to introduce a clause for compensating those settlers who would be inevitably ruined by being bound hand and foot, and delivered to the Dutch?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Courtenay) informed the hon. Gentleman, that any proposal for compensation must be the subject of consideration in a separate Committee.

Mr. HUME begged to know what were the intentions of his Majesty's Government on the subject?

Mr. Secretary CANNING replied, that if it could be shown by any of the settlers that they had been ruined, he should not object to their receiving compensation; but he could not agree to any such proposition as that of the hon. Member's before-hand.

Mr. HUME wished to know how the settlers could be assured of being compensated?

Mr. CANNING said, that when the time come, their claims would be considered. To hold out in advance a compensation for suffering, would be the way to create suffering.

After some further conversation, the Bill went through the Committee, the Report was received, and the Bill was read a third time and passed the following day.

On the third reading of the East India Trade Bill, on the 11th,

Mr. HUME objected to it, on the ground that it gave a monopoly to the East India Company; and he should therefore move, that the third reading of the Bill should be adjourned to Monday next.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that he had no wish whatever to give a monopoly to the East India Company; this Bill was introduced for no such purpose. The case stands thus:—No dealing in the tea trade can be carried on in Canada except through this country, or the East India Company; and the question is, whereas it is impossible to carry on the tea trade except through this country—a system which is attended with great expense; and when the United States was at present supplying Canada through the means of smuggling, shall means be provided to prevent this system?

Mr. EDWARD ELLICE requested his hon. friend (Mr. Hume) to withdraw his opposition to this Bill, and endeavour to prevail, by his influence on the India Company, to throw open the trade; but he was afraid he would not be more successful than the Government. However, he trusted he would throw no opposition in the way of the Bill.

Mr. BRIGHT supported the motion of Mr. Hume, because he thought a better opportunity for discussion should be had before the Bill was carried.

Mr. WYNNE begged to direct the attention of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hume) to the terms of the Act: it contained the words, that the Company should have the "sole and exclusive right" of the traffic in tea. The question then was, whether or not they should exercise this right in a manner which would be beneficial to the colonies?

Mr. HUME said, he did not wish to divide the House; but the grounds of his opinion were, that the Company were bound to supply Canada with tea on as cheap terms as England. Now they did no such thing; and all that he wished was, that the Canadians should enjoy the privileges to which they were entitled. The Bill was then read a third time and passed.

On the same evening, Mr. Secretary CANNING appeared at the bar with a copy of the treaty between his Britannic Majesty and the King of the Netherlands. Having laid it on the table, the Right Hon. Gentleman stated, that there was one part of the treaty, namely, that which related to the footing upon which Singapore was to be placed in regard to the East India Company, which would require the introduction of a Bill, he stated, in consequence of an hon. Member opposite having on a former occasion requested some information on the subject. When the Bill should have been introduced, then an ample opportunity would be afforded of giving any explanations that might be required.

On the motion of Mr. ROBERTSON, an account was ordered to be laid before the House of the amount of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Island of Malacca, while it remained in the possession of Great Britain during the late war.

On the 21st, Sir C. FORBES rose, in pursuance of his notice, to move for certain papers to elucidate the conduct of the Recorder of Bombay, in suspending the Barristers in that Court. The hon. Member spoke in so low a tone of voice that he was inaudible in the gallery, but we understood that he considered the Recorder, Sir E. West, justified in suspending the Counsel, and he wished the papers to be produced, to make the justification public.

Mr. JONES seconded the motion.

Mr. BROUGHAM opposed it. He was of opinion, that, in the absence of all information, it would be exceedingly unfair for the House to pass any judgment on the Barristers of Bombay. Enough had appeared on the statement of the Hon. Baronet (Sir C. Forbes) to show that the Recorder had behaved with intemperance, if not oppressively, towards the Bar.

Dr. PHILLIMORE said, the case was now before the only competent tribunal—the Privy Council. While it was pending, he considered it improper to allow the *ex-parte* statements of the hon. Mover to take effect. He, therefore, begged him either to withdraw his motion, or defer it until some future opportunity.

Mr. P. COURTENAY, by way of Amendment, moved the previous question.

After a few words from Mr. Trant, Sir J. Mackintosh, and Sir Charles Forbes, in reply, the Amendment was agreed to.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[*From the London Gazette.*]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS.

BENGAL.

44th Foot. Ensign W. H. Dodgin, from 66th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Nixon, who exchanges, dated 3 June 1824.—Surgeon W. Daunt, M. D., from 58th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Jones, who exchanges, dated 10 June 1824.

MADRAS.

1st Foot. Lieut. J. Smith, from half-pay, 27th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Rafter, whose appointment has not taken place, dated 20 May 1824.

41st Foot. Lieut. M. J. K. W. Logan, from the Rifle Brigade, to be Lieutenant, vice Warren, who exchanges, dated 3 June 1824.—Lieut. W. Barnes, from 65th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Ashe, who exchanges, dated 10 June 1824.

46th Foot. W. Edwards, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Sweetenham, who resigns, dated 3 June 1824.—Ensign R. Keiley, from half-pay, 10th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Edwards, appointed to 7th Light Dragoons, dated 10 June 1824.

54th Foot. Lieut. W. Moore, from half-pay, 71st Foot, to be Lieut., vice Hawkins, appointed to 91st, dated 20 May 1824.

CEYLON.

16th Foot. Capt. W. Kemp, from 55th Foot, to be Captain, vice J. Straker, who retires upon half-pay, York Chasseurs, dated 27 May 1824.

Ceylon Regt. Lieut. T. Deacon, from 16th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Murray, who exchanges, dated 12 Jan. 1824.

WEST INDIES.

1st West India Regt. Lieut. Colonel F. F. Browne, from half-pay, 6th West India Reg. to be Lieut. Colonel, vice J. Cassedy, who exchanges, dated 10 June 1824.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[*From the Indian Gazettes.*]

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Dec. 18. Mr. F. Gouldsbury to be Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Mymensing.—Dec. 23. Mr. R. W. Barlow, to be an Assistant in the office of the Register to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and Nizamet Adawlut; Mr. G. F. Brown, Assistant to the Magistrate and to the Collector of Allahabad. —Jan. 1. Mr. E. C. Ravenshaw, to be Assistant to the Secretary to Government in the General Foreign and Commercial Department; the Hon. A. Ramsay, to be Commercial Resident at Jungypore.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Jan. 1. The Rev. Wm. Eales to be Senior Chaplain at the Presidency; the Rev. T. Thomason to be Junior Chaplain at the Presidency.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Dec. 18. Surgeon W. L. Grant to be Deputy Superintendent Surgeon until further orders.—Dec. 23. Assistant Surgeon E. T. Harpur to perform the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Nuddea, vice Row.—Jan. 3. Assistant Surgeon J. Grey to perform the Medical duties of the Banda Civil Station.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Camp, Mowhar.—Dec. 2, 1823. Lieut. Scott, 44th Regt. is appointed to act as Adjutant to that corps during the absence of Lieut. and Adj. Wooland; Lieut. Irwin, 87th Regt. is appointed to act as Quartermaster to that Regiment during the absence of Quartermaster Pucel.

Fort William.—Dec. 2. Brevet Capt. G. Snodgrass, 4th Regt. N. I. to be Deputy Paymaster at Benares, vice Oliver; Lieut. T. Worlow, Engineer, to be a District Barrackmaster, and posted to 7th or Cawnpore Division.—Dec. 18. Captain J. Tennant, of the Regt. of Artillery, to be First Assistant Secretary to the Military Board; Lieut. E. J. Smith, of the Corps of Engineers, to be Assistant to Capt. R. Smith, Superintendent of the Doab Canal; Lieut. Col. A. Macleod, C. B. to a seat at the Military Board.—Dec. 23. Lieut. Col. G. Macmorine, 20th Regt. N. I. to the command of the Eastern Frontier, vice Popham; Ensign J. Tindal, of the Engineers, to be Assistant to Lieut. Forbes, in charge of the machinery, &c. for the New Calcutta Mint.—Dec. 24. Ensign the Hon. F. G. Howard, of H. M. 13th Regt. Light Infantry, to be Aide-de-camp and Brevet Captain, A. St. Leger M'Mahon, of H. M. 16th Lancers, to be extra Aide-de-camp to the Gov. General.

Head Quarters, Camp, Bareilly.—Dec. 24. Lieut. A. Lermit, 12th Regt. N. I. to be Adjutant to the Mundlaisir Corps (Local).

Fort William.—Jan. 1, 1824. Mr. A. Cardew and Mr. J. Abbott are appointed Cadets of Artillery, and Mr. F. Abbot, a Cadet of Engineers, in conformity with their appointments, and promoted to the rank of 2d Lieutenant and Ensign respectively, leaving the dates of their commissions for future adjustment.

GENERAL ORDERS.

By the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council.

Fort William, Nov 21, 1823.

No. 184 of 1823.—At the recommendation of his Excellency the Commander in Chief, and with reference to the Orders noted in the margin,* it is hereby directed, that the surplus pay and arrears of European soldiers, or non-commissioned, which may accumulate during their confinement in jail for criminal offences, or by the sentence of military courts in soli-

* Oct. 11, 1822, and May 9, 1823.

tary confinement in congee houses, &c. after providing for their subsistence and clothing during confinement only, shall be appropriated towards the regimental school, or otherwise usefully expended for any public or regimental purpose, at the discretion of the commanding officer, the same being duly notified in Regimental Orders.

The Order Books to be corrected accordingly. WM. CASEMENT, Lieut. Col. Sec. to Gov. Mil. Dept.

By order of his Excellency the Commander in Chief,

THO. M'MAHON, Col. A. G.

Head Quarters, Camp, Konka, Dec. 10, 1823.

With reference to General Orders, No. 2930, of the 13th May last, and to those of the 23d October, 1822, No. 2736, His Excellency the Commander in Chief is pleased to publish for the information of the Royal Forces in India, the subjoined General Orders by the Supreme Government, bearing date the 21st ultimo, and to call the particular attention of Commandants of Corps in his Majesty's service, to the appropriation therein directed of the surplus pay and arrears of European soldiers and non-commissioned, which may accumulate during their confinement.

The Brigade Major to the King's troops in Fort William, drawing the pay of all soldiers, whose corps are not on the spot and who are in confinement, under the sentence of courts martial at the Presidency, will, after deducting the amount for replacing regimental necessaries, &c. appropriate the balance to the purposes of the regimental school of such corps as may, from time to time, be stationed within the garrison of Fort William.

Head Quarters, Camp, Allygung, Dec. 23.

The separate command of the Artillery in the Field having been abolished, the Commander in Chief is pleased to direct, that the following arrangements for assimilating the Artillery Divisions with those of the Army be carried into effect:

The Artillery at Nusseerabad, Neemuch, and Mhow, to form the Western Division; the Head Quarters of which are to be established at the former Station.

The Artillery at Loodhiana, Kurnaul, and Dehlie, to be included in the Meerut Division; as also the Artillery at Agra Head Quarters, Meerut.

The late 1st Division of Field Artillery to be denominated the Cawnpore Division, including the posts of Pertaubgurh and Sultanpore Oude.

The Artillery Divisions of the Saugor Force and Nagpore Subsidiary Force to continue under their present form and denomination.

The Allahabad Company, being attached to the Garrison, is not included in any Division.

The Benares and Dinapore Commands remain as at present.

The Head Quarters of the 3d Battalion of Artillery to be established at Cawnpore, whither the Commandant and Staff will accordingly move.

The 7th and 8th Companies of that Battalion to be temporarily attached to the 2d Battalion at Dum Dum.

Lieut. Col. Pennington, of the Horse Brigade, will command the Meerut Division.

Lieut. Col. Hetzler, the West. Division.

Major Parker, the Cawnpore Division; and Major Boileau, of the Horse Brigade, the Nagpore Division.

Capt. Tennant will relieve Lieut. Col. Hetzler in the command of the Artillery at Agra.

The Records of the late Field Artillery Command to be forwarded for deposit to the Assistant Adjutant Gen. of Artillery.

Capt. Shaw is removed from the 5th Company, 1st Battalion, to the 2d Company, 3d Battalion of Artillery, and directed to proceed and take the command of the Artillery at Kurnaul without delay.

Field Officers will be appointed to the Command of the Artillery at Mhow, Saugor, and Agra, whenever the state of the Regiment will admit.

Sergeant Jamieson, attached to the Garrison of Asseergurh, is appointed an Overseer in the 6th or Allahabad Division of the Barrack Department, with reference to Government General Orders, No. 174, under date the 7th ultimo.

Sub-Conductor John Smith is posted to the Magazine at Fort Marlborough, vice Sub-Conductor Sheean, who will continue attached to the Arsenal.

J. NICOL, Adj. Gen. of the Army.

Fort William, Jan. 1, 1824.

No. 1 of 1824.—In consequence of some recent instances of private commercial transactions in this Army having been brought to the notice of Government, it is hereby declared that any Military Officer who may be proved summarily, to the satisfaction of the Governor General in Council, to have engaged in any mercantile or commercial speculation whatsoever, shall be held ipso facto incapable of serving, and shall be forthwith suspended and sent to Europe, with a recommendation to the Hon. the Court of Directors, that he be discharged from their Army.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief is requested to give the fullest effect to this Order.

No. 2 of 1824.—The Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the following arrangements in the subordinate branch of the Barrack Department:—

Two European Overseers to the 5th or Benares Division, in lieu of an equal number of Native Agents heretofore employed.

An additional European Overseer to the 10th or Agra Division.

An additional European Overseer to the 18th or Dacca Division, who is to be at-

tached to the duties of the Lime Agency, under Mr. W. Terranue, Assistant to the Barrack master of the Division.

No. 9 of 1824.—No information having been received of Lieut. and Brevet Capt. William Cotes, of the 28th Regiment Native Infantry, who obtained a furlough to Europe, in General Orders of the 11th Oct. 1817, beyond the fact of his having proceeded to the Island of Java, where he is now residing, the name of that Officer is hereby directed to be struck off the List of the Army, from the date of the expiration of his furlough, viz. 23d June 1820. WM. CASEMENT, Sec. to Govt.

Fort William, Jan. 9, 1824.—The Governor General in Council has been pleased to accept the resignation of Mr. Hodgson, Superintendent of the Veterinary Establishment at Balligunge, from 1st inst., and to permit that gentleman to proceed to Europe.

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Camp Muttra.—Dec. 6. W. S. Marley, Gent. to be Ensign 44th Foot, without purchase, vice Ogilvy, promoted.—Dec. 23. Ensign C. Griffen, 26th Regt. N. I. to be Lieutenant, vice Somerville, deceased.—Dec. 30. Mr. W. Wingfield is admitted to the service as Cadet of Cavalry, and promoted to the rank of Cornet, leaving the date of his commission for future adjustment.

Fort William, Jan. 5, 1824.

No. 13 of 1824.—The Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Promotions and Adjustment of Rank:

1st Regt. Light Cavalry.—Cornet Geo. Russell Crommelin, to be Lieutenant, vice Read retired, with rank from May 4, 1823, vice Waugh, promoted.

4th Regt. Light Cavalry.—Capt. Henry Hawtrey to be Major, and Lieut. and Brevet Capt. Wm. Burlton to be Captain of a Troop, from March 7, 1823, in succession to Rainey, retired.—Cornet Edw. Horsly to be Lieutenant, vice Burton, promoted, with rank from Dec. 4, 1823, vice Heriott, transferred to the Pension Establishment.

7th Regt. Native Infantry.—Captain Charles Wm. Hamilton to be Major, and Lieut. and Brevet Capt. Chas. Adolphus Munro to be Captain of a Company, vice Cunninghame, retired, with rank from July 11, 1823, in succession to Sargent, promoted.—Ensign Charles Crommeline, to be Lieutenant from Sept. 11, 1823, vice Munro, promoted.

8th Regt. N. I.—Capt. Wm. Davidson Playfair to be Major, and Lieut. and Brevet Capt. John Roberson to be Captain of a Company, from April 8, 1823, in succession to Scott, retired.—Ensign Alexander Stewart Singer to be Lieutenant, vice Robeson, promoted, with rank from Nov. 2, 1823, vice Oliphant, deceased.

33d Regt. N. I.—Ensign Joseph Whiteford to be Lieutenant, from Sept. 11, 1822, vice Goding, retired.

Medical Department.

Assistant Surgeon James Thomson to be Surgeon, vice Ledman, retired, with rank from Sep. 27, 1823, for the augmentation.—Assistant Surgeon John James Paterson to be Surgeon, vice Lewis, retired, with rank from Sept. 27, 1823, for the augmentation.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

1st Light Cavalry.—Lieut. Henry Lechmere Worrall to rank from May 29, 1822, vice Reid, retired.

4th Light Cavalry.—Lieut. Wm. Benson to rank from March 7, 1823, vice Burlton, promoted.

7th Regt. N. I.—Major Powell Thomas Comyn to rank from Oct. 7, 1821, vice Cunninghame, retired.—Captain George Spellissy, ditto Oct. 7, 1821, vice Comyn, promoted.—Capt. Edward Gwatkin, ditto Oct. 29, 1821, vice Grant, deceased.—Lieut. John Stanniforth Pitts (now of the Hon. Company's European Regiment), ditto Oct. 7, 1821, vice Spellissy, promoted.—Lieut. George Harris Edwards, ditto Oct. 29, 1821, vice Gwatkin, promoted.—Lieut. Brown Wood, ditto Jan. 11, 1822, vice Caldecott, resigned.

8th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Henry Charlton to rank from Sept. 11, 1823, vice Robeson, promoted.

Medical Department.

Surgeon John Savage to rank from Jan. 29, 1823, vice Ledmon, retired.—Surgeon George Baylie, ditto Feb. 14, 1823, vice Phillott, deceased.—Surgeon Jas. Grierson, ditto March 17, 1823, vice Brown, promoted.—Surgeon George Lambe, ditto July 11, 1823, vice Lewis, retired.—Surgeon Wm. Sutherland Stiven, ditto July 11, 1823, for the augmentation.—Surgeon Horace Hayman Wilson, ditto, July 25, 1823, vice Johnston, promoted.—Surgeon Rice Davies Knight, ditto Aug. 19, 1823, vice Gibson, deceased.

REMOVALS.

Agra.—Dec. 3. Lieut. W. Charlton to 1st Batt. 8th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. P. Johnston and G. Templer from 1st to 2d Batt. 2d Regt. N. I.—Lieut. J. Murray from 2d to 1st Batt. 2d Regt. N. I.—Lieut. S. P. C. Humfrays from 1st to 2d Batt. 8th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. G. R. Fell from 2d to 1st Batt. 20th Regt.—Lieut. W. Cotes from 1st to 2d Batt. 28th Regt.

Head Quarters, Camp, Konka.—Dec. 10. Second Lieut. F. B. Boileau to 4th Comp. 2d Batt. Artillery.

Head Quarters, Camp, Jellalee.—Dec. 12. Capt. M. A. Bunbury and Lieut. R. Chitty, 20th Regt. N. I. to 1st Batt. of that Regt.—Brig. Major Honeywood, to Malwa Field Force.

Head Quarters, Camp, Aonlagunj.—Dec. 22. Assistant Surgeon A. Menzies to the Ramghur Local Batt.

Head Quarters, Camp, Allygung.—Dec. 23. Lieut. R. Jackson from 3d Comp. 3d Batt. to 4th Comp. 2d Batt. Artillery.

Fort William.—Jan. 1, 1824. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. Francis Palmer of the 8th

Regt. Light Cavalry, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General, is removed from the General Staff of the Army, and directed to join his Corps.—Capt. Metcalfe S. Hogg, of the Hon. Company's European Regiment, having been declared incapable of efficiently performing the active duties of his profession, is transferred, at his own request, to the Invalid Establishment.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort William.—Dec. 1. Lieut. Col. Commandant J. N. Smith, 5th Regt. N. I. and Capt. W. Starling, 23d Regt. N. I. to proceed to Europe on private affairs.

Head Quarters, Camp, Mowhar.—Dec. 2. Major Barlow, 43d Regt. to Europe, for one year from date of embarkation, on private affairs.—Lieut. Potts, 54th Regt. to Europe, for two years from date of embarkation, on urgent private affairs.—Ensign Blachford to Europe, for one year from date of embarkation, for recovery of his health.

Head Quarters, Camp, Muttra.—Dec. 6. Ensign Snow, 47th Foot, to Europe for two years.—Captain Campbell, 54th Foot, to the Cape of Good Hope for 18 months; and Lieut. Pattoun to Europe for two years.

Fort William.—Dec. 23. Capt. R. Axford, 13th Regt. N. I. to Europe on private affairs.—Lieut. Col. G. M. Popham, 9th Regt. N. I. to Europe, on account of health, and (Dec. 30.) Brevet Capt. G. G. Deniss, of Artillery.

Head Quarters, Camp, Oonlagunj.—Dec. 23. Capt. Cowper, H. M. 59th Regt. to Europe, for 2 years, on sick certificate.

Fort William.—Jan. 1. Lieut. E. E. Isaac, 32d Regt. N. I. is permitted to proceed to Europe on account of his health.—Capt. R. Home, 28th Regt. N. I. to Prince of Wales's Island, for one year, on account of his health.—Assistant Surgeon T. C. Harrison, to Europe, for one year, on private affairs. The leave of absence obtained by Brevet Capt. A. Pope, 8th Regt. of Light Cavalry, in General Orders, Aug. 9, 1822, is extended to July 7, 1824, on account of his health.—3d. Capt. J. Scott, 10th Regt. N. I. to Europe, on account of his health.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Dec. 23. Mr. J. Stokes, to be Sub-Collector and Assistant Magistrate in Canara; Sir J. Home, Bart. to be Assistant under the Collector and Magistrate of Malabar.—Jan. 2. Mr. F. A. Grant to be Senior Puisne Judge of the Court of Sudor and Foujdaree Adaulut; Mr. C. Higginson to be 1st Judge of the Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Southern Division; Mr. W. Oliver to be 2d Judge of ditto.—Jan. 10. Mr. T. Gillibrand to be Sheriff of Madras.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Nov. 28. Assistant Surgeon T. M. Lane to be Assistant to the Superintendant of the Eye Infirmary.—Jan. 2, 1824. Mr. J. D. White, 2d Member of the Medical Board, to be 1st Member; Mr. G. Baillie, 3d Member of the Medical Board, to be 2d Member; Mr. Superintending Surgeon W. Peyton to be 3d Member.—Jan. 9. Senior Surgeon Thomas Evans to be Superintending Surgeon, date of rank, Jan. 1, 1824: he is appointed to the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force vice Peyton; Senior Assistant Surgeon D. Donaldson to be Surgeon to complete the Establishment, date of rank, Jan. 1, 1824.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Nov. 28. Lieut. F. B. Lucas, 8th Regt., N. I., to be Quartermaster and Interpreter to 2d Batt. of that Regiment, vice Smith; Lieut. G. Wright 10th Regt. N. I., to be Quartermaster and Interpreter to 2d Batt. of that Corps, vice Wilson.—Dec. 5. Brevet Captain L. W. Watson, of 1st Regt. of Infantry, to be Quartermaster and Interpreter to 1st Batt. of that Corps, vice Godfrey; Lieut. P. P. Hodge, 1st Regt. N. I., to be Adjutant to 1st Batt. of that Corps, vice Watson; Lieut. E. T. Clarke, 19th Regt. N. I., to be Adjutant to 2d Batt. of that Corps, vice Cleveland; Lieut. H. Wright, 10th Regt. N. I., to be Quartermaster and Interpreter to 1st Batt. of that Corps, vice Clarke.—Dec. 30. Capt. W. Strahan, 19th Regt. N. I., to be Assistant Adjutant-General to the Light Field Division Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, vice Foote; Capt. W. Murray, 23d Regt. N. I., to be Assistant in the Quartermaster General's Department, vice Strahan; Lieut. H. Ewing, 25th Regt. N. I., to be Adjutant to the 1st Batt. of that Corps, vice Crokatt; Lieut. P. P. Hodge, 1st Regt. N. I., to be Adjutant to 2d Batt. of that Corps, vice Gunning; Lieut. W. Babington, 1st Regt. N. I., to be Adjutant of the 1st Batt. of that Corps, vice Hodge, Jan. 6.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort St. George, 31st December, 1823.—It being desirable to fix by one general rule the limits under which Officers holding Staff Employments under this Presidency, may retain them, or otherwise, on promotion to superior ranks; and to provide generally for all doubts on Contingencies, so far as they can be foreseen, by establishing one equal and uniform principle. The hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to resolve that the following limitations have prospective effect from this date.

PUBLIC OFFICES AND STAFF DEPARTMENTS.

No Limitation.

Residents or Political Agents at Native Courts, or high Diplomatic Missions; Command of Divisions; Adjutant General of the Army; Quartermaster General of the Army; Commissary General; Military Auditor General; Surveyor General; Deputy Surveyor General.

The rank of Major General.

Commandants of Subsidiary or Field Forces, and Government Commands of Ports, Provinces, or Cantonments.

To the rank of Major General, Regimental Colonel, or Lieutenant Colonel, Commandant of a Brigade of Cavalry, Regiment of Infantry, or Battalion of Artillery, or Acting Chief Engineer, or Commandant of Artillery.

Judge Advocate General; Chief Commands in the Army of Native Allied Powers; Town Major of Fort St. George; Deputy Adjutant General of the Army; Deputy Quartermaster General of the Army; Deputy Commissary General; Deputy Military Auditor General; Persian Interpreter to the Head Quarters of the Army; Deputy Adjutant General; Deputy Quartermaster General of Subsidiary or Field Forces; Secretary to the Military Board; Principal Commissary of Ordnance: Personal Staff of the Governor or Commander in Chief; Superintendent of the Gunpowder Manufactory; Agent for Gun Carriages: Commandant of Rifle Corps; Superintendent of Police.

To the rank of Lieutenant Colonel regimentally.

Assistant to a Resident at a Native Court, or high Diplomatic Mission; Principal Assistant in Civil Charge of Districts; Assistant Adjutant General of the Army; Assistant Quartermaster General of the Army; Assistant Adjutant General of Artillery; Assistant Commissary General; Assistant Military Auditor General; Agent for Army Clothing; Commandant of the Hon. the Governor's Body Guard; Commandant of the Golundauze Battalion; Commandant of Local or Extra Battalions.

To the rank of Major regimentally.

Officers serving with Foreign Powers not included in the above; all Assistants, Deputy Assistants, or Sub-Assistants, in Staff Offices or Public Departments, not included above; Deputy Judge Advocate General; Barrack Masters; Paymasters; Portmasters; Brigade Majors; Quarter-masters of Brigade; Surveyors; Persian Interpreters to General Officers, or Officers holding a general command; Aide-de-camps to General Officers; Secretary to the Clothing Board; Superintendent of Pensions and Family Certificates; Superintending Officers of Gentlemen Cadets; Commissary of Ordnance; Commandant of the District of Wynaud; Staff Officer to the European Depot of Pensions; Political or other Civil Situations inferior to a 1st Assistant to a Resident or Civil Commissioner; Commandant of Escorts with Native Princes, Command of Residents' Guards and Escorts; Fort Adjutant of Fort St. George.

The Governor in general also resolves that no appointment or public employment whatever, not included in the above enumeration, to which a Military Officer is eligible, shall be retained in future after the promotion of the party to the rank of Regimental Captain, excepting professional Officers in the Corps of Engineers which are not limited under the rank of Acting Chief Engineer.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George.—Dec. 2. Senior Lieutenant Brevet Captain J. R. Godfrey, to be Captain and Senior Ensign; J. W. Goldsworthy to be Lieutenant, vice Macdonald, deceased, date of Commission, 28 Nov. 1823.

Fort St. George.—Dec. 30. Brevet Captain James Crokatt, to be Captain and Senior Ensign; R. Hall to be Lieutenant vice Forte, deceased, date of Commission, 25 Dec. 1823; Senior Ensign R. S. Gladstanes, to be Lieutenant, vice Lane, deceased, date of Commission, 24 April, 1823.—Jan. 6, Senior Ensign W. H. Short, 3d Regt. N. I., to be Lieutenant, vice Richardson, deceased, date of Commission, 28 Dec. 1823.—Jan. 9. Senior Ensign E. B. Faunce, 4th Regt. N. I., to be Lieutenant, vice Doveton, deceased, date of Commission, 15th August, 1823; Senior Ensign T. L. Green, 25th Regt. to be Lieutenant, vice Ritchie, deceased, date of Commission, 5th Jan. 1824.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort St. George.—Nov. 28. Lieutenant H. Currie, of 9th Regt. N. I. to Europe, on sick certificate.—Col. H. S. Scott, C.B. commanding the Travancore Subsidiary Force to Europe, on sick certificate.—Dec. 2. Captain C. B. Patton, of the Artillery, and Ensign J. S. Elliott, 7th Regt. N. I. to Europe, on sick certificate. Cornet B. W. Cumberlege, 7th Regt. Light Cavalry, to Europe, for one year.—Dec. 9. Lieutenant Col. J. Vicq, 13th Regt. N. I. and Brevet Captain A. Inglis, 24th Regt. N. I., to Europe, on sick certificate; Brevet Captain J. A. Condell, 15th Regt. N. I. to Europe, on Furlough.—Dec. 30. The undermentioned Officers are permitted to return to Europe: Lieutenant Col. A. Molesworth, 5th Regt. N. I., on sick certificate, Lieutenant Col. A. Grant, C.B. 2d. Regt. N. I. on ditto, Capt. J. Hodgson, 17th Regt. N. I. on ditto, Major W. J. Jones, 18th Regt. N. I. on Furlough, Major R. Close, 4th Regt. Light Cavalry, on ditto, Lieutenant J. Gunning, 1st Regt. N. I. for one year on ditto, Surgeon W. Jones, on Furlough.—Jan. 6. Lieutenant W. Gray, 11th Regt. N. I. on sick certificate, Lieutenant Col. J. Noble, C. B. of the Artillery, on furlough, Brevet Captain J. G. Milford and Lieutenant H. S. Burgess, 5th Regt. N. I. on sick certificate.—Jan. 12, Ensign A. M'Nair, 4th Regt. N.I. on sick certificate.—Jan. 13th. Captain H.M. Cooper, 11th Regt. N. I. Brevet Captain W. Taylor, 20th Regt. N. I. and Lieutenant A. Agnew, 6th Regt. N. I. on sick certificate.

BOMBAY.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—10. Jan. Mr. A. N. Shaw, to be Deputy Collector of Sea Customs, in Guzerat.—15. Mr. F. Bourchier,

to be acting Deputy Collector of Customs and Town Duties.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—20. Jan. Lieutenant H. Jameson, Adjutant of 3d Regt. Light Cavalry, is appointed Interpreter to the Head Quarters of the Commander in Chief, during His Excellency's tour of inspection, from 7th Dec. 1823.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle.—Jan. 15. Brevet Captain M. F. Collis, 8th Regt. N. I., to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign James Daives, to be Lieutenant, vice Ambrose, deceased, date of rank, 12. Jan. 1824.—Jan. 22d. the following Lieutenants, Cadets, of the season 1801, are promoted to the Brevet Rank of Captains agreeably to the regulations: Lieutenant G. B. Aitcheson, 3d Regt. N. I., date of rank, 16. Jan. 1824; Lieutenant C. Newport, 12th Regt. N. I., ditto; Lieutenant J. S. Iredell, 8th Regt. ditto; Lieutenant MacCy Iredell, 3th Regt. ditto; Lieutenant J. Simpson, 9th Regt. ditto.

FURLOUGHS.

Bombay Castle.—Jan. 20. Captain R. W. Pedlar, 9th Regt. N. I., for one year, to the Cape of Good Hope, for recovery of his health; Lieutenant J. Campbell, of Madras, Rifle Corps, for three years, to Europe, for recovery of his health; Lieutenant Piercy Dawney, 5th Regt. N. I., and Lieutenant W. Sterling, 9th Regt. N. I., for three years, to Europe, for recovery of health.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Dec. 13. At Sultalpore, the lady of Capt. A. Macleod, of a son.—16th At Bhaugulpore, the lady of Captain J. Graham, of a daughter. At Calcutta, the lady of Dr. Fleming, of a son.—25th. the lady of A. Colvin, Esq., of a daughter. 28th. At Chowringhee, the lady of J. Shaw, Esq., of a son and heir.—29th. At Futtehghur, Mrs. C. Westropp, of a son.—31st. At Calcutta, Mrs. G. Strafford, of a daughter.—Jan. 1. At Calcutta, Mrs. C. Goynard, of a daughter; at Balasore, Mrs. W. Blunt, of a son.—4th. At Calcutta, the lady of G. Low, Esq., of a daughter.—6th. At Calcutta, the lady of W. Richardson, Esq., of a son.—9th. At Fort William, the lady of Major Swiney, of a son and heir; at Intally, Mrs. Green, of a son.—12th. At Barrackpore, the lady of Ensign Souter, 1st. Batt. 23d Regt. of a son and heir.—15th. At Calcutta, the lady of J. Elliott, Esq., of a son.—17th. At Calcutta, Mrs. F. De Silva, of Bombay, of a son.

Marriages.—Dec. 15th. At Cawnpore, Lieutenant H. Templer, Adjutant 4th Regt. N. I., to Miss E. F. Fombelle, youngest daughter of J. Fombelle, Esq. of the Civil Service.—24th. At Calcutta, J. Duncan, Esq. Assistant Surgeon of the Hon. Company's Service, to Miss Barbara Dun.—Jan. 3. At Chandernagore, Mr. B. Bennoits to Miss J. Harthy; at Chunar, Captain C. T. G. Weston, to Miss A. Arnold; at Calcutta, Captain G. Harris, 26th Regt. N. I., to Eliza Sophia, fourth daughter of T. Templeton Esq.—10th. At Calcutta, Mr. A. Humphrey, to Miss E. Mordaunt.—12th. At Calcutta, N. Paliologas, Esq., to Miss M. I. S. Driver.—15th. At Calcutta, J. Gordon, Esq., to Miss M. Broders.—18th. At Boitaconnah, Mr. C. Vegniaud, to Nancy, daughter of J. Bowers, Esq.

Deaths.—Dec. 31st. At Allahabad, Captain J. Gabb, 2d. Battalion, 34th Regt; at Calcutta, the infant daughter of A. Colvin, Esq.—Jan. 4th. At Calcutta, Miss E. Callaghan.—8th. At Calcutta, Mrs. A. Tirly, relict of the late Mr. J. Tirly, of the Hon. Co.'s Marine.—11th. At Calcutta, Francis, second son of G. Vrignon, Esq.; Mr. R. Swinley; Colonel J. B. Fisson, aged 67.—12th. Mrs. J. Cockburn, wife of Mr. M. Cockburn, of the Register Office; at Berhampore, Mr. Conductor Bartlett, of the Invalid Establishment; at Chunar, Mrs. M. A. Bateman, wife of Lieutenant W. Bateman, of His Majesty's 87th Foot.—14th. At Calcutta, G. Hornett, Esq., Head Assistant of the Native Hospital, aged 45.—18th. At Calcutta, Mrs. M. E. Ricketts, wife of M. Ricketts, Esq.

MADRAS.

Births.—26th. Dec. At Paulghautcherry, the lady of Capt. W. Jackson, 2nd Batt. 7th Regt. of a daughter.—31st. At Madras, the lady of Major Cadell, of a son.—Jan. 12th. At New Town, Mrs. E. Cornelius, of a son; at Madras, the lady of John Carruthers, Esq. of a daughter.—13th. At Tranquebar, Mrs. M. C. Pruman, of a daughter.—16th. At Ongole, Mrs. T. Prendergrast, of a son.—17th. At St. Thomas's Mount, the lady of the Reverend H. Harpur, of a daughter.—19th. At Nellore, the lady of E. Smalley, Esq., of a daughter; at Madras, Mrs. L. Griffiths, of a daughter.—24th. At Madras, the lady of Capt. Johnson, 6th. Regt. Light Cavalry, of a son.—26th. At Madras, the lady of Capt. Kennan, of a son.

Marriages.—Dec. 25. At Secunderabad, Lieutenant Colonel C. M'Leod, Deputy Quartermaster General, to Miss E. M. Chinnery, second daughter to the late J. Chinnery, Esq. of the Madras Civil Service.—29th. At Madras, Mr. R. L. Pereira, to Miss E. Birtles, second daughter of the late Mr. T. Birtles.—Jan. 1. At Tranquebar, Lieutenant G. F. Hutchinson, of the Trichinopoly Light Infantry, to Miss E. F. Weckiede.—4th. At Madras, Mr. Bruce, to Miss A. F. Cooke.—10th. Mr. J. Zachariah, to Miss Ashken.—12th. At Madras, W. R. Smyth, Esq. of the Medical Establishment, to Charlotte Harriet, eldest daughter of Major P. T. Comyn, of the Bengal Establishment; at St. Thomas's

Mount, Lieutenant C. W. don, Madras Artillery, to Miss H. Hackley, youngest daughter of the late Colonel Hackley, of Bury St. Edmonds; at Vellore, Captain J. Harris, Sub-assistant Commissary General, to Miss M. Shaw, niece to Lieutenant Colonel Welsh, commanding that station, and second daughter of E. Shaw, Esq. of Eling, Middlesex.—19th. At Madras, Serg. T. Higgins, of the Madras Artillery, to Lydia, daughter of Mr. Conductor H. Bacon; at Bellary, Mr. C. Sharlies, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mr. G. Ross, Conductor of Ordnance.—30th. At Madras, Mr. J. W. Stephenson, to Miss M. M'Leod.—Feb. 2d. At Madras, Lieutenant J. J. Underwood, of the Corps of Engineers, to the eldest daughter of the late Major General J. J. Durand, of the Madras Estab.

Deaths.—Dec. 24th. At Bangalore, Captain C. J. Foote, 25th N. I. Asssistant General of the Light Field Division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force.—28th. At Moonsoorcottah, Mr. N. Gordon, the younger son of W. Gordon, Esq. formerly of the H. C. Civil Service of Madras; at Bellary, Lieutenant C. Richardson, 2d. Battalion 3d. Regt. N. I.; at Calechy, Mr. W. Brown, aged 59.—Jan. 2d. At Madras, J. F. Lane, Esq., Collector of Masulipatam.—7th. At Madras, G. H. Burtan, only son of Conductor J. A. Burtan, of the Ordnance Department.—22nd. At Vepery Lieutenant and Adjutant J. Clemons, of 1st N. V. Battalion; Mrs. C. E. Pharoah; at Madras, Mr. L. Ollivabelar, aged 102 years.—25th. At Twandesain, Capt. F. M. Whitehead, 5th Regt. Madras, N. I. and Brigade Major in Travancore.—26th, at Madras, John Alexander, son of Mr. J. Mac Vicars.—Feb. 2d. At Madras, the Reverend Father Joan Fidelis, Prefect Apostolic of the Capuchin Mission, on the Coast of Coromandel; at Black Town, Mrs. C. Thompson.—Feb. 17th. at Sea, A. Law, Esq. Chief Officer of Hon. Co.'s Ship, Hythe.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Dec. 17th. At Tannah, the wife of the Rev. J. Nichols, of a son.—26th. At Bombay, the lady of the Rev. H. Davies, Senior Chaplain, of a son.—31st. At Bombay, the lady of R. Boyd, Esq. of H. C. Civil Service, of a daughter.—Jan. 14th. At Bombay, the lady of Dr. Kemball, of a daughter.—18th. at Bombay, the wife of Mr. Jolliffe, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Dec 16th. At Surat, Mr. F. Hauston, to Miss E. Cautrell.—18th. At Bombay, P. Stewart, Esq., to Louisa, third daughter of the late Captain Cotgrave, R. N.—20th. At Bombay, Lieut. and Adjutant W. C. Allen, 2d Battalion 12th Regt., to Miss M. J. Paget, 2d daughter of Dr. Paget, of Exmouth, Devon.

Deaths.—Dec. 8. At Bombay, Mr. R. Wynne, of the Artillery Band.—9th. At Belvidere, Lieutenant J. D. Saltwell, of 2d Battalion Grenadiers.—13th. At Bombay, James, the youngest son of Lieutenant Colonel Southerland, of the Bombay Establishment.—15th. At Tannah, Maria, wife of Lieutenant Waterford, Fort Adjutant.—29th. At Soonee, Lieutenant W. Ord, 19th Regt. M. N. I. Adjutant of 2d Battalion, Nagpoor Brigade.—Feb. 1st. At Bombay, S. P. W. Johnston, Esq. Assistant Secretary to His Majesty's Government, at Ceylon, and eldest son of Sir Alexander Johnston.

CEYLON.

Marriage.—Nov. 24. At Colombo, Mr. P. Malhuisen, to J. P. Gregory.

Deaths.—Dec. 9. At Galle, H. Van Hek, Esq. Sitting Magistrate of Calpenteen.—11th. At Colombo, Sergeantmajor W. Heppenstall, of the Royal Artillery.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—May 22. At Edinburgh, the lady of R. Abercrombie, Esq., of Birkenboy, of a son.—June 3d. the lady of Capt. Franklin, R. N. of a daughter.—7th. At Croomshill, the lady of Capt. Cruikshank, of a daughter.

Marriages.—May 31st. At Bath, Capt. R. H. Brown, Hon. East India Company's Service, to Ann, eldest daughter of the late C. Blanshard, Esq., of London.—June 1st. At Great Houghton, Capt. Croxton, of the Bengal Artillery, to Charlotte, sesond daughter of the Rev. R. Williams, Rector of that place, and Prebendary of Lincoln.—3d. At Islington, R. Belt, Esq., Barrister at Law, to Margaret, second daughter of the late Capt. P. Gordon, of the Wellesley, East Indiaman.—7th. T. Brett, Jun. Esq., Captain in East India Service, to Miss J. Dyer, of Ryde, Isle of Wight.—15th. At Chesham, Capt. E. J. Samuel, of the Madras Cavalry, to Ann, eldest daughter of the late J. Field, Esq., of Cheshal Hall, Bucks.—16th. At St. George's Church, T. C. Roberts, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, to Miss Gowan, youngest daughter of the late C. Gowan, Esq.

Deaths.—May 25th. R. O. Hardy, Esq., Officer of the Hon. Company's Ship, Askell, son of the late Capt. J. Hardy, R. N. and nephew of Capt. J. O. Hardy, R. N. This young man was unfortunately drowned on boarding the Astell, while under weigh in tow of a Steam vessel, off Woolwich.—26th. At Billericay, Mrs. S. Eglinton, relict of the late Capt. Eglington, of the Hon. Company's Service, aged 84; at Shalden, Lodge, Hants, Lieutenant Col. A. Johnston, Assistant Commandant of the Royal Military College, Farnham; on Wednesday, June 16, 1824, at Weymouth, George Mellis, Esq., of Perthshire, North Britain, aged 30 years, having arrived in England, by the Kingston, only twelve days.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Departure.*	*Date.*
May 25	Off Land's End	Duke of Lancaster	Davies ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 20
May 25	Off the Start ..	Hythe ..	Wilson ..	China ..	Jan. 14
May 26	Off Beachy Head	Borneo ..	Ross ..	Bencoolen	Jan. 15
May 30	Gravesend ..	Thomas ..	Winspear ..	Cape ..	Jan. 5
June 1	Liverpool ..	Colombia ..	Chapman ..	Bombay ..	Jan. 1
June 1	Off Salcombe ..	Vansittart ..	Dalrymple ..	China ..	Jan. 29
June 2	Off Land's End	Warren Hastings	Rawes ..	China ..	Jan. 18
June 2	Off Holyhead ..	Albion ..	Swainson ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 11
June 4	Off Weymouth ..	Kingston ..	Bowen ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 12
June 4	Off Plymouth ..	Marq. Wellington	Blanshard ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 1
June 5	Off the Start ..	Woodford ..	Chapman ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 30
June 5	Padstow ..	Swallow ..	Blackmore ..	Cape ..	Feb. 23
June 5	Off Plymouth ..	Abberton ..	Percival ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 20
June 5	Off Plymouth ..	Felicitas ..	Campbell ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 12
June 5	Off Falmouth ..	Hero of Malown	Garrick ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 5
June 5	Off Plymouth ..	Milford ..	Horwood ..	Bombay ..	Jan. 15
June 5	Off the Start ..	Sarah ..	Bowen ..	Bombay ..	Jan. 28
June 6	Cowes ..	Augusta ..	Giles ..	China ..	Feb. 1
June 6	Off Portsmouth	Alexander ..	Richardson	Ceylon ..	Jan. 25
June 7	Off Portsmouth	Britannia ..	Luke ..	Madras ..	Jan. 21
June 9	Portsmouth ..	Grenada ..	Anderson ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 30
June 9	Off Scilly ..	Wm. Miles ..	Beadle ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 26
June 13	Plymouth ..	Madras ..	Fisher ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 23
June 13	Gravesend ..	Cornwallis ..	Henderson	Cape ..	Mar. 12
June 14	Off Margate ..	Ganges ..	Cumberlege	Bengal ..	Jan. 9
June 15	Off Portsmouth	Aurora ..	Earle ..	Bombay ..	Feb. 3
June 15	Off Portsmouth	Palmyra ..	Lamb ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 13
June 15	Off Portsmouth	Orient ..	White ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 31
June 15	Off Portsmouth	Royal George ..	Reynolds ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 8
June 15	Deal	Buckinghamshire	Glasspoole ..	China ..	Feb. 10
June 15	Off Gravesend ..	Lady East ..	Richardson	Bengal ..	Nov. 12
June 16	Off Portsmouth	Earl St. Vincent	Reeves ..	Singapore	Feb. 6
June 17	Cove of Cork ..	Odessa ..	Jackson ..	Cape ..	Mar. 28
June 17	Off Holyhead ..	Lotus ..	Field ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 14
June 21	Gravesend ..	Asia ..	Pope ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 29
June 21	Gravesend ..	Eliza ..	Brown ..	Cape ..	Mar. 28

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Departure.*
Dec. 27	Bengal ..	Mary ..	Ardlie ..	London
Jan. 13	Bengal ..	Vittoria ..	Southam ..	London
Jan. 13	Bengal ..	Susan ..	Hamilton ..	London
Jan. 16	Bengal ..	Asia ..	Reed ..	London
Jan. 17	Ceylon ..	Hercules ..	Vaughan ..	Plymouth
Jan. 19	Bengal ..	Calcutta ..	Stroyan ..	Liverpool
Jan. 20	Bengal ..	Windsor Castle	Lee ..	London
Jan. 22	Bengal ..	Lady Kennaway	Suflen ..	London
Jan. 24	Bombay ..	Cumbrian ..	Clarkson ..	London
Jan. 27	Near Bombay ..	Waterloo ..	Studd ..	London
Feb. 5	Madras ..	Hope ..	Flint ..	London
Feb. 5	Bombay ..	James Sibbald ..	Forbes ..	London
Mar. 3	Cape of Good Hope	John Barry ..	Roche ..	London
Mar. 22	Mauritius ..	Barossa ..	Hutchinson ..	London
Mar. 24	Cape of Good Hope	Belle Alliance ..	Rolfe ..	London
Mar. 26	Cape of Good Hope	Echo ..	Dunlop ..	London
Mar. 26	Cape of Good Hope	Cambridge ..	Barber ..	London
Mar. 26	Cape of Good Hope	Clyde ..	Driver ..	London
April 1	Cape of Good Hope	Marianne ..	Parker ..	London
April 1	Cape of Good Hope	Patience ..	Kind ..	London
April 1	Cape of Good Hope	Venelia ..	Gilmore ..	London
April 2	Cape of Good Hope	Henry Porcher	Thomson ..	London
May 16	Madeira ..	Lord Amherst ..	Lucas ..	London
May 16	Madeira ..	Golconda ..	Edwards ..	London
May 16	Madeira ..	Upton Castle ..	Thacker ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	*Port of Departure.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
May 24	Downs	Asia	Balderston	Madras and Bengal
May 25	Portsmouth	Triumph	Green	Bombay
May 26	Downs	Pyramus	Brodie	Madras and Bengal
May 27	Downs	Marchioness Ely	Mangles	Madras and Bengal
May 27	Downs	Rose	Marquis	Madras and Bengal
May 28	Portsmouth	Cornwall	Bunyon	Madras and Bengal
May 29	Downs	Salmon River	Grassmore	Batav. & Singapore
June 1	Liverpool	John Taylor	Atkinson	Bengal
June 2	Liverpool	Clydesdale	M'Gill	Bengal
June 3	Liverpool	Bencoolen	Kirkwood	Madras and Bengal
June 10	Plymouth	Mars	Wilson	Cape of Good Hope
June 11	Downs	Kath.Stew.Forbes	Chapman	Bombay
June 11	Downs	Cape Packet	Kellie	Cape and Bourbon
June 12	Downs	George Home	Young	Bengal
June 12	Downs	Boyne	Stephens	Bengal
June 13	Downs	Resolution	Parker	St. Helena
June 16	Portsmouth	Marq. of Hastings	Weynton	Bombay
June 16	Downs	Claudine	Nicholls	Bengal
June 22	Plymouth	Lord Castlereagh	Durant	Bombay
June 22	Downs	Layton	Miller	Bengal, Bencoolen
June 23	Downs	Prince Regent	Harmer	Bengal
June 23	Downs	General Hewitt	Barrow	Bengal
June 23	Gravesend	Astell	Levy	Bengal

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Port of Departure.	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
London	Carn Brea Castle	Davey	Bengal
London	Nimrod	Speers	Bengal
London	Euphrates	Meade	Bengal
London	Elizabeth	Swan	Bengal
London	Morley	Halliday	Bengal
London	Juliana	Webster	Bengal
London	Venus	Brown	Bengal
London	Felicitas	Campbell	Bengal
Liverpool	Bridget	Leslie	Bengal
Liverpool	Lotus	Field	Bengal
London	George	Cozens	Madras
London	Circassian	Douthwaite	Madras and Bengal
London	Regalia	Henning	Bombay
London	Sarah	Bowen	Bombay
London	Milford	Horwood	Bombay
Liverpool	Theodosia	Kitson	Bombay
London	Timandra	Wray	Mauritius and Ceylon
London	Thomas	Winspear	Cape de Verds & St. Helena

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	*P. of Depart.*	*Lat. and Long.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Jan. 2	Liverpool	.. ..	Princess Charlotte	M'Kean	Bengal
Feb. 2	London	Off Ceylon	Waterloo	Studd	Bombay
Feb. 18	London	23 S. 28 W.	Mary Ann	Craigie	Bombay
Feb. 24	London	26 S. 34 W.	Berwickshire	Shepherd	China
Feb. 26	Madras	15 S. 85 E.	Rockingham	Beach	London
Mar. 23	London	2.10 S. 20.7 W.	Duke of Bedford	Cunningham	Bengal
Mar. 30	London	4 S. 24 W.	Orpheus	Finlay	Mauritius
April 1	Cape	Off Robin Island	Eliza	Brown	London
April 5	London	2.31 S. 31.20 W.	Earl of Balcarras	Cameron	China
April 6	London	28 S. 29 W.	Lord Hungerford	Farquharson	Mauritius
April 8	London	24 S. 31 W.	Dunira	Hamilton	China
April 9	London	1.30 S. 19.30 W.	Orpheus	Finlay	Mauritius
April 9	London	Off Ascension	Pr. of Denmark	Williams	Cape
April 17	London	2.10 N. 23.1 W.	Lady Melville	Clifford	China
April 18	London	4 N. 28 W.	General Palmer	Truscott	Madras
April 18	Portsmouth	On the Equator	H. M. S. Ariadne	.. ..	India
April 22	London	24 S. 30 W.	Lima	Knox	Cape
May 3	London	Off Cape Finisterre	Mellish	Cole	Bengal
May 3	Liverpool	7.15 N. 21.35 W.	Perseverance	Benn	Bengal
May 21	London	Off Porto Santo	David Scott	Thornhill	Bengal
May 27	London	41 N. 12 W.	Exmouth	Owen	Bengal
June 17	London	46.40 N. 8.30 W.	K. S. Forbes	Chapman	Bombay

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the *Juliana*.—From the Mauritius: Lieut. Brewer, Royal Artillery, from the Cape; Lieut. Humphries, Royal Navy; Mr. Charles White; Mr. and Mrs. Rodd and Child; Mrs. Vickers.

By the *Hythe*.—From St. Helena: Mr. Paterson; Lieut. Kemp, Bengal Artillery.

By the *Duke of Lancaster*.—From Bengal; Colonel and Mrs. Cole.

By the *Vansittart*.—From China: Capt. James P. Hackman, and Miss Eliza Haswell, from Anjeer; Capt. Thomas M. Hunter, St. Helena Artillery, and Master Eden Baker, from St. Helena.

By the *Warren Hastings*.—From China: John Reeves, Esq., from Canton.

By the *Kingston*.—From Bengal: Lieut.-Col. Richardson, Bengal N.I.; Lieut.-Col. Fitzgerald, do. Cav.; Lieut. Biscoe, do. do.; George Mellis, Esq.; Mrs. Col. Richardson, Mrs. Col. Fitzgerald, Mrs. Tredway Clarke, Mrs. Maj. Alexander, Mrs. Sevright; Misses M. Clarke, E. Young, Q. Kennedy, E. Kennedy, H. Kennedy, E. Alexander, C. Richardson, A. Alexander, E. Mellis; Master Treadway Clarke.

By the *Marquis of Wellington*.—From Bengal: Hon. Mrs. Ramsay, Mrs. Salmon, Mrs. Money, Miss Potts; W. O'Salmon, Esq., Bengal Civil Service; Major R. Close, Madras Establishment; Lieut. J. D. Crommelin, Bengal Artillery; Lieut. Francourt, H. M. 4th Dragoons; Mr. A. Skinner, 10th Regt. N. I., died at Sea; Misses E. Ramsay, C. Ramsay, R. Salmon, two Misses Whish, Miss Ju. Lamb; Master W. P. Salmon, three Masters Money, Master Lamb, two Masters Crommelin.

By the *Woodford*.—From Bengal and Madras: Mrs. Swinton, Mrs. Forsyth, Mrs. and Miss Armstrong, Mrs. Stephen, Mrs. Cheeke, Mrs. Petrie, Mr. Martin Petrie, Miss Ballard, all from Bengal; Mrs. Canning, taken out of the *England*, from Ceylon, was landed at the Cape; Sir John Forbes, Bart., Madras Establishment; Lieut.-Col. Grant; two Misses Grant; Lieut.-Col. Marshall, Hon. Company's service; Mrs. Col. Marshall; Mrs. Saunders; Capt. Grove, H. M. 12th Light Dragoons; Lieut. Anderson, H. M. 69th Regt.; Mrs. Anderson; all from Madras. Children: Misses G. Browne, M. Forsyth, C. E. Cheek, two Stephens, Thomson, B. Drummond, G. Oram; two Masters Swinton; Masters Drummond, Oram, Fordyce, Stephens, and two Cheeks, from Bengal; Miss Marshall, & two Misses Dent, from Madras.

By the *Felicitas*.—From the Mauritius: Mrs. Ashworth, Mrs. Smith, Mr. Ashworth, Mr. Ward, Miss Ashworth, Master Ashworth, Miss and Master Smith, two Misses Mackay; Lieut. Arthur, H. M. 56th Regt.

By the *Hero of Malown*.—From Bengal: Mrs. Hudson, Mrs. Thompson, Miss Broders, four Misses Thompson; Mr. R. D. Allan, Mr. G. Reighley. From the Mauritius: Mrs. Rossy, Mrs. Foreman, Mrs. Launey, Mrs. Shauvet, Capt. Rossy, Mr. Rossy, A. Shauvet, Esq., M. Shauvet, Capt. Black, Mr. Black, Miss Marshall, Mr. H. Ambrose, Mr. Ambrose, four Masters Marshall. From St. Helena: Mrs. E. Henley.

By the *Britannia*.—From Madras: Col. Steele, Major Barrow; Captains Jefferies, Farquharson, Farish; Lieutenants Winch, Jones; Mrs. Colonel Pasmore, Mrs. Col. Smith; Mrs. Forbes, Mrs. E. M. Bushby, Mrs. Barrow; Miss Smith. Children: Miss Steele, Misses F. J. & C. Pasmore; Masters C. J. & R. Pasmore, H. Bushby, H. J. & A. Cleghorn, R. Faulis; Miss P. Bushby.

By the *Milford*.—From Bombay: Mrs. Shotton and child, Mrs. Dickson and two children, Miss Campbell; Capt. G. Tweedy, 4th Regt. N. I.; Capt. Shotton, H. M. 20th Regt. Foot; Lieut. Dickson, H. M. 67th; Lieut. Sandel, 47th; Lieut. Glennie, 4th Regt. B. N. I.; W. Howel, Esq., Master C. Kean, Mrs. Fenwick and child, landed at Ceylon.

By the *Sarah*.—From Bombay: Hon. Mrs. Buchannan, Mrs. Whittle, Miss Jenkins; Captain White, H. M. 20th Regt.; Lieutenants Watson, 20th Regt.; Hutchinson, H. M. 46th Regt.; Cornet Richardson, 4th Light Dragoons; Lieut. Campbell, Madras Rifle Corps; Lieut. Smythe, 2d Regt. B. N. I.; two Masters Whittle, Miss Whittle, Miss H. Slight, two Masters Boyd, Miss Boyd, two Masters Buchanan; Lieut. Downey, 5th Regt. N. I., died at Sea. Mrs. Frankland, Ensign Frankland, Mrs. S. Frankland, Capt. Pedler, 9th Regt. N. I., were landed at the Cape.

By the *Abberton*.—From Bengal: Major Croker, Mrs. Croker and three children, Mr. and Mrs. Lacey; Mr. Paul, died at Sea; Mrs. Paul and two children; Capt. Brown, and Mr. D. Hudson, two Misses Chapman and another child under his care.

By the *Alexander*.—From Ceylon: Mrs. Wheaton, Master Wheaton, two Misses Wheaton; Mrs. Gibbons, Master Gibbons, five Misses Gibbon; Mrs. Waring; Capt. Cole, 45th Regt., Mr. Gifford, Mr. Stanwell; Rev. Mr. Newstead.

By the *Lady East*.—From the Mauritius and the Cape: Dr. Primrose, Mr. Bruce, Master Bruce.

By the *Buckinghamshire*.—From China: Giovanni Quo, Radago Pang, two Chinese Missionary youths, going to Italy for education.

By the *Madras*.—From Madras and Ceylon: Lieut. Parker, 69th Regt.; —— Keating, Company's Service; Ensign Blachford. From Ceylon: Lieut.-Col. Cardew, Royal Engineers; —— Watson, Royal Artillery; Rev. Mr. Osborn, Wesleyan Missionary; Mrs. Osborn and two children; Rev. Mr. Fox, Wesleyan Missionary; Lieut. Reyne, 2d Ceylon Regt.; Dr. Stephenson, Assist. Surg., Staff; Mr. Tibeando, Ordnance Department; Mrs. Tibeando; two Misses Morgan, daughters of Dr. Morgan; Mrs Winter, and one child.

By the *Orient*.—From Bengal: Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Ogilvie, Mrs. Fagan, Mrs. Walker; F. T. Hall, Esq., Merchant; two Misses and Master Hall; Miss and Master Ogilvie; two Misses and three Masters Fagan; Miss and Master Walker; Misses Shakespeare and Sneyd; Masters Hobhouse, Carter, and two Masters Wilson; Master and Miss Tickell. From Madras: Mrs. Sargeant, Mrs. Capt. Taylor; Capt. C. B. Patten, Madras Artill.; Capt. W. Taylor; Mrs. J. Hall; two Masters Sargeant; two Masters Taylor; Miss Innes; two Masters Shakespeare; two Masters Fullerton; Quartermaster J. F. Kingsby, H. M. 30th Light Dragoons, died 23d Feb. at Sea. From Ceylon: Mrs. O'Brien; J. Y. Gunner; Lieut. Archer, H. M. 87th Regt.

By the *Royal George*.—From Bengal; Mrs. Dennis, Capt. Dennis, Bengal Artillery; Capts. J. Dun and J. W. Jones, 11th Regt. N. I.; four Masters Dennis; Miss Mary Lambert, two Misses Catley, Master Catley, Miss Jane Dun, Miss Margaret Wood. Master Henry Wood, three Masters Jones. From Madras: Mrs. Anne Macintosh, widow of Lieut.-Col. Macintosh; Mrs. Elizabeth Webb, Miss Mary Sheriff; Captains Charles Lewrie and S. L. Webb; Lieut. G. Harpur, of H. M. 69th Regt.; two Misses Webb, two Masters Webb, Master H. A. Knott.

By the *Duke of Lancaster*.—From Bengal, at Liverpool: Col. John Rose, 14th Bengal Infantry; Mrs. Rose and three children; Captain M'Laren, Madras Army; Dr. Patterson, Bengal Med. Serv.; Lieutenants J. Hart and Arch. M'Nair, Madras Army; Capt. J. T. Jennings, H. M. 14th Regt. Infantry; the Rev. W. Loveless, Missionary; Mrs. Loveless and four children.

By the *Albion*.—From Bengal, at Liverpool; Henry Williams, Esq., Civil Service; Lieut. D. L. Richardson, Mrs. Richardson and two children; Mr. Jas. Kymer, Mrs. Kymer and four children; Mrs. Swainson; Mr. J. A. Limonde; Lieut. W. D. Stewart, 3d N. I., died 29th January; Mr. John Wilson, died 24th February.

By the *Columbia*.—From Bombay, at Liverpool: Capt. W. D. Robertson, 4th Regt., and a Portuguese servant; Lieut. Walter Campbell, Hon. Company's Service, died on board; Mr. Young, Mrs. Young and two children; Mrs. Humphries, and servant; Lieut.-Col. William Gilbert; Claude Cowie, Esq., Mrs. Cowie, Masters Cowie and Robert Hamilton; Miss Louisa Gordon; Col. H. S. Scott, C. B. 1st batt. 29th Madras Infantry; W. G. Bird, Esq. and Portuguese servant, left at Cape.

By the *William Miles*.—From Bengal: Mrs. Bayley, wife of W. B. Bayley, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government; Miss J. Bayley, Mrs. Oakes, two

Misses Williams; Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. Venour, Mrs. Turner; Masters Bayley and Oakes; two Masters Kenney, two Masters Venour, two Masters Eides. From Madras: George Stratton, Esq. and Charles Harris, Esq., Madras Civil Service; Dr. Goldie, Medical Board; Capt. Hatherly, N. C.; Cornet J. R. Brown, Madras Cavalry; J. Horientz, Esq., for Copenhagen; Mrs. Stratton, Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Hatherly; two Misses Stratton, two Misses Harris, two Misses Hatherly; Master Harris, two Master Whannels. From Pondicherry: Mrs. Graham, wife of General Graham; Madame De L'Etang, for France; Misses Graham and Warren, two Misses Fraser, Master Stevenson.

By the *Ganges*.—From Bengal: Mrs. Trower, wife of Charles Trower, Esq.; Mrs. Cumberlege, wife of Lieut.-Col. Cumberlege; W. A. Shaw, Free Merchant; Lieut. Eastwood, H. M. 44th Regt.; Lieut. E. T. Hawkins, 19th N. I.; Mr. George Henderson, Merchant, died at Sea, Jan. 16, 1824; Misses Bertram and Trower, Master Trower, and two Johnsons. From Madras: Lady Stanley, wife of Sir E. Stanley; Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Bonham; Lieut.-Col. Taylor, Veteran Batt.; Capt. Inglis, 24th Regt., N. I.; Cornet B. Cumberlege, 7th Regt. N. C.; Cornet J. Byng, 6th Regt. N. C.; Cornet J. F. Mackenzie, 7th Regt., N. C.; Lieut. G. Gunning, 1st Regt. N. I.; R. Currie, 9th ditto; P. Fletcher, 23d ditto; J. R. Agnew, 6th ditto, died at Sea, April 6, 1824; Thomas Norris, Esq., Merchant; two Masters Bonham.

By the *Admiral Buskes*.—From Batavia, bound to Rotterdam; Col. De Man, Dutch Navy; Col. Cornelius, Dutch Army, and three children; Mr. Kreulhoff, and two children, six servants.

By the *Aurora*.—From Bombay: Mrs. Major Davies, Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Mitchell; Capt. R. Harle, Lieut. Sterling, and Dr. P. Leslie, Bombay Civil Service; Dr. Holmes, H. M. 4th Lancers; Mr. Henderson, Bombay Civil Service; Mr. Say; Messrs. Mitchell, Nuss, Ellis; Masters Mitchell, Clow, Betts, and F. Betts.

By the *Palmyra*.—From Bengal: Col. and Mrs. Smith, and four children; Col. Yule, Captains J. H. Little, Scott, Axford and Sterling; Master and Miss Ward; Mrs. Sterling; Masters Burlton, James and Bird; Col. and Mrs. Cumming; Mrs. W. J. Bird; Miss Bird and three servants: Mrs. Bird and family we... nded at the Cape.

By the *Earl St. Vincent*.—From Singapore: Mr. W. M. Beck, and Dr. Sainsk.

By the *Rockingham*.—From Bengal: Mrs. Beach, Mrs. Readdie, and Mrs. Williams; Rev. Mr. Thomas and Lady. From Madras: Col. Popham, Bengal Service; Capt. Magill, 38th Regt.; Lieuts. Smith, 41st Regt.; Mahon and Paton, 46th Regt.; Borges, Farran and Shee, Madras Service.

By the *Asia*.—From Bengal: Mr. and Mrs. M'Donald, and four children; Mrs. Tolfrey, and four children; Mrs. Sullivan, and two children; Mrs. Hodgson and child; Misses Walker and Sinclair; Master Spry; Col. Caldwell, C. B.; Col. J. Nicol, 8th N. I.; Capt. Hodgson; Lieut. Matthias; Ens. Gordon; Mr. Ashton; Mr. Brown.

By the *Lotus*.—From Bengal: Lieut.-Col. Penson; Dr. J. Johnson; Capt. Aldous, of the Bengal Establishment; Lieut. W. Maxwell, 14th Regt.; J. W. Taylor, Esq., Merchant; Mrs. Menzies; Misses C. & A. Pereira; Masters C. & J. Smith.

DEPARTURES TO INDIA.

By the *Marquess of Hastings*.—For Bombay: Richard Torin, Esq.

By the *Prince Regent*.—To Bengal: Mrs. Hopper, Mrs. Phillips, Miss Patterson, Miss Hogg, Lieut.-Col. White, Lieut.-Col. Hopper, Capt. Teulon, Capt. Biddulph, Lieut. G. Bishop, Lieut. G. Hetzler, Dr. Phillips, W. Ogilvy, Esq. Writer, Mr. E. Hopper, Mr. Biddulph, Mr. Haldane, cadet; Mr. Phillips, cadet; Mr. Stone, merchant.

By the *Boyne*.—For Bengal: Mr. H. Phillips.

By the *George Home*.—For Bengal: Lieut. Bain.

By the *Claudine*.—For Bengal: Misses Adams and Palmer; J. E. Harrington, Esq., Bengal Service; Messrs. Law and Law, jun.; Messrs. Lardner, Montgomery, & Green, Cadets; —— Mackintosh, Esq.; Messrs. Salter and Hutchinson.

By the *Katherine Stewart Forbes*.—For Bombay: Mrs. Marriott, Capt. Campbell, Mrs. Campbell, Messrs. Hawkins and Gordon, Cadets; Mr. Hume, Misses Gillio, Thompson, and Morris.

By the *Lord Castlereagh*.—For Bombay: Col. and Mrs. Delamotte, Mrs. Richmond, Mrs. Mellis, Miss Campbell, Capts. Pearson, Cazalet, and Spratt, Mr. H. Berry, Hon. Mr. Seton, Hon. A. O. Murray, Mr. W. Dunlop, Miss J. Dunlop, Mr. Samuel A. Crofton, and Mr. Montefiere, Surgeon.

By the *Asia*.—For Madras and Bengal; Mrs. and Miss Cochrane, Mrs. Harding, Mrs. Chambers, three Misses Chambers, Lieut. Col. and Mrs. Pereira, Mr. R. Clarke, Madras Civil Service, and lady; Dr. H. Atkinson, Mrs. and Miss Atkinson, Miss F. and Messrs. A. and G. H. Atkinson, Capt. C. Laurens, Lieut. Col. Pitcairne, Messrs. Rhind, T. Beale, R. Gardner, W. H. Tyler, and G. W. Alexander, writers; Messrs. T. Whistler, T. Gould, W. Innes, J. P. Sharp, C. J. C. Collins, W. Alston, and J. Campbell, cadets.

By the *Cornwall*.—For Madras and Bengal: Mr. and Mrs. Usher, Mr. and Mrs. Bluet, Dr. and Mrs. Cragie, Mr. and Mrs. Beddy, Mr. and Mrs. Ridsdall, two Misses Bleuchynden, Miss O. Goodinge, Miss Debrett, Captains Nortor, Coventry, Thorpe, and Debrett, Lieut. Musgrave, Messrs. R. Fitzgerald, Hutton, Jenkins, Coo..., Kerr, Chouette, Pudner, and the Rev. W. Sarkis.

By the *Pyramus*.—For Madras and Bengal: Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Kidd, for Malacca, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Edmonds, for Chinsurah; Messrs. Price, Landell, T. W. Sumner, A. Harper, Lone, Wilkinson, W. D. Gamage, Watkinson, Bennett, Erskine, Mrs. Watkinson, and two children.

By the *Bencoolen*.—For Madras and Bengal: Rev. J. H. Chapman, to Madras; Mrs. Hough and daughter, and Miss A. Noble.

By the *Lady Raffles*.—For Bengal: Captains Seymour and Grimshaw, Lieut. Campbell, Messrs. Peecher, Palgrave, Hughes, Moore, Marshall, Leyburn, and Scarilla, Mrs. Grimshaw & child, Mrs. Hampton and Emerick, 3 Misses Maxwell, Minchin, Andre, Misses Vincent, Mills, Patley, Hughes, Mrs. Barlow, Mrs. Turner.

By the *Marchioness of Ely*.—For Madras and Bengal: Mrs. Mouat, for Bengal; Mrs. Conwell and Willetts, for Madras; Miss Short, for ditto; A. Cherry, Esq. Madras Civil Service; Dr. Conwell, Madras Establishment; Capt. Willetts, his Majesty's Service; Capt. Fitzgerald, Bengal Establishment; Rev. Mr. Proley, ditto; Mr. Taylor, Madras Establishment; E. Mendies, Esq. for Bengal; Messrs. H. Griffiths, Millar, Fenton, Jack, Mellish, and Evelyn, Cadets; Mr. Lilly for Madras; and some Military Officers.

By the *Rose*.—For Madras and Bengal: Miss M. Mackean, Misses I. J., L. and M. Buller, daughters of Sir A. Buller; Lieut. Col. Garner, Bengal Infantry; Mr. T. Deikins, Barrister; Ensign Lynch, 14th Regt.; Messrs. T. Irving, Erskine, T. Erskine, C. Campbell, W. F. Campbell, J. F. Hamilton, and A. C. Hayes, cadets: Mr. H. Pollett, free mariner, for Bengal; Mrs. S. Dyer, Misses H. and E. Dyer, Miss E. Harrington, Mrs. Tennison, Dr. S. Dyer, Madras Establishment; Mr. H. V. Conolly, writer, Mr. C. West, cadet; Capt. Tennison, Royals; Lieut. Nicholson, 1st. Royals; Assistant Surgeon Stoddart, ditto; Lieuts. S. Tresidder, Woodhouse, Campbell, Williamson, Mountstephen, Innes, and Ensign Ward, 30th Regt.; and Lieut. Harding, 89th Regt. for Madras.

By the *George*.—For Madras: R. C. Cole, Esq. and lady; Capt. Laurie; Messrs. Blair, Christie (Cadet), and Schirder (Vet. Surg.), Dr. Stephenson, Miss Arnott, Mrs. De Busche and 4 children.

By the *Astell*.—For Bengal: Mrs. W. S. Beatson, Mrs. Playfair and Child, Mrs. Swan, two Misses Beechy, Majors H. Swindell and Playfair, Capt. Arrow, and Lieuts. Birch and Span, H. C. S.; Rev. Dr. Young, Chaplain on the Bengal Establishment; Mr. J. De Winter Moir, cadet; Messrs. Udney, Pidcock, and Alexander, writers; Mr. St. Julian, free merchant.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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THE MYSTERIES OF LAW, AS PRACTISED AT BOMBAY.

The subject of the present article is one of the highest importance to the people of India at large, as involving this great question—Whether they shall enjoy access to, or be altogether shut out from, the enjoyment of justice, by the moderation or extortion of those in whose hands its administration is placed?—It is a subject which has also excited considerable interest even in England, where a certain *esprit du corps* has been roused against Sir Edward West, (we do not say unjustly,) and the indignation of the Bar has been pretty loudly and generally expressed, at his arbitrary suspension of all the members of their own body from the exercise of their functions at Bombay. We do not by any means approve of so violent, and as it would seem to us, so inappropriate a remedy; and as to the doctrine maintained by Sir Edward West, that "no power on earth had any right to call in question the proceedings of his Court," we can only say it may be law, and good law, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, but it is not consistent with the spirit of justice, which would shun the very appearance of arbitrary or irresponsible power, and more especially on the Bench, erected in India expressly to prevent the abuses of that power in others. It is the nature of power, however, to make those who possess much of it desire still more. Like wealth, the love of it increases with increased possession—and both are such inevitable corrupters of the human heart, that all our legal institutions ought to be framed with a view to prevent their too rapid and too extensive accumulation.

Of Sir Edward West's share in the dispute between the Court and the Barristers at Bombay, we have before expressed our opinion freely, and we repeat again that his decree of suspension appears to us harsh and inappropriate; and his notion, that the only remedy for mal-practices in his duty, if their existence could really be proved, is by impeachment in Parliament, amounts to a confession that they are altogether remediless; for no man acquainted with English or Indian history could indulge a hope of the slightest redress from such a proceeding. If the offence of the Barristers was against the "dignity" of the Court, that dignity would not have been lessened, but rather increased, by reading a lesson of caution to the offenders, and permitting them, by favour of the Court, to proceed in their duties under an expression of regret for the past, and a pledge of greater discretion for the future. If their offence was against the community at large,—which we consider to be the case,

from their exorbitant demands of fees having laid the foundation of the whole proceeding—the appropriate punishment would have been to insist on their still conducting the suits of their clients for the fees already established, (and those far from being moderate ones, as will appear hereafter,)—or to oblige them to disgorge a portion of their ill-gotten wealth, if it could be proved that they had long extorted fees to which they were not entitled. But suspending the whole of the Bar, and thus interrupting the course of public business; or admitting attorneys to practise as Barristers, to the great confusion of duties, and in many cases, perhaps, to the extreme prejudice of the unfortunate clients, does appear to us a measure quite unsuited to the nature of the remedy which the case required.

On the other hand, it is but justice to Sir Edward West to say, that, whether he acted under the impression of his being fully borne out by the law and the charter, or whether it was a mere impulse of warm and ungovernable feeling which led him to the decision pronounced, his motives appear to have been to benefit the native Indian as well as European population of Bombay, by giving them cheap justice; and this is a robe which, like charity, might deserve to cover a multitude of sins.

Amidst all this, it must not be concealed that great differences of opinion prevail in Bombay itself upon this subject.—Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor, and many of the Civil and Military Servants of the East India Company, are said to be so hostile to Sir Edward West's proceedings, that they hold no intercourse with him, and thus the society of the island is divided into two classes, each, as usual, conceiving themselves entirely and exclusively in the right, and the other irredeemably wrong. Instead of our pursuing a middle course, as is usual with those who will not take the trouble to examine for themselves, and who make up by an affectation of impartiality for a want of industry or judgment, we have taken some pains to inquire into the matter, and have come to the conclusion that *both* parties are wrong, though there is an immense difference between the degrees of blame to be attached to either.

The leading facts of the case have been published by us before, as they came to our knowledge, accompanied with such observations as the separate and successive disclosures suggested.* But it was not until recently that we obtained copies of the correspondence read in the Court at Bombay, and attested by the affidavit of Mr. Ayrton, the attorney through whom the papers principally passed. A reference to the pages indicated below will give to such of our readers as may not have bestowed any previous attention on the subject, a sufficient acquaintance with the leading facts of the case to prepare them for the understanding of what follows; and their perusal of the documents we shall lay before them, will explain at once the origin, aim, and end of the proceedings in question. It is not often that we have so distinct a view, from behind the curtain, of those learned performers who parade the great stage of public life. It is they themselves, however, who have removed the veil, by which they were before shrouded from vulgar eyes; and we may, therefore, be pardoned for indulging ourselves, while we can, with a more familar view of their hallowed mysteries, than it falls to the lot of the uninitiated generally to obtain.

The first of these curious documents, to which we allude, is an affida-

* See the Oriental Herald, vol. I. p. 676, 691; vol. II. p. 132, 460.

vit of Mr. Frederick Ayrton, Attorney-at-Law in Bombay, explanatory of the correspondence exhibited by him in the Court at that Presidency; the substance of which we shall faithfully report, divested of its tedious technicalities, inserting the letters to which reference is made, as we proceed with the narrative.

Mr. Ayrton deposes, that on the 7th of August, 1823, he received a letter from George Norton, Esq. (the recently appointed Advocate General, who had not then been in India more than a few months, but who seemed disposed to enter vigorously on his task of preparing to quit it again as soon as possible,)—of which the following is a copy:—

To F. Ayrton, Esq.

My dear Sir, Bombay, August 7, 1823.

The subject of counsel's fees having, unfortunately, become a matter of discussion in public Court, and it being desirable that misunderstandings on this score should, of all things, be avoided, I think it as well to send you on the other side, for your information, a list of the smallest fees to be found in the Master's books at Madras with respect to the cases there specified, as extracted by a gentleman at the bar there, and sent to Mr. Parry; and I trust that the want of any regular principles to be guided by in these matters, which all of the gentlemen in your branch of the profession have from time to time lamented to me, and have desired to be furnished with, will now in some degree be supplied. As soon as any information comes from Calcutta on the subject, I presume you and the other gentlemen, when in possession of such analagous data, will have no difficulty in taking, in the result, such a course in marking counsel's fees as will obviate any misconceptions for the future.

For myself, I shall only say that, without affecting to dictate or to express a more direct opinion in regard to my own fees, I shall always expect to meet with the same consideration in that respect as my equals, and no better. It would certainly be a very peculiar circumstance which would induce me to think myself authorized to reject any brief; but I will take the liberty of saying, that no consideration whatever shall persuade me to accept a less fee than the very smallest given in similar cases at other presidencies; and any attempt directed to make me, I shall look upon as an affront. If I cannot receive the usual and regular fee, I will take none at all. This is a determination which, in my view, I owe both to my own professional character individually, and to the proper dignity of the profession at large.

I think and hope I have now said quite enough to preclude any future discussion, on my part, upon this topic, which I, for one, am resolved not to condescend to.

I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

Geo. Norton.

	Pagodas.	Gold Mohurs.	Rupees.	Sterling. £.	s.	d.
Drawing, or perusing, signing and settling a Bill or Answer in Equity	25	6	0	9	0	0
Brief to Senior on hearing in Equity Cases	30	7	2½	10	10	0
Consultation in Equity Cases	25	6	0	9	0	0
Motions, if of course, or unopposed	5	1	2½	1	15	0
——— if not of course, or opposed	10	2	5	3	10	0
——— to dismiss, &c. in Equity	10	2	5	3	10	0
Demurrers, (I presume arguing?)	25	6	0	9	0	0
Petitions	15	3	0½	4	6	0
In Common Law Actions, Brief to Senior	30	7	2½	10	10	0
Signing Plaints	5	1	2½	1	15	0
Drawing and settling Pleadings	10	2	5	3	10	0
General Retainer	100	24	0	36	0	0
Special Retainer	25	6	0	9	0	0

N. B.—It will be observed, that a pagoda is here reckoned at 3½ rupees; a gold mohur at 15 rupees; and the amount in pounds sterling is calculated by allowing 2 shillings for a rupee, which is a little above the present low rate of exchange.

To this letter Mr. Ayrton sent no reply; but he deposes that most of the fees specified in the foregoing list, and which he understood Mr. Norton to mean, was the lowest that he would consent to receive, were of greater amount than the fees that had been heretofore paid to Counsel in ordinary cases at Bombay. He adds, in his affidavit, that both before and after the receipt of the letter given above, and in consequence of the dissatisfaction expressed by the Barristers at Bombay at the amount of their fees, he had, according to the best of his judgment, increased the general rate of them in the proportion of 25 per cent., which he did in order to satisfy their demands and facilitate the business of his clients. In this manner also, he states, that Counsel had sometimes returned their briefs to him with suggestions for an increase of fees, when he has altered the fees originally marked from four and six gold mohurs to six and nine gold mohurs: nay, even, that on some occasions, he had *doubled* the accustomed fee, in conformity to what he was led to understand was the expectation of Counsel in such cases; although, without such suggestions from them, he would have given only the ordinary fee if left to his discretion: but he complied from time to time with these unusual demands, in order to remove, if possible, the unpleasant feeling that would have resulted from his neglecting to do so, and in the hope that sooner or later some more definite and specific arrangement might be made, as to the fees of Counsel on all cases put into their hands. He adds, that on motions in a cause, made on notice, the Barristers demanded two gold mohurs, whereas the fee hitherto paid was only one; and that he had received repeated intimation from the Counsel practising in the Court at Bombay, that their fees were too small.

On the 23d of July, 1823, Mr. Ayrton received the following letter from A. S. Le Messurier, Esq., at the foot of which he made the memorandum now annexed to it:—

To F. Ayrton, Esq.

Dear Sir, Bombay, July 23, 1823.

Conceiving the fee of six (6) gold mohurs to be the least remuneration that can be given for the labour of drawing any bill, and that I expect that fee to be *always* given, I return the accompanying papers, in order that an additional fee may be marked, or I must decline having any thing to do with them.

Yours, faithfully, A. S. Le Messurier.

Memorandum by Mr. Ayrton.

The Bill drawn was about 15 fifteen folios, and was only for a discovery of the names of the persons in whose behalf the Defendant had signed a policy of insurance under the designation of "a Company." For such a Bill, the fee, in England, would have been one guinea: the six gold mohurs were marked as requested for drawing this Bill.*

This letter, and the memorandum attached to it, need no further comment. We therefore pass on to the further facts contained in Mr. Ayrton's affidavit. In this he states, that in a certain cause, wherein Kinnersley was the plaintiff, and Prendergast and others the defendants, Mr. Charles Grant was employed, in the early part of the proceedings, as the Solicitor for the plaintiff; but that afterwards he, Mr. Ayrton,

* A gold mohur is nearly a guinea and half.

received charge of the cause as Solicitor. At the time of this change Mr. Ayrton was assured by Mr. Grant that he had already paid to Mr. Le Messurier and Mr. Parry, the Counsel in this case, the sum of 510 rupees. Mr. Ayrton, however, on receiving the affair into his hands, considering that Mr. Le Messurier had taken some trouble in drawing the bill, marked to him the *further* sum of 225 rupees. The bill having been filed, a demurrer was put in; and on that occasion Mr. Ayrton again gave, with the briefs to argue this demurrer, the following fees:—To Mr. Norton, for brief fee and consultation, 220 rupees; to Mr. Parry, for the same, 150 rupees; and to Mr. Le Messurier, for the same, 135 rupees. The demurrer, after being filed, required to be amended; when Mr. Ayrton was again called upon to give two gold mohurs, or 30 rupees, *refresher fees*, to each of the gentlemen above named. Besides this, there was given to Mr. Norton, the Advocate General, a *retainer fee* of five gold mohurs; making altogether for fees paid on this cause alone, up to the arguing of the demurrer, one thousand four hundred rupees and upwards!

On the 24th of September, 1823, the demurrer was called on to be argued, at which period Mr. Irwin, another barrister, began to state the contents of the bill, and proceeded therein for about ten minutes, when the Recorder suggested that it would be for the benefit of all parties that the case should be referred to arbitrators, and settled out of court. Mr. Norton, the Advocate General, expressed the complainant's willingness to refer the matter as advised: the matter, therefore, stood over to receive the defendants' acquiescence to such reference; and the brief was on the next day sent back from the plaintiff's Counsel to Mr. Ayrton, his attorney. On the 26th of September, however, the very day following, Mr. Ayrton was informed by the defendants' Solicitor, that they would not consent to such reference, and accordingly the brief was again sent to Mr. Norton, the Advocate General, by whom it was originally held. It was, however, instantly returned, accompanied by the following note:—

To F. Ayrton, Esq.

My Dear Sir, Bombay, Sept. 26, 1823.

I have always understood that whenever a case has been opened, and adjourned, for any purpose, the Counsel, in resuming their labours, receive a *refresher*. I certainly do not think the fees in the above case, with reference to the nature of it, are much higher than to be clear of AN INSULT, and therefore see no reason for departing from what is regular and formal in respect to my fees; I return you, therefore, this brief, to be marked with a refreshing fee of some sort, and remain Yours, truly, Geo. Norton.

This is a very happy specimen of the liberal feelings and extended views of a hired advocate, who, in two short days, can so far forget a client's case, as to render it necessary to refresh his memory, not by any additional looking into the facts or arguments of the case, for that does not seem to have been thought of, but by more fees, the omission of which could constitute an insult, and their increase smooth down all asperities into the most perfect good humour and content.

Mr. Ayrton deposes, that the reason of his not sending a *refresher* was, that such an additional expense was not justified by the circumstances under which the cause had been postponed; and, moreover, that the fees given to the Counsel in this cause, had already been so *extremely*

liberal, as not to call for further advances in this stage of the proceeding. Mr. Ayrton accordingly addressed a note to Mr. Norton, stating that he must take his client's directions on the subject of this extraordinary demand, as he was resolved not to interfere further on his own responsibility as to Counsel's fees. He accordingly saw his client on the following day, and communicated to him verbally the contents of Mr. Norton's letter; when the unfortunate client, terrified at the apprehension of a protracted litigation, every step of which might be thus attended with incalculable expense, and feeling his inability to satisfy such repeated and exorbitant demands, particularly as the fees hitherto paid had not been deemed sufficient, directed his Solicitor to dispense with the further assistance of the last-retained Counsel, Mr. Norton, and confine the further conduct of his cause to the two barristers previously engaged.

Mr. Ayrton accordingly wrote to Mr. Norton, stating, that as his client had now nothing to expect but protracted litigation with the defendants, and, as might be seen from the statements in the bill, he was not in a condition to meet a heavy expense, he was under the necessity of declining Mr. Norton's further assistance, he being the last Counsel retained; expressing, however, at the same time, the regret of himself and client, at the loss which their cause would necessarily sustain in being deprived of his valuable services. To this civil intimation of an inability to meet the exorbitant demands of the keepers of that Justice which, we are so often told is "open to all,"—the following was the civil reply:—

To Mr. F. Ayrton.

Sir, Saturday Afternoon, Sept. 27.

I feel much relieved by Major K.'s relinquishment of my further interference in his case; and therefore make no manner of complaint on the subject.

But you, Sir, know perfectly well, that to retain a Barrister, and not employ him,—especially when by such retainer he has found himself obliged, as you also know he has been obliged, to resign one offered on the other side,—is a piece of conduct which, as far as *you* are concerned in it, ought to *banish your presence from my office altogether for the future;* but I have to request only for the present that you keep yourself and your briefs out of it as much as you can, as nothing but professional necessity will in future induce me to *see you or any belonging to you* in it again.

You will clearly understand from this, that I look to you and you only as the author of the AFFRONT put upon me in regard to the subject of your note this morning.

If I was puzzled before, I now perfectly understand the meaning of "your resolution," as you express yourself, "never to interfere in regard to my fees," and I heartily wish you would extend your resolution to the briefs also, which in such case you ought, I think, to do. But I have this to add, that any design you may entertain, and which you have already with no small degree of INSOLENCE sufficiently *insinuated*, of obliging me to *disgrace myself or my profession* with the acceptance of irregular fees, or to work without fees, will be quite fruitless; and if you are not more RESPECTFUL in your conduct towards me for the future, I will see how far such a design may not be made to REDOUND ON YOUR OWN HEAD!

As to Major K.'s case, no one thing could have been more satisfactory to my feelings, than with reference to his peculiar situation, to have engaged in his cause unfeed; but not through the medium of such an attorney as yourself, putting the case in my hands in the manner you have.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

George Norton.

It can hardly be necessary to offer a single remark on this specimen

of courtesy and delicacy, except to observe that it is the production of an individual who had been appointed Advocate General of Bombay, by a fortunate accident, and had been in India only a few months; when, as the Recorder remarked on a subsequent occasion, "a new light seemed to have broken in upon him;" but this light was rather "darkness visible," as it appears he could neither see, hear, nor understand, without his vision, his intellect, and his speech being quickened by incessant and interminable fees!

In the course of the same day, Sept. 27, Mr. Ayrton also addressed Mr. Parry, stating to him the circumstances that had transpired, and begging that he would thenceforward consider himself as the leading Counsel of his client; to which he received the following reply:

To F. Ayrton, Esq.

Dear Sir, Saturday, September 27, 1823.

The enclosed is a note that was to have been forwarded to you this morning, as soon as I was satisfied that it was not your intention to have sent me a refresher fee in the cause therein alluded to.

The contents of your note just now received have removed all uncertainty upon this point, and I find also an additional labour and responsibility imposed upon me.

From the whole tenor of your note, I cannot but perceive that it is wished that poverty should be considered as the reason why Counsel are not remunerated in proportion to their labours; and I therefore return my Brief-fee, preferring to conduct the cause gratuitously rather than acquiesce in accepting what I consider an insufficient remuneration. Yours, truly,

G. F. Parry.

(Enclosure.)

Dear Sir,—I am very sorry to find, by your note, that the recommendation of the Court has failed in producing a reference in the case of *Kinnersley* v. *Prendergast*, and *from your not having thought it necessary to send a refresher fee*, I must conclude you consider your client's case will be sufficiently supported by *such recollection merely of its circumstances as a competent knowledge of the case on Wednesday last, will enable Counsel to argue it.*

I have thought proper to apprize you of this, in order that *in case the demurrer should be held good, the disadvantages under which the Complainant's case comes into Court may be ascribed to the* RIGHT *cause.*

Yours truly, G. F. Parry.

Here then, is an avowal, which has the merit of frankness at least, and this is a rare virtue among lawyers especially, that two days were sufficient to unfit an advocate for arguing a question of which he was entirely master before; and that if he failed on Saturday to retain a perfect recollection of what he thoroughly knew and remembered on Wednesday, the *true cause* of this treachery of memory would be the absence of a *refresher fee!*

After this, a letter was sent by Mr. Norton's clerk, encouraged no doubt by the examples of his superiors, addressed to Mr. Ayrton, and stating that he was "desired by Mr. Norton to inform him that in future, on all fees paid to himself, he would expect clerk's fees also to be paid, according to the practice in England." He then gives a scale, apparently either his master's or his own, making the clerk's fees an advance of six per cent. on those of the barrister (no such fees having ever been paid in Bombay before); and, making an *ex-post-facto* application of his own decree, he adds, "I should be much obliged, if, when you settle

Mr. Norton's account, you would transmit the amount of the following"—giving a long bill of clerk's fees to be paid by the unhappy client, Kinnersley, who had already been compelled to decline the further services of his master, because of his inability to satisfy his extravagant demands.

It may be well to state a few facts, to show the proportion of advance required by these barristers at Bombay, since Mr. Norton's appearance among them. The table of fees sanctioned by the Master in the Bombay court, and hitherto made the rule of charge, allows four gold mohurs, or 6*l.* sterling, for drawing or settling a bill or answer in equity: the fee demanded by the present barristers is six gold mohurs, or 9*l.* sterling: the charge in England for the same duty is 1*l.* 1*s.* With a brief on hearing in equity causes, the accustomed fee in Bombay was three gold mohurs, or 4*l.* 10*s.* sterling: the new fee demanded is seven gold mohurs and a half, or 10*l.* 15*s.* sterling: in England the charge is 1*l.* 1*s.* For a special retainer the old fee was three gold mohurs, or 4*l.* 10*s*: the new demand is for six gold mohurs, or 9*l.*: the fee in England is 1*l.* 1*s.* For a general retainer, the old fee at Bombay was five gold mohurs, or 7*l.* 10*s.*: the fee now demanded is 350 rupees, or 35*l.* sterling: the general price paid in England for the same purpose is 5*l.* 5*s.* On an average, therefore, it may be said that the new fees attempted to be exacted at Bombay are seven times as great as those usually received in England, where most men who have ever had to do with law and lawyers, know to their cost, they are already so high as to amount to a denial of justice to a very large majority of the community. If the practice in *England* were, therefore, to be made the standard for exacting clerk's fees, in addition to those of the barrister, it ought not to be entirely lost sight of in other matters. But it is only to serve a particular purpose that the practice in England is ever mentioned, and when that end is attained, it is no more thought of.

To show the state of law and law-expenses in Bengal, we may mention that on the proceedings of the six Secretaries by indictment against the Calcutta Journal, the Editor of that paper had to pay out of his own unaided funds 6,000 rupees, or 600*l.* sterling, in costs, although he was ACQUITTED; while his six official prosecutors had not nearly so much to pay among them all, though they failed in establishing their case, and ought, therefore, in justice to have paid the whole. In the criminal information filed against that Paper, and put by and revived, but never brought to trial, nearly an equal sum was expended, without any conviction following. For one document only,—a *copy* of the indictment of the Secretaries,—which was of no use whatever to any party, and was repeatedly refused as unnecessary, except, indeed, for the purpose of emptying the pockets of the acquitted client, the sum of 100 Bengal gold mohurs, then nearly 200*l.* sterling, was paid, though it was never looked into after it was drawn by any individual, serving only the purpose of swelling the bill of costs, and operating as a tax on justice.

We may add to these illustrative facts, the following equally instructive examples of the extortion practised on the western side of India, furnished by an authority on which we can place the greatest reliance. A suitor in the court at Bombay, had recently certain bills for law-expenses presented to him, amounting to 12,000 rupees: which, when taxed by the proper officer, was reduced to 4,500, the remaining 7,500 being struck off as unjust and unwarrantable. In another case a demand was

made on a suitor in the same court for 14,000 rupees as amount of costs, when the payment was refused on the ground of the charges being excessive; and so conscious were the parties, making this demand, of the exorbitant nature of their claim, that, rather than have it brought into court for adjustment there, which the suitor threatened to do, they accepted, as a compromise, the sum of 5,000 rupees. From these facts, which are known, some idea may be formed of those which are not suffered to transpire; they certainly exhibit the lawyers in no very amiable light, and at least prove that the "learned" professions are very far from deserving the epithet so indiscriminately applied to them, as being also the most "liberal."

HAPPINESS.

Nor breath of vernal wind,
When unconfined
It sports through emerald leaves and opening flowers;
Nor morning's early note,
When, sweetly mingling, float
The wild grove's choristers' united powers;
Nor bank of haunted stream,
Where oft I dream,
Beneath the waning night, of other days;
While from some turret near
The screech-owl, screaming drear,
Scares the lone echo and the dancing fays;
To me is half so dear,
As when the year
Is crowned with yellow leaves and golden grain;
To sit by cheerful hearth,
Tasting no noisy mirth,
But listening to some heaven-inspired strain.
Then fabled times return,
The tapers burn
Like censers in some holy godhead's shrine,
And every face appears
More consecrate by years,
And wears a loftier look, and more divine.
From heart to heart the lay
Resistless way
Forces, and mirth, or soft imagined woe,
In eager fancy breeds,
As sad or merry deeds
Pass by the soul in light or solemn show.
This life to friendship gives,
Which purer lives
In souls that feel, in common, joys like these;
And years in passing shed
Upon the whitening head,
The wish and the ability to please.

BION.

THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. 5.—*Retrospective Review.*

Contemporaries keep each other in countenance by flattery. There is a commerce of compliments carried on between them; and the common notions of the age are looked upon by each as marks of his own individual superiority. Few have sufficient acuteness to perceive that common minds, being always dependent on others for their principles, are like certain trees, which require a depth of soil to nourish and support them, while genius resembles the Alpine pine, and would shoot up though the whole surface of the age were waste and barren. Common notions, and the general result of previous discoveries, are the soil that produces ordinary writers: who amass but do not create wealth. Such writers as these, naturally wither with their times, having no claim upon posterity; nor, in fact, any thing so peculiarly their own, that it cannot pass to another. It is plain, that no good end could be answered by struggling with time and oblivion for the rescue of their remains; for it cannot be of any essential good to know what particular species of folly was in vogue in such or such an age. There are truths intimately connected with the interests of humanity, (if men could be persuaded to search diligently after them,) sufficiently numerous to employ the most persevering generation, and sufficiently new and beautiful to rouse and delight the most ardent curiosity. But at present mere literature stands between us and this research. We are much more given to pursue the traces of other men's thoughts, than to tax our own invention for something that may deserve the thanks and remembrance of future ages; but this bias of our minds is much less the choice of individual writers, than a consequence resulting from the previous march of literature. For there are periods in the history of nations, when the general mind relaxes, and turns round as it were upon the slope of time, to review its past labours; just as a traveller pauses midway on some lofty hill, to look back upon the weary way he has trodden. If, during these periods, an exact estimate of what had been done, and of what remained to be accomplished, could be made, it is probable that such a judging era might be of paramount utility: but particular invention will not be made to stand still, whatever may be the case with that of the nation; and its brilliant successes will always attract the notice of those who employ themselves in weighing the merits of other men, to the detriment of those similar spirits who might have preceded it. Thus the literature of past ages would be left almost entirely to the private decision of individuals, who seldom care to come to any very determinate opinion upon such things as they have no immediate interest in estimating correctly. This would be giving up the rein entirely to time, and damping the ardour of genius by showing with how much indifference men sometimes see its productions consigned to oblivion. To remedy this evil, a publication seemed necessary, which should exercise a severe scrutiny on the claims of ancient writers; show for what they were excellent, and wherein they erred; separate those of their works, or even ideas, which naturally went out of

date with the epoch in which they flourished, from such as bore a relation to all ages and conditions of society; and, having no regard to petty censure, compile a complete body of *excerpta* for that part of mankind, whose other necessary occupations and studies cut them off from the possibility of making such researches for themselves. With something like this aim, the Retrospective Review was established. It is certain, however, that the impulse to this kind of labour did not originate with the Retrospective; on the contrary, the Review itself is the production of a feeling and taste that had gone abroad into society, and caused men to look back with a kind of intellectual yearning towards the works of our ruder ancestors. But there was danger (and the danger still continues), that in this retrospect more importance might be attached to mere typographical rarities, and intellectual abortions, than to productions of unadorned merit; for oddity and paradox seem more congenial to the spirit of these times, than reasoning, and its consequent,—a knowledge of simple and pure truth. The conductors of the Retrospective Review seem too fond of mere oddities. They have succumbed to the spirit of the age, which is bent upon reviving and perpetuating extravagance; and have persisted with too much pertinacity, to attempt to give currency to that grotesque and barbarous taste which the delicacy of our immediate predecessors had exploded. It is the peculiar folly of our times, to consider the age of Elizabeth as the most flourishing or best period of our literature. But it is a mark of barbarism, and a contemptible disregard of the rights of man, to look upon that era as most glorious, in which the human intellect was compelled to stoop to every species of degradation, to appease the hateful ambition of a female despot. Elizabeth's age, it is allowed, was fertile in writers of fine fancy, enthusiasm, and rude energy; but they were all, not excepting Shakespeare, deluded by false taste, and disgraced by obscenity. It has been said, that our great dramatic poet only sacrificed to the genius of the times when he indulged in grossness and ribaldry; but it must be clear to whoever reads him attentively, that he had an impure imagination, and delighted in obscene allusions and descriptions. That he might know such a taste was wrong in the abstract, is nothing; he might know so much, like Ovid, the most obscene writer of all antiquity, and, notwithstanding, yield to his propensity. We have instanced Shakespeare, *ut ex uno disces omnes*; and there can be no exception against the representative. The human mind, in Elizabeth's time, was crude and unformed; the elements of greatness were mingled in high fermentation with the dross of ignorance and superstition; but it had not had time to clear and purify itself: it was strong, but not good. The principles of very few sciences were known; nor had the reasoning faculty acquired that sharpness which is needed in the pursuit of truth. Bacon, perhaps, may be adduced as an exception; but he belonged to the next age; and of all the other prose writers of those times, it may be truly predicated, that they wanted taste, discrimination, decorum, and a knowledge of principles. We know it is at all times fashionable to cast an eye of regret towards the past, and undervalue present times; and this feeling may be turned to advantage by employing it to excite emulation with departed excellence; but it should be remembered, that while genius and taste survive in their productions, folly and ignorance leave no durable monument; and thus, while we speak of antiquity, we mean that noble portion of its spirit that has left

behind it models of almost inimitable perfection. It is the business, however, of a philosophic and discerning age, to award due praise to contemporary merit; and, it may be said, for the times in which we live, that few ages have seen greater men, or seen them more intent on promoting the happiness of their species, which is the true test of greatness.

But to come directly to the execution and merits of the Retrospective Review—The too great attention it has paid to our "old dramatists," as they are called,—a corollary from the disposition of the times, is one of its most striking defects. For more than twenty years it has been fashionable to speak of these "old dramatists" as a mine of poetry and feeling, to which those who worship the muses in these latter days, should resort, as to a kind of second-hand shop, where nature's excellencies were retailed at a cheap rate. Many were, and continue to be, persuaded that this is right; and, in consequence of this belief, deck out their meagre verses with the insipid mummery of spells, witchcraft, prognostications, and the whole paraphernalia of an ignorant and barbarous period. This taste receives indirectly the countenance of the Retrospective Review; for in several of its numbers, it has evinced a disposition to revive the sources of it. Notwithstanding this, its direct and general tendency is far from being exceptionable; though some of the very best articles it has put forth, have been written on subjects that little deserved them; while books, which opened the largest and fairest field for philosophical criticism, have been hurried over in a hasty and slovenly manner. We allude, in an especial manner, to the way in which Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe, and Lord Bacon's *Novum Organum* were treated. The writer of the article on the latter, seemed incapable of following the sweep, vigour, and rapidity of Bacon's perceptions, or of seeing the true pole at which they perpetually pointed; possessed by the mania of reviewers, he was rather disposed to substitute his own notions for those of his author, than to give an analysis of the principles contained in the book, or, (which was much more necessary,) a history of the reception or confirmation they have met with among later discoverers. Bacon had a mind the most astonishing of any modern whatever; and touching his principles unskilfully, is like meddling with the talismans of a magician—a wrong move of the finger may rouse the most dangerous elements into activity. Mere learning is of little service in comprehending Bacon: it requires a mind that has moved spontaneously in the same track that he himself pursued, and been accustomed to wrestle with nature without presumption and sophistry, the sword and buckler of the schools. The writer in question depended upon mere learning; he had not that acute logic which, by habits of meditation, is superinduced upon a powerful understanding, although it is probable that his mind may have been sufficiently familiar with the mere terms.

But, to go on with the general subject, one of the most liberal and useful articles in the work, is that on the learned Sale's Translation of the Koran. The writer had evidently got rid of many of those prejudices that beset the minds of even literary men, and had been free to think for himself. This is no mean compliment; but it may safely be paid to more than one contributor to the Retrospective Review. The reader who is not already conversant with the work, may be referred, among other articles, to those on De Foe's "Memoirs of a Cavalier," "Sir John Reresby's Memoirs," "Lord Bacon's Letters," and "The Adventures of

Peter Wilkins;" although in the last-mentioned article, there are several very rash decisions, as it appears to us, on matters of high literary importance. The writer, after remarking that the work he was about to review, had been published at a time when the reading part of the nation were indifferent to simple nature, goes on to say, that in works of imagination, our taste is much more natural at present than it was in the age of Pope and Swift. This is one of the innumerable instances in which we find people talking in a vague and unmeaning manner about *nature*, simplicity, &c. Not only is it yet doubtful how far nature accompanies man in the refinements of society; thus stamping her impress upon the mutations he seems to effect; but even were we sure that nature halted at the first progression from barbarism, and left man to wander after his own taste, in the region of civilization, it is yet certain that, employing the term *nature* in its usual sense, a writer who describes civilized, or even corrupted man, may be equally as natural as he who paints only savages. Nature is only a mode of being; and the nature of a thing is its own particular mode of being; in contradistinction to the mode of being of any other thing. There is no one who can tell what were the original modes of being peculiar to each thing that exists; nor can any one fix, amidst perpetual mutations, upon that mode which is absolutely most fit and congruous in itself. It is absurd, therefore, to accuse a writer, or a generation of writers, of departing from *nature*, while they attribute to what they describe its real manners and attributes. But the writer of this article sufficiently demonstrates his own partial and imperfect notions of *nature*, by naming those writers whom he thinks natural, and the contrary. Men who mistake *reverie* for *reflection*, are apt to consider *that* as the true state of nature, in which the passions and attributes of the human heart are undeveloped and hidden; just as they suppose a child more *natural* than a man. But we might as well think that the *nature* of an oak is to lie for ever covered in the earth in the shape of an acorn. A thing is in its natural state when all the powers or faculties it possesses are in full action, and tending to that end which the well-being of that thing requires. It is the nature therefore of man to run the race of barbarism, improvement, refinement, corruption, degradation, and second ignorance—just as we see him do; and he is a *natural* writer who accurately describes man in any of these stages of society. It would considerably benefit mankind, if authors would endeavour to form just notions of each other, and form no notion at all of those who were above the reach of their judgments. The reviewer of "Peter Wilkins" is an illustration of this truth. He appears to have been fully competent to estimate the merits of the Tale before him; he might have been competent to judge of all similar Tales; but he was not satisfied with reviewing the work of which he was to speak. He had read Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Pope, &c. and knowing that it has of late become a practice with critics to speak of every thing imaginable, rather than of the matter before them, he was unwilling to lose an opportunity of coupling the names of Pope and Byron with Wordsworth and the author of "Peter Wilkins." This is a very mischievous fashion, and least of all suitable to the Retrospective Review. For if, under pretence of giving an account of some one book, its editors permit themselves to take an historical glance at any particular national literature, the very nature of their publication will compel them to go many times over the same ground, and thus

weary their readers with repetitions, and meagre sketches, without ever being able to give a complete or true picture at last. This comes, however, of affectation, and *sciolism*,* the prevailing curse of this age. The article we have been finding fault with, however, is far, as we have before said, from being a bad article; and it is for this reason that we have thought proper to animadvert upon its faults. But there are some pieces in the Review of a much superior nature: these commonly take a narrow range, as an article should, confining themselves to the ideas of the authors reviewed, to their worth, and the probable causes of their origin. Such a one is that on "Colley Cibber's Apology for himself." To those who love to trace the history of our drama, it is a choice morsel; and there is scarcely a reader who might not draw pleasure and profit from it. This is more than can be said for the greater number of the articles on Old Plays. The subject itself is bad. No good play was ever totally neglected; and those that have been reprinted under the contrary persuasion, have only established this truth by more fully proving their almost complete worthlessness. There is a class, however, of articles in this publication, which is commonly of a very pleasing cast,—on the older and smaller poets of our own country. Many of those poets are readable only in selections; they were men of sensitive and acute minds, who could frequently perceive the finer relations and affinities of things with considerable exactness, and paint them vividly, and with a degree of energy. But, indolent and conceited with their own powers, they very frequently wrote as if dipping their pens in ink were all that was necessary to waken the powers of invention. Hence their vapid conceits, and forced, incongruous imagery. It is very common to believe that strange, unnatural comparisons and combinations, suppose, at least, a great degree of wild undirected imagination; but it is a gross mistake. Nothing is more full of grotesque groupings of such a kind, than dreams; and yet the dullest fancy is not barren of this species of creation. The human mind, indeed, is but too apt to slide into absurdity; no one is too unimaginative for that; but it belongs only to the great and vigorous mind to pour forth that high current of living imagery and similes which is the language of imagination. The fancy of the poets we have been speaking of, was like a lazy cloud, which does not shift its parts or position with sufficient rapidity to assume *many* beautiful shapes: if they wrote any thing good, a hundred stupid conceits generally followed upon the strength of it. In the Retrospective Review the roses are given without the thorns, and are very often so well hedged in by sensible remarks, that their bloom is likely to last. Herrick, Crashaw, Carew, Randolph, &c. look best when so transplanted; and, in general, it were as well if the critic would have had the candour to say he had given all that was worth giving. Life cannot be spent worse than in poring over the abortions of dulness; and if, through public spirit, ambition of the reputation of industry, or any other motive, honest, plodding persons can be found who will pick out "the grain of wheat from the bushel of chaff," they should not mar their own good offices by insinuating that much more might be found. For thus, persons who should suppose them sincere, might under-

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* An expressive word, but one which never makes its appearance in a language, except, like a wild-duck, to announce coming winter and barrenness.

take a very Quixotic affair, endeavouring to extract spirits from a *caput mortuum.*

But many of our old poets are so uniformly stupid, that nothing can be extracted from them to repay the labour of research. Such a one was Dr. Henry More. The odour of his ineffable dulness is absolutely infectious; one feels, while reading him, a kind of mist creep over his understanding, clouding the judgment, and benumbing the creative faculty. To what purpose should such a person be reviewed? Is there any danger that his example should be followed? It is probable there are not two persons in Great Britain possessed of sufficient patience to wade through such a gulf of folly as his poems, and still fewer who could reap any benefit by so doing.

One of the greatest advantages that could arise, or be contemplated, from a publication like the Review before us, is the promotion and preservation of good taste, by constantly calling back the attention of the public to models of excellence, who flourished in, and adorned past ages. In order to this, it would be by no means necessary for its labours to be extended to the great writers of antiquity (who are better known than it could ever hope to be); there are writers, it is well known, among the vast stores of literature, not of splendid genius, or almost unattainable perfection, but men of wide knowledge, nice taste, agreeable fancy, who might be introduced with advantage to the familiar knowledge of the people. Men are always glad to know what may be useful to them, and will discover by degrees the writer of utility from the retailer of words and sophistry. But it is meritorious to render them assistance in this discovery; and, if that be not sufficient, it is a passport to golden favour and fame. In many instances, the Retrospective Review may serve as a guide. In the last number, there was an article on American literature, written in a bold and powerful style, which must remove the prejudices (if any still remain) that we have been accustomed to entertain against our western children, and point out a new source of pleasure to the lovers especially of romantic fiction.

One of the principal attractions, indeed, which it must possess for young adventurers into the literary field, arises, we think, from even its limited notices of foreign books. Our own literature is of so extensive a nature, that those who would fully master it, have little time to look abroad; and for this reason it might be useful to place within their reach analyses of such foreign works as deserve to be known. From such analyses, if faithfully executed, it would be easy for the youthful scholar to perceive whether a more extensive knowledge of the original writers would be desirable; and, generally, what degree of importance each author should hold in his estimation. Who would not wish to read Ariosto (if he had not read him before) after the article given on his Orlando in the last number?* Who, possessed of fine taste and accurate judgment, would not willingly listen to the suggestions of a critic so impassioned and true? This article is a real antidote against the false taste and rash decisions on subjects of poetry, which have appeared in former numbers, and is enough to reconcile one to the publication, though it should contain nothing good for a twelvemonth to come. The writer of it, together with a

* No. XVIII. p. 263.

judgment formed on the purest models of taste, and feelings accordant with the highest species of poetry, was in possession of that exact knowledge of his subject, without which neither enthusiasm nor feeling is of much avail.* Taste is to the mind what health is to the body; without it, the imagination is an unruly monster, teeming with extravagance. Wherever it prevails, the fancy seems to wander through refreshing scenes, to drink at pure springs, to be delighted with genuine objects of pleasure. The mind never, in such case, feels ashamed of its enjoyments; for there is in natural relations a congruity with the secret harmony of the soul; while the turbid pleasures which arise sometimes from extravagant fancies, are plunged into as if by stealth, they being accompanied by a certain uneasiness or inward disapproval.

The writer of the above-mentioned article, also, has some very excellent remarks on the nature and structure of English verse. He has clearly perceived the inferiority of every other kind of verse to the heroic, or couplet, which may in fact be demonstrated to be capable of more sweetness, beauty, variety, and sublimity than any other whatever. The silly outcry that has been raised against Pope has not blunted his perception of that poet's beauties; nor has he feared to speak of poetical imitation, what all real judges feel on that subject. Homer and Shakespeare, he thinks, were not imitators, only because there lived none before them in their respective countries worth imitating; and we are certain that experience tends to corroborate this assertion, since Virgil, Milton, and all other great poets have done so.

Did the Retrospective Review frequently contain articles of such a character, it would assist considerably in dissipating that cloud of nonsense and affectation, which now hangs over poetry and other works of imagination; for, we are persuaded, the public only await some salutary impulse to consign to deserved oblivion the present perverters of taste and criticism. No-meaning, or a meaning perfectly worthless, clothed in ludicrous simplicity, no longer excites opposition or admiration; ridicule has been at work, as it should be, in ridding us of this folly, and its abettors are every day lessening, and cooling in their zeal. Those whom the ardour of youth first drew into it, as their judgment ripens, feel nothing but indignation at the critics who trepanned their early enthusiasm, and are in danger, from their warmth, of confounding real simplicity with what is base and counterfeit. There is, therefore, a necessity for placing once more before the public those rules and principles of correct composition, which are the only things that render literature capable of perpetuating sublime trains of thinking, and giving rise to future invention, by recording the process by which it has once been effected. Genius, in general, appears at once, perched like an eagle on the heights of excellence; but few can trace its previous track, and point out to others the road to similar success. Ignorant critics suppose that nature has formed some minds to soar to these heights without labour or difficulty; but it was the opinion of Cicero that the first, second, and third quality of a great writer is *diligence*. This, he thought, discovered the road to eloquence, rendered it less difficult to be trodden, and at last secured success and triumph. If we imagine ourselves wiser than he, we must take heed that our performances correspond to our lofty opinion of ourselves. Knowledge and skill are to be measured by their results; the person who performs little, or a great deal of what is of little value, must

not expect credit for that which he would seem to know. Periodical literature is favourable to the existence of much false knowledge, by multiplying incompetent judges, by exciting an insatiable desire to decide at first sight. The only cure for this that we can perceive, is to direct the attention of one part of those who manage this literature upon the other; which will, if any sense of shame continue among them, have some influence in deterring the totally inadequate from intermeddling, where their presence can occasion nothing but mischief. It is under this persuasion that we endeavour to give the reader some notion of our periodical contemporaries. It would be of no use to aim at giving a general and consistent character of any of these publications; for, besides that most periodicals have no consistency, general notions of books, as well as of men, are always false, or good for nothing. The peculiarities that distinguish one individual thing from another, can only be wrought out by detail; because terms of wide signification include very frequently ideas that are nearly the opposites of each other; and in criticism especially, where the waywardness of the human mind must be reckoned for so much, generalities are altogether useless.

From this examination of a few of its articles, in as much detail as our space would allow, we think the reader may be able to gather the nature of the Retrospective Review. We think we have done it justice in every sense of the word; it has considerable merit, and might be made still more useful, if the writers for it would but enter upon subjects of higher interest, and venture to combat false opinions as well as false tastes. Man is a changeable animal, and that which now prevents popularity, may in a little time become a passport to fame.

TO ASPASIA OF MILETUS.

Bright Shade! whose eye, when on this earth,
  Could sway all hearts, all breasts inflame,
While *one* alone perceived the worth
  That ranked thee first of female name;
Couldst thou but bend thy pensive brow,
  Low-stooping from thy seat above,
To mark the heart that such as thou
  Alone could bless, alone could move!—

Ah, would thy guardian angel sleep,
  And thou steal from thy rosy sphere,
And come with hallowed fairy creep,
  To dart one glance of heaven here,—
Here on this heart, that beats and bounds
  With daring thought and high design;
Which not for all that ocean rounds
  Would stoop to love, but such as thine!

PERCY.

OPINIONS OF SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

"Let us look near this *bugbear* principle of Consistency, at which some men are so alarmed."—"It is assuredly the *effect* which should be our chief and sole object, and we should quarrel with no means that do not actually impair our strength or injure our dignity."—Sir John Malcolm.

In perusing the "Observations on the Disturbances in the Madras Army in 1809," by the author, whose name we have affixed to the head of this article, we were struck with the sentences quoted from his work, and have introduced them here, in order to soften the unfavourable impression that might be otherwise drawn from the materials which we hope to place before our readers, as to the want of harmony between the conduct and opinions of Sir John Malcolm in 1809, and the conduct and opinions of Sir John Malcolm in 1824. It is a sound maxim in morals, that men who are guilty of what they know to be wrong, ought to suffer more than those who merely commit acts to which they attach little or no degree of turpitude. If one man, for instance, held Consistency to be one of the highest public virtues, his violation of it should be judged accordingly: but if another, who deemed the principle of Consistency to be a mere "bugbear," should observe it or depart from it just as it suited his purpose, he would hardly be so much to blame. So also, to the acts of men, who regard the justice or injustice of certain means as equally important with the justice or injustice of the end to be attained, a very different standard of judgment should be applied from that by which we would form our estimate of the conduct of those who avowedly think that if the end be good, no means that do not impair the strength or lessen the dignity of those who use them, can be bad. Our readers will easily perceive the use of these prefatory remarks, and leaving them to their own application, we proceed to the execution of our task.

The Letter of Sir John Malcolm to Mr. Lambton, and the reply which this drew forth from another hand, both inserted in our last Number, will have put the readers of the *Oriental Herald* in possession of the disputed point, which was, whether Sir John Malcolm had ever acknowledged the existence of a public in India, and whether he had ever expressed an opinion which could warrant his being considered an advocate of appeals to that public through the medium of the press. The subject was there pretty fully developed, and has since been taken up by the *Asiatic Journal*, the strictures of whose editor, and the reply to which they gave rise, have both appeared in the *Globe and Traveller* daily paper, of the 2d and 3d of July. We shall give the principal arguments contained in these towards the close of this paper, and passing over the parts of Sir John Malcolm's book already quoted in our last, we shall here add such portions only of his publicly declared sentiments as have not before appeared in our pages, and as tend to establish these positions: namely, that the author conceived the conduct and constitution of the Indian Government arbitrary and despotic in the extreme; that he believed the British community, over which it ruled, possessed a strong love of justice, a hatred of oppression, and a sense of right and dignity imbibed in their education, and habits of freedom, before they quitted

their native land; and that it was the duty of the Government to consult and conform to those feelings, whenever they could do so without endangering their safety: in short, that there was a public in India, whose voice ought to be heard, and that therefore, that public at least was fit for, and would be benefited by, the exercise of a Free Press. If these positions can be established, all that we contend for will be proved, and to effect this we ask no other aid than the writings of Sir John Malcolm himself.

In the first page of the Preface to his Account of the Disturbances in the Army at Madras, the author avows that he was led to make public a great deal of private and confidential information, because a certain despatch, from the Madras Government to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, which appeared among the papers printed by order of the House of Commons, contained an *implied* censure on his conduct; " which," he says, " nothing but a conviction of its justice could induce me to pass over in silence,"—and accordingly he very properly appeals to the public through the press—the Indian public as well as the British, be it remembered—to judge between himself and those whom he considers to have unjustly censured him.

Here, then, we have, on the very threshold of our inquiry, the implied power and implied right of public appeals through the press; for Sir John Malcolm would surely not deny to others the privilege of which he was so eager to avail himself. This duty of repelling censures, deemed to be unjust, was that most especially exercised by the friends of a Free Press in India, who, because they were calumniated in a paper set up by the functionaries of Government, and written in by the Secretaries themselves, for advocating what Lord Hastings was the first to avow and encourage, deemed it right to put forth their defence, and leave the world to judge between them. In the exercise of this duty, they were, however, arrested by the strong hand of power; and while their calumniators were allowed to vent their slander with unrestrained freedom, *they* were forbidden even to reply but at their peril. Sir John Malcolm could not brook in silence even an *implied* censure, contained in a secret despatch. Those, however, to whom he would deny a Free Press in India, were commanded to be silent, under the most gross and vituperative censures, such indeed as excited horror in the minds of most who heard them; and these not contained in a mere official letter, but published to all the world.

As we proceed through the volume, from whence we draw the materials of our present comment, we find in every page sentiments and expressions that will bear the strictest application to the recent conduct of the Indian Government towards the press; because the evils of uncontrolled despotism are nearly alike in every country, and at every period in which they exist, and the feelings of those who suffer under its pressure, have naturally the same general resemblance. Sir John Malcolm has thus truly said, " Injustice is aggravated by the power of the individual, or body, by whom it is committed, and by the want of ability or opportunity in the person who suffers, to repel the attack." Entertaining this opinion (if, indeed, he should continue to do so now, amidst the changes which his sentiments generally have undergone), how must he think of the conduct of Mr. Adam and his colleagues in their late proceedings towards the press? What must be his conclusions as to the fact, of giving

still more power to those who were, in his own day, already too powerful, and imposing new fetters on those who were even before almost powerless? If the sentiment be examined, it will be found to *imply*—(and with Sir John Malcolm we have already seen that an implication is held to be as valid as a direct admission)—that wherever an act of injuctice is committed by a powerful body, it ought not still further to aggravate that injustice, by denying to the sufferer the means or opportunity of repelling it in the most public manner. This is all that is contended for by those who advocate the Freedom of the Indian Press.

In the second page of his Preface, Sir John Malcolm says, that he could not consent to limit himself to that part of his conduct merely which was referred to in the secret despatch, justice to his own character requiring a more extended narrative, accompanied by an appendix of original and official documents; and to render it intelligible to all, he prefixes to these a general view of the conduct of the Madras Government, from the commencement to the close of the struggle in which himself and his associates were engaged. He concludes this by the following remarkable words:—"My object, in this publication, is to vindicate myself, not to attack others. A plain statement of indisputable facts will show, that though my judgment might, on some occasions, have been wrong, I was invariably actuated by an indefatigable zeal, and an undeviating principle of public duty; and that my efforts were such as ought to have entitled me to the praise and gratitude of those by whom I now find my conduct misrepresented, and my character calumniated."

This is almost precisely what might have been said with equal truth of the friends of a Free Press in India, by one of whom a compilation was made of the principal facts that had transpired, and official papers that had been written on that subject; but when the Government were unequivocally told, in a public letter addressed to them, that their own confidential servants were the principal writers in a rival Paper, to calumniate the advocates of free discussion, and their permission was asked to *publish* this compilation, in order that the merits of the question might be made publicly known, they refused to give any answer whatever, but by their studied silence rendered it perilous to venture on such a step without that permission, so unjustly withheld. What would Sir John Malcolm have said to this? Surely he would not have justified in this case the refusal of a privilege which he claims as his own: and yet the exercise of this privilege is all that is contended for by the advocates of a Free Press in India, to which he is now opposed.

In the third page of his Preface, Sir John Malcolm complains, and no doubt justly, of a number of his private and confidential communications to Government having been placed on record, and produced to the public eye. This was the conduct pursued also by Mr. Adam, in his recent pamphlet, reviewed in a former Number, and under equally aggravating circumstances. In some of the disputes in which Lord Hastings was engaged with the Members of his Council, as to particular publications which were alleged by these to be highly censurable, and deserving his signal displeasure, his Lordship, on three or four different occasions, caused verbal intimations to be given to Mr. Buckingham, of his wish to receive from him a private letter, of such a nature as he might show to his Council, and act upon, though not official; and in others, his private Secretary, Mr. Macnabb, was instructed to address letters, marked

"private and confidential," which were answered in the same private manner. Lord Hastings certainly never made any improper use of such confidence; but, as soon as his Lordship had left the country, Mr. Adam made no scruple of obtaining such letters from the Secretary named, and printing them, private and confidential as they were, in the Appendix to his pamphlet, without even giving one of the private letters of his Lordship or his Secretary, which drew those answers from the writer. Among men of honour, in private life, this conduct would be branded as it deserves; but public men are apparently not judged by so nice a standard, and they may do with impunity what no private individual could venture on, without a sacrifice of his name and character for ever. Sir John Malcolm takes his revenge by producing the private and confidential letters of his opponents; and the world in general will, no doubt, approve such a retaliation. Others, however, may think, that in such a case it is not the best mode, to return one breach of confidence for another: and we are at least among the number of those who conceive, that if justice can be attained without it, there would be less to regret. It is clear however, from this, that Sir John Malcolm advocates and practises the right of exposing the inmost secrets of those who behaved unjustly towards him; and much *less* than this would constitute all that the friends of a Free Press in India ever asked or desired.

In the fourth page of his Preface, Sir John Malcolm says, "I should feel unworthy of that station which I hope I hold in life, if any motive on earth had such power over my mind, as to make me silent under reflections which I deemed unjust upon my conduct; and where those have been, from any cause, however unforeseen, brought before the public, my reply must of course be submitted to the same tribunal."—We say the same; for this is, in effect, the utmost Liberty of the Press that any reasonable man could wish for. This, however, has been denied to Englishmen in India: and men have been banished and ruined for daring to do what Sir John Malcolm here says no motive on earth should prevent him from doing—replying, before the public, to imputations submitted to that tribunal by others. Would Sir John Malcolm denounce as a dangerous vice in 1824, what he deemed an innocent virtue in 1809? If so, then the "bugbear," Consistency, has certainly had neither charms nor terrors for *him*. If he would not, but, on the other hand, would commend in others the same spirit by which he was himself actuated on this memorable occasion, then we say, he is friendly to the principle of equal publicity; and to that freedom of discussion which the friends of the Free Press in India alone wish to obtain.

Then comes the celebrated passage, as to the benefits of a full and free discussion of all the acts of the Indian Governments, and every attempt to repress it being "a direct approximation to that Oriental Tyranny which it ought to be our chief boast to have destroyed." These expressions are by this time so familiar to our readers, that we need not repeat them here. We shall say a word or two, however, on what is generally considered to be the qualifying clause of this sentence; and to which Sir John Malcolm and his feeble advocate in the *Asiatic Journal* seem to cling with the eagerness of drowning men seizing a straw, in the hope that it will save them from being entirely overwhelmed by the sea into which they have plunged themselves.

After saying, "Where reflections on my conduct have been brought

before the public, my reply must of course be submitted to the same tribunal," he adds, "This is a circumstance which I by no means regret. Publications in England, on the affairs of India, have been extremely rare, except on some extraordinary epochs, when attention has been forcibly drawn to that quarter," &c. &c. The rest of the passage has been already closely analysed; and it has been shown, satisfactorily to most people, that when it spoke of doubts being entertained of the value of public discussion on these topics—of alarm being spread, as to the mischiefs such discussion might produce—of attempts being made to repress it—and of its bringing us back to the Oriental Tyranny we ought to have destroyed:—such observations could not by any possibility have applied to England; but must have been meant to apply to India, and to India alone. Sir John Malcolm says, however, that his aim and determination was to bring his reply before the *same tribunal* as that before which the censures on him were laid. And what tribunal was that? Did it not include the public of India, as well as that of England? And was not Sir John Malcolm's book written as much for the purpose of convincing that Indian public, of which he was so distinguished a member, as of satisfying the doubts of people in England? We venture to affirm, and we are persuaded Sir John Malcolm will not attempt to deny it, that for one copy of his work read in England, there were at least two read in India; where the events were familiarly known; where the sympathies of the community were enlisted in the dispute; and where judgment could be more accurately pronounced than at home by an English public, a tribunal in which these essential requisites of knowledge, sympathy and interest, as it regards Indian transactions, are almost always wanting. If then, this appeal of Sir John Malcolm's, though printed in England, was principally intended for, and principally read by, his brother officers and others in India, it was, to all intents and purposes, an appeal to the *Indian* public; as much so as if it had been printed at Madras, with the additional danger attached to all English publications, (if freedom be dangerous,) of speaking out far more plainly than any man, writing in India itself, would dare to do there, even if the press were subject only to the restraints of the law and a jury. If Sir John Malcolm claimed and exercised the right of printing what he thought proper in England, (on his own responsibility of course,) and of sending it to India for perusal and circulation, we ventured to do no more than this in the country itself: and unless he supposes that a pamphlet cannot be circulated as widely as a newspaper in India,—that a jury of independent tradesmen in London would be more favourable to Government, than a jury of dependent free merchants in Calcutta, who may be turned out of the country for giving too merciful a verdict,—or that there is something in a sea voyage which purges a book, printed in England, of all its dangerous tendencies, before it reaches Hindoostan,—there is no ground left for his pretending to think it harmless to appeal to the Indian public through the British press, and dangerous to do it through an Indian one.

The phrase "Publications in *England* on the affairs of India are extremely rare," was perhaps used in reference merely to the country in which the book was actually printed; as an American might say, if publishing a work on America in Paris, "Publications in *France* on the affairs of America are extremely rare." But if he afterwards said, "Dis-

cussion on these affairs must do essential good, and every attempt to repress them is only an approximation to the ignorance of those Indian huntsmen, whom it is, or ought to be, our chief boast to have civilized or dispersed,"—no one would dream that he spoke of France; and we sincerely believe, that long ere this, Sir John Malcolm himself must be convinced, that he thought of India, and not of England, when he spoke of attempts to repress discussion being an approximation to the Oriental Tyranny which we ought to have destroyed. If he meant to indicate the extreme rarity of publications on Indian affairs, compared with the number of those on all other subjects, he might use the terms "in England" with equal propriety, to distinguish it from India, where scarcely any publications, *except* those relating to the affairs of the country, ever issue from the press. But no candid individual can read the whole passage, without being convinced that the application of its most important parts was intended to be made to India, and to India only, for to that country alone are they directed.

This may, perhaps, be thought a sufficiently extended notice of a preface, which occupies little more than four pages of an octavo volume. It is in that preface, however, that the author has explained his motives and his views with clearness and brevity, yet with sufficient force to leave nothing doubtful or ambiguous; and having disposed of this, we shall leave the text of the book for a future Number, devoting the remainder of our space to a few remarks, which we are desirous of offering to our readers in India, on the feeble attempt to defend Sir John Malcolm from the charge of that "bugbear," Consistency, put forth in the last Number of the *Asiatic Journal.* We have never before thought the contents of that publication of sufficient importance to deserve a page of our own; and have therefore suffered the vituperations of its splenetic and jealous conductors to pass by unheeded, as we shall still continue to do whenever we alone are the object of its censures: for as they have long since ceased to possess any weight in the estimation of well-informed men, and particularly those best acquainted with Indian affairs, they would be altogether beneath our notice. But the name of Sir John Malcolm is still an honoured and respected name; and one late weakness cannot entirely obliterate the many good qualities which distinguished his earlier career. As the advocate of that name, and the supposed organ of the sentiments entertained at the India House, (which gives it some little value in the eyes of old ladies, who think there would be no tea worth drinking if the East India Company were not supported,) we have thought even the imbecility of the *Asiatic Journal* worth a moment's attention; and shall, therefore, repeat here, for the information of our distant readers, the comments made on its observations in another place.

The writer in that Journal first gives it as his opinion that because Sir John Malcolm, in his letter to Mr. Lambton, "shortly, but most decidedly and distinctly, states what his sentiments are, and *ever have been,* regarding the establishment of a free press," the matter "ought to terminate between two honourable men;" and insinuates that all further animadversion on the subject was uncalled for, and misplaced. Had Sir John Malcolm contented himself with avowing that his *present* opinions were hostile to the existence of a free press in India, the bare assertion would have been sufficient evidence of the fact. He might

have changed his earlier opinions on this matter for later, and, as some would suppose, wiser ones;—and so many eminent examples of similar changes might have been brought in support of this species of conversion, that no charge of singularity, at least, could have been urged against him for the adoption of this course. But when he pretends to give a retrospective history of his opinions on the subject of free discussion in India, and declares that he *never did* think favourably of this privilege, and that he never could *conceive* the existence of a public in India at all, every man has a right to examine his past writings, and judge for himself what was the fair and legitimate inference to be drawn from sentiments on record, and therefore open to the examination and judgment of all the world. The recent remarks applied to the absurd resolution of the temporary Governor of Ceylon, who attempted to declare that it was, should be, and *ever had been*, lawful to dispense with the rights of Habeas Corpus in that island, would apply with equal force to this similar declaration, that it is, will be, and *ever has been*, the opinion of Sir J. Malcolm that there is no public in India, and that free discussion is an evil in *that* country, although a great blessing in every other. The Judge could tell what *had been* lawful in Ceylon in times past, as well as the Governor; and the public can decide, from Sir John Malcolm's early writings, what *had been* said by him on the value of free discussion in India, as well as he himself could possibly do. The mere assertion that, though he said one thing he meant another, will not do; and it is therefore not sufficient for an author to give his own comment on expressions intelligible to all the world beside, and then to call for a termination of all discussion on the matter, and stay the pen of every writer who might venture to call this comment in question. The character of Sir John Malcolm, as his advocate truly says, is "public property;" but we have yet to learn how this is to *shield* him from animadversion, and make his own dictum a sufficient answer to every charge of inconsistency. In our humble view, the very fact of a man's character being public property, renders him especially liable to that scrutiny, from which this writer would apparently protect him on that especial ground.

What he means by saying that "the value of this character is not to be thus depreciated by a writer of such principles as Mr. B." we do not clearly understand. Until these principles are shown to be incompatible with truth, honour, and sound reason, they cannot surely incapacitate the individual professing them for passing his judgment on the sentiments of another individual whose character is allowed to be "public property."—But we have no wish to "depreciate" Sir John Malcolm's character; nor, if we had, are we at all aware how the "principles" we profess could assist or retard that object. Our aim is merely to show what must be considered to be the fair and just interpretation of certain doctrines avowed by Sir John Malcolm, when writing on the disturbances at Madras; and to secure this, our "arguments" are all that are worth attending to, leaving "principles" to defend themselves when assailed, and confining our observations in this case to mere matters of fact, as to the interpretation of words and sentences uttered by another.

The editor of the *Asiatic Journal* goes on to say that we have formed a motto for the *Oriental Herald*, out of detached parts of sentences, taken from Sir John Malcolm's book. If he means to urge this as a matter of reproach, he must wish to have it implied that these detached

parts do not fairly convey the meaning which would be given by the whole. In reply to this, we beg leave to state that the only reason for not giving the whole of the page from which these portions are taken, is, that its length would be too great for a mere motto; but we may add, that the parts convey no other impression whatever than that actually produced, and we may safely say also, *intended* to be produced, by the whole; of which any reader may satisfy himself by comparing the motto on the title of the *Oriental Herald*, with the quotation at length from Sir John Malcolm's book referred to hereafter. The sentences of the motto are complete in themselves, and do not contain a single expression which is not found in the original, from whence they are taken. The objection of "partial quotations," must apply, however, to all mottoes, and can only be overruled by printing the contents of the whole book, an absurdity which none but the advocate of a weak cause, in default of all stronger grounds of objection, would think of urging.

The writer gives in italics a sentence which he says we have "*never quoted*," and presumes to give our reason for its omission; namely, that "it would destroy the effect of all the previous partial and mutilated quotations." This assertion either betrays great inattention to the discussions lately carried on respecting a free press in India, or is a wilful misstatement. If the writer will turn to page 203 of the *Oriental Herald* for February last, he will find, in the article entitled "Examination of the Arguments against a Free Press in India," the whole of the paragraph marked by him in italics, and stated to be one which we have *never quoted*. This, too, it should be added, was the first time of our introducing it to the notice of the readers of this work; and having given the *whole* of the paragraph in the second Number of the publication, we might fairly, without incurring the imputation of mutilating or suppressing, select a *portion* of this same paragraph for a motto to a subsequent Number, without repeating the whole again.

The writer says, with apparent astonishment, indicated by three notes of admiration, that, after quoting a sentence from Sir John Malcolm, to show his preference of a free over a despotic government, we *implied* that Sir John censured the indifference of the Indian Government to the wishes of the Indian public. This is altogether a misstatement. We asserted, that "the whole spirit and substance of Sir John Malcolm's book showed that the Indian Government were criminally indifferent to the wishes and feelings of the great body of their countrymen, by whom their empire was maintained;" and it was not by any means from this, or any other single passage, that we *implied* the earlier advocacy of free discussion, which we have attributed to Sir John Malcolm; but to the general contents of that book, which appears to be so little known, that we may be induced to give a more extended notice of its contents at some future period, and thus prevent so useful a record from being altogether forgotten.

The writer in the *Asiatic Journal* admits that, even in our Indian army, there is so much of the spirit of Englishmen left, as to render it necessary for the Government to respect the feelings of independence imbibed in early life, and brought with them from their native land. If this be true of men who leave England at fifteen or sixteen years of age, before their habits of independent feeling are formed, and who enter a service calculated to destroy every rising effort to act upon these habits

in after life, how much more forcibly must it be the case with Englishmen who leave England at mature age, between thirty and forty, who are independent of the Government service, and who have never been initiated into an abject submission to uncontrolled despotism? Yet, such is the contradictory conduct observed towards these classes, that the military officer is tried for his offences by a competent tribunal, to whose jurisdiction he voluntarily submits; while the free merchant or free mariner has no trial whatever allowed him, but may have his house entered, his property destroyed, his person imprisoned, and be ultimately banished from the country, without any reason being assigned, without any form of law being observed, and without access to that protection of a Court and Jury, not denied to the meanest soldier, or the most abject foreigner in the land! This is the "certain portion of those free principles which give life and vigour to the constitution of our native country, and which," according to this writer's account, "flow to the remotest colonies!" We can only say that if they flow in that direction at all, it must be very slowly; for we do not know the colony to which they have yet reached; in India, at least, they are known only by name.

It is asserted that when Sir John Malcolm wrote, in 1809, "the question of free discussion in India had never been agitated;" and again, "the question respecting the establishment of a Free Press was not agitated in India till many years after the work of Sir John Malcolm was published." These are unfortunate assertions for the editor of an *Asiatic Journal,* as they show how limited must be his knowledge of Asiatic history, "which it is, or ought to be," his peculiar province to understand. The press of India was as free as the press of England, from the first moment of our settlement in that country, and through all the most dangerous periods of its history, down to the administration of Lord Wellesley. A paper existed under Warren Hastings's rule, conducted by a Mr. Hickey, which passed the most free and fearless censures on his government; but no one then thought of placing any other restrictions than those of the *law* on free discussion; nor of punishing a bold writer by any other means than the sentence of a Jury. Mr. Bolts, who published full details of his case, exercised equal freedom in his strictures on the Government in Bengal; and Sir Paul Joddrell was obliged to seek redress for libel in a court of justice at Calcutta. Lord Wellesley *first* imposed fetters on the Indian press, and banished Doctor Maclean from the country, for daring to speak the truth; at which period considerable discussion took place, both in England and in India, on the subject of this invasion of the rights of Englishmen. This happened in 1805, and in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1806, p. 64; is a long article, entitled "Observations on the State of the Press in India;" in which the conduct of Lord Wellesley, with respect to the press, is discussed, and reference made to the animadversions current at the same time on this subject, in the newspapers of the day. This was about four years before the disturbances in the Madras army, which occurred, be it remembered, *after* the freedom of the press had been destroyed, and not in consequence of it; and it is difficult to suppose that so active and observant an officer as Sir John Malcolm could be ignorant of these discussions, and the successful attempt to repress them in India; however uninformed the editor of the *Asiatic Journal* may be on matters of Indian history, which he ought especially to understand. To say, there-

fore, that when Sir John Malcolm wrote, in 1809 or 1810, the question of a free press in India had never been agitated," betrays either extreme ignorance, or a wilful attempt to deceive. It would be more correct, perhaps, to say that his expressions about the " attempt to *repress* such discussions bringing us back to the *Oriental* tyranny which we ought to have destroyed," were probably used in reference to those especial discussions, of which the very existence is attempted to be denied!

So much for the weak, but perhaps well-meant, assistance of the *Asiatic Journal*, of whose logic in reasoning, and accuracy in facts, the foregoing examples furnish an instructive specimen. With Sir John Malcolm our task will not perhaps be so speedily at an end; as, in proportion to the weight attached to his name and character, is it of importance to examine closely the opinions put forth under their authority, to prevent the world from being deceived by great names only, and place before them, as well as we may be able to do it, the true grounds by which their judgments should be guided.

LINES,

Written after reading the Defence of the late Missionary Smith, by Mr. Brougham and Sir James Mackintosh.

Why did I not mourn for thy hapless doom,
When thy heart in thy dungeon was breaking?
O! I knew that the hour of vengeance would come—
I knew that its voice was awaking.

I knew that the injured negro's prayer
Before thee to heaven was soaring,
I knew that thy spirit its place would share,
Where the martyr'd hosts were adoring;

That thy country's strength, who have proudly stood,
And the shrine of her freedom defended,
Would avenge with their voices thy innocent blood,
When the days of thy sorrow were ended.

And where should the fires of genius burn,
And where should the patriot be keeping
His holiest watch, but to guard the urn
Where the martyr's ashes are sleeping!

And British bosoms shall throb with shame,
Till the negro's chains they sever,
As they gaze at the light which encircles thy name—
A light which must live for ever!

And youthful spirits will envy the death
Which has ended thy humble story,
Since thy country's tears, and the patriot's breath,
Have embalmed thee with endless glory!

F.

ESSAYS ON THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

No. 7.—*Arabia.*

THE government of Arabia must be considered under three separate heads:—as it was administered by the Caliphs; as it is at present administered by the Imams; and among the Bedouins. We will begin with the latter division of the subject, because it is most important in itself, and more intimately connected with the great questions of liberty and political restraint. The reader must not expect to find among these Arabs the common forms and proceedings of a regular government; their state is a political phenomenon,[1] that bears little or no resemblance to any other with which legislators are acquainted. It contains the elements of despotism, aristocracy, and popular freedom, without being a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a republic.[2] It is this circumstance which renders it so peculiarly worthy our study and contemplation; for we here find man occupying an *unique* position during a long series of ages; yielding neither to time nor circumstances; acquiring little, and losing nothing of his primitive simplicity.[3] They are themselves ignorant, but their condition is pregnant with instruction. We see in their tents the simple manners of the ancient shepherds of Chaldæa;[4] princes watching

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1 "This primitive form of government, which has ever subsisted without alteration among the Arabs, proves the antiquity of this people, and renders their present state more interesting than it otherwise would be. Among the Bedouins it is preserved in all its purity."——"The Bedouins or pastoral Arabs, who live in tents, have many Sheïkhs, each of whom governs his family with power almost absolute. All the Sheïkhs, however, who belong to the same tribe, acknowledge a common chief, who is called Sheïkh of Sheïkhs, and whose authority is limited by custom. The dignity of Grand Sheïkh is hereditary in a certain family; but the inferior Sheïkhs, upon the death of a Grand Sheïkh, choose the successor out of his family, without regard to age or lineal succession, or any other consideration, except superiority of abilities. This right of election, with their other privileges, obliges the Grand Sheïkh to treat the inferior ones rather as associates than as subjects, sharing with them his sovereign authority. The spirit of liberty, with which this warlike nation are animated, renders them incapable of servitude." *Niebuhr.*

"The Bedouins, being attached to the soil only by a temporary interest, constantly removing their tents from place to place, and being constrained by no laws, observe a manner of life different from that of civilized nations, as well as from that of the savage, and for that reason deserving to be studied." *Volney*, Voyages, &c. tom. i. Edit. 1822.

2 Volney, p. 368.

3 "The Arabs settled in cities, and especially those in the sea-port towns, have lost somewhat of their distinctive national manners, by their intercourse with strangers; but the Bedouins, who live in tents, and in separate tribes, have still retained the customs and manners of their earliest ancestors. They are the genuine Arabs, and exhibit, in the aggregate, all those characteristics which are distributed respectively among the other branches of the nation." *Niebuhr.*

4 The private life of a Sheïkh differs from that of the other Arabs only by his having a greater abundance of food, better clothing, and more costly arms; and though he has servants, he is seen cleaning his arms, giving provender to his horses, and saddling his own steed. His wives and daughters prepare his repasts, weave his clothes, and wash them in the middle of the camp; with a

their own flocks, and their wives and daughters going veiled to draw water from the wells, or kneading bread in the shade of a palm-tree. These manners, and the virtues arising from them, are preserved uncontaminated, by the nature of their country; the desert is to them an impregnable fortress, that protects their conquests, and affords them a place of refuge in the greatest dangers.[5] In Abraham's pursuit and attack of the five kings, who had taken his nephew Lot prisoner, we have an exact picture of a Bedouin predatory excursion as it is conducted at present. Abraham himself was a Bedouin,[6] and affords us a proof that Mesopotamia was anciently, as it is now, in the possession of the wandering tribes.[7] The number and force of the Bedouins are unknown, but their power has at all times been very considerable; for, according to Manetho, the first conquerors of Egypt, who were driven out of that country three hundred years before the reign of Sesostris, were Arabs.[8] Ninus did not undertake his conquests before he had formed an alliance with this warlike nation.[9] But since time has effected so few changes in their manners or condition, a description of what they are at present will convey an exact idea of what they have ever been.

The degree of happiness produced by any form of government, can be known only by accurately observing the balance between the artificial wants it introduces, and the means of supplying them; if the former predominate over the latter, government, in that case, is an evil, and can in no way compensate for the sacrifices it must always cost. Among the Bedouins we can clearly discern the manner in which men at first herded together in the formation of society: a family, which in truth is the most simple element of society,[10] is governed by its natural head; its members intermarry, and swell by degrees into a tribe: the tribe increases indefinitely, and is only then divided when it becomes from its numbers too unwieldy for those rapid marches and retreats, to which their manner of life exposes them. In the beginning, the father is Sheïkh,[11] or chief, of his family, and for a few removes age continues to confer authority; but as the tribe increases it must happen that superior courage, wisdom, or virtue, will be possessed by men in the flower of their age, and among the Arabs the reputation of these qualities frequently confers dominion on its possessor. When a family is too weak to provide for its own security, it unites itself to other families; and the most powerful

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pitcher upon their heads they go for water to the neighbouring spring, or to milk their flocks. Such were the ancient manners which the divine Homer did not disdain to pourtray; such also was that patriarchal life of which Genesis has preserved such lively and interesting pictures." *Bois-Aymé*, Mémoire sur les Arabes Bedouins, dans la "Description de l'Egypte."

5 Bois-Aymé.

6 See Richardson's Travels; Bois-Aymé, &c.

7 See "Description du Pachalik de Bagdad." 8vo. Paris, 1809.

8 Josephus. 9 Goguet, Orig. des Loix, tom. ii. p. 250.

10 The species cannot be continued without families—there must be a father, a mother, and a child, or children. The strongest, and most useful of these, will have most power; the possession of power produces reverence; and reverence gives stability to power. See Arist. Polit. lib. i.

11 "I have repeatedly noticed the different acceptations in which the word Sheïkh is used. Among the Bedouins it belongs to every noble, whether of the highest or the lowest order. Their nobles are very numerous, and compose, in a manner, the whole nation; the plebeians are invariably actuated and guided by the Sheïkhs, who superintend and direct in every transaction." *Niebuhr.*

Sheïkh[12] gives his name to the tribe formed from these united families, and exercises over all, the power he before possessed over his own relations only. His authority, as it regards individuals, is not great; but he possesses considerable influence in affairs of a general nature; he commands the removals of the tribe, and marks out the places of encampment; he declares war or peace—a dangerous prerogative, if his own interest, being connected with that of the tribe, did not prevent his abusing it. No particular treatment is attached to his dignity; his revenues, as well as those of the other Arabs, arise from the produce of his flocks, the temporary cultivation of a piece of land, and his share of the pillage, and those *toll-dues* paid by the caravans for passing over the territories of the tribe. His power is regulated by custom; there are no laws that determine it in any fixed manner; and if his riches, and the number of his friends and servants, should induce him to abuse it, and screen him from that vengeance which the desert life renders so easy to the oppressed, numerous families would soon be seen detaching themselves from him to unite with other tribes.[13] The liberty which individuals enjoy under this simple government, is perhaps greater than the most perfect political institutions have ever secured to any other men. Nothing, in fact, is more difficult than for the Sheïkh to abuse his power with impunity; because, added to the circumstance that the oppressed individual can remove with his family to some other tribe, or take personal vengeance on his enemy, there is no prison in the camp; and the Sheïkh has not power of life and death, unless in very particular cases. Nothing is decided on without the consent of the majority.[14] It is, however, possible for the Sheïkh, when he happens to be a man of character and abilities, to push his authority beyond its just limits; but he cannot carry his oppression far. Should he commit any great injustice; should he, for instance, kill an Arab, it would be next to impossible for him to escape punishment: the resentment of the offended persons would show no respect for his title; he would be subjected to the *talion*, or law of revenge; and if he did not pay the *price of blood*, he would infallibly be assassinated.[15] Should he practise any exactions upon his subjects, they would abandon him; or his own relations, taking advantage of his errors, would depose him in order to take his place. He could not call in foreign troops against them, and his subjects communicate too easily among themselves to afford him the opportunity of forming any faction in his favour.[16] Besides, his expenses generally equalling his resources, he has no means of maintaining partisans.—A traveller of the seventeenth century,[17] a very curious observer, remarks that the Emir had seldom to decide in any criminal affair; but, he adds, that when such occurred, it was in his power to hang, burn, impale, decapitate, or *cut off the beard* of the criminal. The Arabs whom he visited, being in a measure fixed in Syria, had lost much of the pastoral simplicity; and, together with that, a great portion of their original liberty. This, whenever from shepherds they have become cultivators of the land, has always been the case. Many of those tribes inhabiting the confines of

12 "The name of the tribe does not change when a new Sheïkh arises, but sometimes a great man causes by his virtues the splendour of the founder to be forgotten." *Bois-Aymé.*

13 Bois-Aymé, Mémoire sur les Arabes, &c.

14 Volney, Voyages, tom. i. p. 368. 15 Idem, p. 369. 16 Idem, ibid.

17 D'Arvieux, Voyage vers le Grand Emir, p. 150. Amst. 1718.

Egypt have passed insensibly from the pastoral to the agricultural state, acquired riches, and become enslaved.[18]

Upper Egypt affords a recent example. The tribe of the *Haouârah*, (who arrived from the environs of Tunis some time after the conquest of Egypt by Selim,) had established itself in the Saïd; at first, on the edge of the desert, but, by degrees, by uniting force and cunning, they seized upon a great part of Upper Egypt, and strengthened their establishment by paying a slight tax to the government of Cairo. The *Haouârah*, now become rich proprietors, insensibly lost their nomadic manners; their tents were changed into houses, and their exclusive love of liberty into an attachment for their country. From the abundance they enjoyed, these Arabs seemed far happier than the desert tribes, until Ali-Bey, growing jealous of their power, as well as greedy of their riches, declared war against them, and defeated them in several battles: being attached to the soil, and no longer daring to face the burning sands, and the privations of the desert, they became enslaved, and sunk under the yoke of the Mamalukes.[19]

In their deserts the Bedouins are the freest of the human race; and their wandering, hardy, and precarious life, though unfavourable to every higher intellectual pursuit, is amply calculated to create a manly character, and to nourish the more heroic kind of virtues.[20] The Arab is brave without being ferocious.[21] He is generous and open-hearted,[22] as man always is unless debased by tyranny; and the prudence, liberality, and self-devotion of which he is capable, prove that Sheikh government, is, in its general results, favourable to the happiness of the people. To form a just conception of the Bedouin character and government, let the imagination follow him in his solitudes: behold him, bare of riches, but not poor; proud of the purity of his race, of his freedom, and the innumerable ages it has endured;[23] observe a single tribe, unconquerable warriors, women, children, venerably bearded old men, mounted on horses or camels, piercing the pathless wilderness; if there does not happen to be blood between them and some other tribe, they may pitch their tents in safety on any spot within the circle of the horizon; if they are at war with any one they have little to fear in their march, for, mounted on the lofty camel, they can see across the smooth plain of white sand as far as they could upon the sea.[24] But in reality the Arab seldom attacks his

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18 Bois-Aymé, Mémoire, &c.

19 The Fellahs themselves are of Arab origin. *Bois-Aymé.*

20 "This spirit is less sensibly felt among those who live in towns, or are employed in husbandry." But "a nation of this character cannot readily sink into a servile subjection to arbitrary power. Despotism would never have been known, even in the slightest degree, in Arabia, had it not been for theocracy, the usual source of it." *Niebuhr.*

21 Volney, tom. i. 22 Idem.

23 "In reality, they (the Bedouins) have never been subdued; they have not even mingled, when victors, with the nations they have conquered." *Niebuhr.* "It may be said, that they have preserved in every respect their independence and original simplicity." *Volney.* See also Sale, Prelim. Disc. to the Koran, vol. i.

24 "The vast horizon which surrounds them, and the whiteness of the sand, upon which men and animals appear like black specks, enable them to discover an enemy nearly as far as the eye discovers objects at sea; they have nothing except nocturnal surprises to fear: having it in their power to give battle or

enemy except at night: he then comes like the wind, snatches every thing within his reach, and is gone almost before the alarm of his attack has been spread. Their day-encounters, when they do happen, are not sanguinary; the warriors meet in a desultory manner, dart their javelins, or fire their muskets at each other, until some one falls wounded or killed. The party who gains this advantage is looked upon as victorious; the losers take to flight; the conquerors pursue, but they soon return to their own camp, lest some enemy should take advantage of their absence to lay it under contribution. Like the little republics of ancient Greece, the Bedouins do not carry on exterminating wars against each other. As the Sheikh levies no tax upon his subjects, no one is paid for going to war; every man is a soldier, and is under very little command. The individuals composing the tribe are, indeed, considered as children of one family, and are so called:[25] a consequence of the paternal government. "What a distance from this word," says M. Bois-Aymé, "to that of *slave*, used by the far greater part of nations."

Even when inhabiting the frontiers of cultivated and enslaved countries, the Arabs feel that they belong to the desert, and are looked upon as invincibly attached to freedom.[26] "The Pasha of Bagdad," says the French Consul, "is sensible of the advantages which would arise from promoting agriculture in the rich country he possesses; but he is also aware of the difficulty of fixing the Arabs in towns and villages, since they have always been accustomed to a wandering life, and are fearful that the protection he promises them would abridge their liberty."

It is easy to imagine, indeed, that these people, possessing a country completely different from every other in the world, impenetrably secured from foreign invasion, free in the midst of slaves, should have peculiar ideas, and behold, as they do, all other nations with contempt. When Ælius Gallus penetrated their country along the borders of the Red Sea, they easily gave way before him; but when he found himself in the Hedjaz, when he thought he was about to rush upon the spice country, the same soldiers, who afterwards conquered the greater part of the world under the Caliphs, were upon him, and his wasted forces were glad to fly back to Egypt, leaving the land unconquered as before.

In their civil and criminal affairs the same simplicity prevails that is observable in their wars. Differences of all kinds are carried to the tribunal of the Sheikh: but his power is rather that of an arbiter than of a judge; and how great soever may be the crime, he rarely pronounces sentence of death. The following are the usual forms: the parties come before him and demand justice; the Sheikh sits upon his haunches after

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refuse it, they engage when their strength promises them an easy prey, and retire when they cannot calculate on victory." *Bois-Aymé.*

25 "Speaking of individuals in general they call them *the children* of such a one, though in reality they may not be of his family, and though he himself may have been long dead. Thus they say, *beni Temin*, *oulâd Taï*; the children of *Temin* and *Taï*. This manner of speaking has even passed by metaphor to the names of countries; the common phrase, in speaking of their inhabitants, is to say *the children of such a place*. Thus the Arabs say, *oulâd Masr*, the Egyptians; *oulâd Châm*, the Syrians; they would say, *oulâd Fransa*, the French; *oulâd Moscow*, the Russians; which is an important observation with regard to ancient history." —*Volney*, Voyages, tom. i. The reader will readily call to mind the constant expression of the Bible, *the children of Israel*, &c.

26 Rousseau, Description du Pashalik de Bagdad.

the manner of the country; the persons disputing seat themselves before him, after the same fashion; then he demands their poniards, which they always wear at their girdle, and places them upon the ground, and afterwards listens to the pretensions of each. If the arrangement he proposes is rejected, he calls to him one or two persons respected for their age and character, lays the affair before them, and desires them to give their opinion; he consults other old men also, should it become necessary, but this rarely happens; for the spectators, whom curiosity may have drawn to the place, commonly lay hold on the obstinate accuser, and lead him away with them, saying, "Come, come, you are in the wrong, you are in the wrong; give way, give way." In doing this they preserve the air of kind friends, who wish to obtain by mildness a submission to what wise old age has decided; but if he should persist in his resolution, and refuse to obey that public opinion which among them is the supreme judge, he would be driven from the tribe, and his property confiscated.[27] But they go as seldom as possible before the Sheikh, being satisfied in general with taking the opinion of any neighbour who may be present, as decisive of their dispute. When explaining the affair to the person thus chosen as arbiter, they speak in a mild and peaceable manner, never using invectives, or calling the general character of their adversary in question; and thus, when the business is settled, they are as good friends as ever. Their disputes most commonly turn upon such little dealings as are carried on among a pastoral people; on buying and selling, or bartering cattle, milk, or fruits. They place a handful of earth[28] upon whatever they sell or exchange, and say before witnesses, "*we give earth for earth.*" After this they cannot break their engagement, or raise any dispute about it.

Thus they act in affairs purely civil. If the matter in question be theft, or any other crime, which, without shedding blood, has nevertheless disturbed the public tranquillity, they proceed in the same manner; excepting that as soon as the crime is proved, sentence is immediately executed. The criminal is generally sentenced to pay a fine, or to receive a certain number of blows on the soles of his feet, which the Sheikh sometimes administers in person. All the spectators are eager to assist him: they lay the criminal on his belly upon the ground, and pass his feet through two iron rings fixed in the middle of a stick; two men seize the ends of this stick, and lift up the legs of the criminal; his knees touch the ground, and the soles of his feet present themselves, fixed in a horizontal position. Upon these they deal a certain number of blows with a supple stick, or a kind of whip, named *kourbay*, made from the hide of the elephant or hippopotamus.[29]

As this government itself depends in a certain degree on the nature of the country, its aptness to promote or retard civilization cannot be exactly estimated. We only know that where it prevails, men do not make any considerable advances in the arts and sciences. Even agriculture, among the Bedouin Arabs, is tinged with some degree of disrepute;[30] be-

27 Mémoire sur les Arabes, &c.

28 "Ils en mettent sur les chevaux, sur les bœufs, sur les moutons, et sur les autres animaux, pour n'être plus sujets à aucune garantie."—*D'Arvieux.*

29 Bois-Aymé, Mémoire, &c.

30 "The genuine Arabs disdain husbandry as an employment by which they would be degraded. I have heard some tribes mentioned contemptuously, be-

cause they have observed that its natural tendency is to create an attachment to the soil, which commonly ends in submission to tyranny. Being surrounded by nations who are richer than themselves, but subjected, nevertheless to the rudest despotism, they have it in their power to estimate correctly the value of that wealth which excites the cupidity of so many people; and seeing that so far from being an instrument of happiness to its possessors, it only serves to invite the hand of oppression, they regard every art by which it is acquired with disdain, with the exception of that by which they can at any time command the riches of tyrant and slave. But, notwithstanding their warlike character, the Bedouins remain in voluntary poverty.[31] Europeans, who are accustomed to view riches as the supreme good, may not understand this, and, keeping their eye upon a few isolated facts, may consider it as a fanciful hypothesis. "If the Bedouins contemn riches (say they), why do they rob the caravans?" It is very singular that nations so very tenacious of territorial possessions, as are the Europeans, should regard the same jealousy as a crime in the Bedouins. But the case stands thus: the country through which the caravans must pass in going to Mecca, belongs to the independent tribes who feed their flocks upon its surface; the herbage is scanty, and the wells few; one of their means of subsistence is the sale of camels, which they rear in the desert,[32] and exchange with other tribes, or with strangers, for dates, sheep, and muskets; it is certain that, as all the water and herbage which the country supplies is barely sufficient to support their own flocks, the supervention of vagabond hordes of pilgrims with their cattle, must quickly exhaust their means of living, and reduce them to starvation. The only remedy within the reach of human prudence is to exact from these travellers an adequate compensation; for which also they are always ready to serve them as guides over the waste, and to protect their persons and property.[33] What European

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cause they kept buffaloes and cows."—"The genuine Arabs, living always in the open air, have a very acute smell. They dislike cities, on account of the fetid exhalations produced about them." *Niebuhr.*

31 "The poverty of the wandering Arabs is plainly voluntary. They prefer liberty to wealth, pastoral simplicity to a life of constraint and toil, which might procure them a greater variety of gratifications. Those living in cities, or employed in the cultivation of the land, are kept in poverty by the exorbitancy of the taxes exacted from them. The whole substance of the people is consumed in the support of their numerous princes and priests."—"In one of those expeditions, a few years since undertaken against the Pasha of Damascus, who was conductor of the Syrian caravan to Mecca, the Bedouins showed instances of their ignorance, and the simplicity of their manners. Those who happened to take goods of value knew not their worth, but exchanged them for trifles. One of those Arabs having obtained for his share a bag of pearls, thought they were rice, which he had heard to be good for food, and gave them to his wife to boil, who, when she found that no boiling could soften them, threw them away as useless." *Niebuhr.*

32 "The Sheikhs and their subjects are born to the life of shepherds and soldiers. The greater tribes rear many camels, which they either sell to their neighbours, or employ in the carriage of goods, or in military expeditions. The petty tribes keep flocks of sheep." *Niebuhr.*

33 "A mufti of Bagdad, returning from Mecca, was robbed in Nedjed. He entered into a written agreement with the robbers, who engaged to conduct him safe and sound to Bagdad for a certain sum, payable at his own house. They delivered him to the next tribe; those to a third; and he was thus conveyed from tribe to tribe, till he arrived safe at home." *Niebuhr.*

"Every Grand Sheikh justly considers himself as absolute lord of his whole

prince will suffer merchants or others to transport goods through his dominions, without payment of such dues and exactions as he has taken care to regulate according to the pleasure of himself and his assistants, which he dignifies with the name of law? It is natural enough for the pilgrims to complain that the Arabs do not suffer them to eat up their substance for nothing; but it is absurd in travellers to accuse them of injustice for it. The latest and best accounts[34] we have of these people, represent them as hospitable, just, and faithful to their engagements; but, as travelling alone is not customary in that part of the world, they look upon single travellers as spies.[35]

As their wants are few, trades and professions are in little request among them. Their women weave the coarse cloth[36] which covers their tents, and perform every domestic office. In Yemen there is a manufactory of muskets and knives, but the Bedouins purchase their arms and cutlery from the neighbouring nations. The reader will recollect that the Jews at one period were obliged to buy even their ploughs and sickles from the Philistines[37] (Phœnicians); and it is doubtful whether they had then reached the civilization of the Bedouins.

The desert tribes have no literature, unless certain tales which pass from mouth to mouth, and resemble the Arabian Nights,[38] may be looked

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territories; and accordingly exacts the same duties upon goods carried through his dominions as are levied by other princes. The Europeans are wrong in supposing the sums paid by travellers to the Grand Sheikh to be merely a ransom to redeem them from pillage."—"If the Bedouins sometimes pillage those caravans, the haughty, perfidious conduct of the Turkish officers is always the first cause of such hostilities. Those insolent Turks look upon all the Arabs as rebels; that is, *in the modern signification of this word, as a people, who, although weak, have the audacity to withstand the oppression of their stronger neighbours.* In consequence of this selfish reasoning, they violate their engagements; and the Arabs take their revenge by pillaging the caravans."——"The European monks, who are now the only pilgrims that visit the Holy Land, describe the Arabs as devils incarnate, and complain dolefully of their cruelty to the poor Christians. These lamentations, and the superstitious pity of good souls in Europe, procure large alms to the convent of Franciscans at Jerusalem. The exaggerated relations of the sufferings of the pilgrims from those inhuman Bedouins, will therefore be continued as long as they can serve the purpose for which they are intended." *Niebuhr.*

"As a certain extent of territory (which is considered as belonging to each tribe) is necessary to its subsistence, whoever encroaches upon it is considered as a robber: which differs in no respect from the public right of other nations." *Volney.*

34 See Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, &c. vol. ii. p. 136, 8vo. edit., and Volney, tom. i. p. 360, et seq. It should be remembered too, that in these accounts, the authors only speak of the frontier Arabs.

35 "Travellers passing through these deserts go generally in caravans; and a single person, or a small party, has a singular and suspicious appearance." *Niebuhr.*

36 "Les Arabs ont aussi peu d'industrie que de besoins; tous leurs arts se réduisent à ourdir des tentes grossières, à faire des nattes et du beurre. Tout leur commerce consiste à échanger des chameaux, des chevreux, des chevaux mâles, et des laitages, contre des armes, des vêtemens, quelque peu de riz et de blé, et contre de l'argent qu'ils enfouissent." *Volney*, t. i. p. 372.

37 Samuel, book i.

38 "Toute leur littérature consiste à réciter des contes et des histoires, dans le genre des *Mille et une nuits.*" *Volney*, t. i. p. 372.

"If the Arabian Nights interest the generality of readers, they interest much more strongly those who have travelled in the east; in those tales the manners, customs, the furniture, and even the country are described with the utmost exactness." *Bois-Aymé.*

upon in that light. To hear these they gather round the door of their tents in the cool of the evening,[39] and the romancer begins his story. It is very often in verse, and full of the most daring imagery. But although these tales may add considerably to the delight and happiness of the people, they cannot, from their nature, promote the spread of useful knowledge. Even in the most necessary information the Bedouins have made but very slow progress; and it is principally on this point that the Sheikh government is defective. Still it must not be thought that the Bedouins are left, in regard to knowledge, to the casual gleanings of individual experience; there exists among them a body of traditionary wisdom, and in transmitting this from age to age consists the business of education.[40] The authority of the father being, as with the Romans, absolute over his family,[41] his wishes are seldom opposed; he takes his son from among the women at an early age; and, to the best of his ability, cultivates his mind, and forms his character. In consequence of this, the Bedouins observe a grave demeanour from their infancy, and habituate their minds to a contempt for lightness and folly; yet are never gloomy or sullen, like the Turks. The pure air of their country preserves them at the same time from diseases[42] and melancholy; and engenders a happy temperament that is proof against fatigue, despair, and that *ennui* which is so great a curse among civilized nations.[43] This is the more surprising, as they have much leisure, no public worship, priests, theatres, baths, or any of those nameless innumerable ways of employing time, which prevail among other people. The savage sleeps away his miserable leisure; the Tartar drinks, and consumes it likewise in forgetfulness; the European also drinks, plays at cards, reads romances and newspapers; but the Bedouin only is satisfied with serious discourse, or silent admiration of that sublime nature by which he is surrounded. These traits, however, belong rather to disquisitions on manners; we will, therefore, dismiss this part of our subject, which will be necessarily resumed, in some measure in our articles on the governments of the Imams and Caliphs.

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39 Volney, tom. i.

40 Niebuhr, tom. ii.

41 "The Arabs have power of life and death over their children, and they punish those of their women capitally who have acted amiss." But "the Bedouin women are more respected than those of any other eastern country. At the death of a Sheikh his wives have often governed the tribe." *Bois-Aymé.*

42 "M. Bois-Aymé observes that his health was always better in the desert than in Egypt, though poorly fed in the former, and well in the latter."—"The air of the desert is very salubrious; the plague seldom makes its way into it; and ophthalmia is not common: the small pox is the only thing to be dreaded."—"The sky is exceedingly brilliant during the day, and of the most beautiful azure during the calm night."—"In spite of the burning heat, dogs never go mad in the desert."

43 "Il faut l'avouer, il est peu de nations policées qui aient une morale aussi généralement estimable que les Arabes bedouins."—"Il est d'ailleurs singulier que ce soit chez ce genre d' hommes que la religion a le moins de formes extérieures, au point que l'on n'a jamais vu chez les Bedouins, les Turkmans, ou les Kourdes, ni prêtres ni temples, ni culte régulier." *Volney,* Voyages, tom. i. p. 381, 382.

AMERICAN POETRY.

Softly the moonlight
Is shed on the lake,
Cool is the summer night—
Wake! O wake!
Faintly the curfew
Is heard from afar;
List, ye! O, list!
To the lively guitar.

Trees cast a mellow shade
Over the vale,
Sweetly the serenade
Breathes in the gale,
Softly and tenderly
Over the lake,
Gaily and cheerily—
Wake! O wake!

See the bright pinnace
Draws nigh to the shore,
Swiftly it glides
At the heave of the oar;
Cheerily plays
On its buoyant car,
Nearer and nearer
The lively guitar.

Now the wind rises
And ruffles the pine,
Ripples foam-crested
Like diamonds shine;
They flash where the waters
The white pebbles lave,
In the wake of the moon
As it crosses the wave.

Bounding from billow
To billow, the boat
Like a wild swan is seen
On the waters to float;
And the light dipping oars
Bear it smoothly along
In time to the air
Of the gondolier's song.

And high on the stem
Stands the young and the brave,
As love-led he crosses
The star-spangled wave,
And blends with the murmur
Of water and grove
The tones of the night
That are sacred to love.

His gold-hilted sword
At his bright belt is hung,
His mantle of silk
On his shoulder is flung,
And high waves the feather
That dances and plays
On his cap where the buckle
And rosary blaze.

The maid from her lattice
Looks down on the lake,
To see the foam sparkle,
The bright billow break;
And to hear in his boat,
Where he shines like a star,
Her lover so tenderly
Touch his guitar.

She opens her lattice
And sits in the glow
Of the moonlight and starlight
A statue of snow;
And she sings in a voice
That is broken with sighs,
And she darts on her lover
The light of her eyes.

His love-speaking pantomime
Tells her his soul,—
How wild in the sunny clime
Hearts and eyes roll.
She waves with her white hand
Her white fazzolet,
And her burning thoughts flash
From her eyes' living jet.

The moonlight is hid
In the vapour of snow!
Her voice and his rebeck
Alternately flow;
Re-echoed they swell
From the rock on the hill,
They sing their farewell,
And the music is still.

Percival.

LETTERS TO SIR CHARLES FORBES, BART. M. P. ON THE BENEFITS OF A FREE PRESS TO THE NATIVES OF INDIA.

In the course of the Debate that took place in the House of Commons on the 25th of May, and those which occurred at the India House on the 23rd of June and 10th of July, Sir Charles Forbes qualified the expression of his sentiments as to the value of a Free Press in India, principally because of certain doubts entertained by him as to its probable influence on the happiness of the Natives of India. He considered, and considered justly, that the happiness of the Natives should be the great end and aim of all our measures there; that this should be the test by which the public proceedings of public men in India should be tried; that whatever opposed obstacles to the progress of that happiness should be removed, and that whatever tended to promote it should be encouraged.

As it is believed that there are thousands of benevolent men in England and in India, who think and feel with Sir Charles Forbes that this *ought* to be the test applied, and that in a question of this great and important nature, personal considerations and party feelings should be left as much out of view as possible, the determination was formed to address a series of Letters to the worthy Baronet, which should put the subject before him, and those who think and feel as he does on the pre-eminent importance of promoting the happiness of the Natives of India, in a perfectly unbiassed light, and on its pure and abstract grounds.

These Letters were originally intended to appear first in our pages, and were written expressly with that view; but as it was thought to be of the highest importance that they should not be delayed even a day more than could be avoided, their immediate publication in a pamphlet form was at once determined on, that the Proprietors of India Stock more especially might have an opportunity of giving the whole question their full consideration before they came to the Debate on Friday the 23rd.

Pamphlets, however, are seldom circulated beyond the limits of the Metropolis, and but very few indeed find their way either to the remote parts of England, or to our remoter settlements abroad. Under these circumstances, therefore, we conceive it a duty to that large class of our readers included in the description named above, to whom pamphlets rarely reach, to include this document in our pages, for their present information especially, and also for that future reference, which, we have no doubt, will often be made to it in more assemblies than one.

With a view to compression, we shall omit the epistolary introductions of the Letters themselves, and confine ourselves to the arguments in their numerical order. The division of the subject into sections will, it is hoped, render it more agreeable to the reader, and break the apparent length of the whole into convenient portions; so as to answer the purpose of a series of articles on the same subject: and if that subject should appear to any one to occupy too large a share of

our space and attention, we entreat him to consider, that it is only because of its vital importance, as "the corner-stone" on which all hope of future good for India must be built, and as truly "the one thing needful" for her present and future welfare. With this explanation we proceed at once to the subject.

Section I.—Historical Sketch of the Indian Press.

1. Before commencing on the historical sketch proposed, it seems expedient to prepare the way by shortly defining the nature and limits of the *restraints* usually considered applicable to the dissemination of opinions through the Press.

2. In every nation, each individual is free to *think* unrestrained. No human contrivance can reach or prevent the fullest freedom of thought.

3. Thought may be communicated by spoken or by written language; and this intercommunication of thought between man and man *is* susceptible of human restraint.

4. That restraint is more or less effectual, according as the intercommunication takes place between the greater or smaller numbers of thinkers, at the same moment.

5. It is difficult to restrain conversations between two persons, or prevent their corresponding by writings. But it is easy to restrain men from addressing large assemblages, or from circulating multiplied copies of the same written address.

6. Printing is such a multiplication of copies. He who harangues a hundred men at once, communicates his opinions one hundred times more rapidly than they could be spread from man to man. He who distributes one hundred copies of his opinions, enables one hundred men to harangue each his hundred; therefore, intercommunication by the Press *may* be ten thousand times more rapidly effectual than ordinary communication between man and man; and the copies being permanent in form, and exactly alike, may serve over and over again for successive assemblages of hearers.

7. The Press is, therefore, much more dangerous, if it be dangerous that men should intercommunicate thoughts, and much more beneficial, if intercommunication be beneficial, than any other mode of spreading opinions; it is also more susceptible of restraint from those who have the wish and the power, to restrain intercommunication, by reason of its machinery.

8. The restraint may be *direct*, that is, may be applied in the form of prohibition, total or partial, against free intercommunication of thought: or it may be *indirect*, in the form of subsequent threatened punishment, the fear of which shall deter and intimidate those who print.

9. Previous censure of writings proposed to be printed, and systems of revocable licensing, are both modifications of *direct* restraint in its partial form. No nation has ever practised a total and absolute direct restraint; for tyrannical rulers always encourage the Press while it only praises them, and spreads agreeable or scientific intelligence. No nation has altogether dispensed with *indirect* restraint. Even in the United States of America, it exists in the cases of individuals, who have civil remedy for false and malicious injury through the Press, as through any

other vehicle of wrong. In England, the *indirect* restraint prevails by law in a very strong degree.

10. In the East India Company's dominions, up to April 1823, no special legal enactment, touching the liberty of printing, existed. The power of making *laws* for India, generally, rests with the British Legislature, and has no other limit than their discretion. The power of making local laws for the Company's territories, except within the cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, is vested in the Governments of the three Presidencies above named. The power of making local or bye-laws for those three great cities is vested concurrently in the Governments and the King's Supreme Court of Judicature at each,—the former *proposing*, the latter *sanctioning*.

11. The local laws enacted by the Governments and King's Courts, *conjointly*, must not be repugnant to the laws of England, and may be appealed against by individuals, to the Privy Council, acting *judicially*, not ministerially. The laws enacted by the Governments *solely*, are *not* required to be consonant to English law, and may only be repealed by the Governments themselves, by the Court of Directors of the Company, or by the Board of Control.

12. Printing was first introduced into India by the English in their great cities; but the custom of circulating manuscript newspapers in multiplied copies is of considerable antiquity among the Natives, the Mohammedans particularly: and these Ukhbars (as they are called) have always contained political rumours and intelligence, often mixed up with satirical and personal remarks.

13. The English Governments have never, until 1823, restrained printing in the provinces under their *separate* legislative jurisdiction; that it was, therefore, lawful to print without restraint up to that period, may be inferred from the very step of passing a law, in 1823, which constitutes into a crime, punishable by heavy fine and long imprisonment, the having or using any press, materials, &c. without special license; or any book, or printed paper, of which the circulation shall be prohibited by Government in their Gazette: such fines or imprisonment to be summarily inflicted by a single Justice, (appointed, paid, and removeable by Government,) who is also vested with power of domiciliary visitation, and of seizing all such books or implements of printing, simply on his own belief that such obnoxious articles are concealed on any man's premises. Such has been the law since April 1823, in the provinces of Bengal, without the ditch of Calcutta.

14. Within the metropolitan jurisdictions of the Supreme King's Courts, reside almost all the Europeans in India not in the service of the Company; most of the numerous mixed races of Anglo-Indians and Indo-Portugues; most of the Armenians, Parsees, Chinese, and other Asiatic foreigners, together with a vast population of indigenous Mohammedans and Hindoos. No accurate census exists in India; but writers have supposed Calcutta, and its immediate suburbs, to contain 600,000 souls. Madras and Bombay, together with Calcutta, may perhaps reckon a million of inhabitants in all.

15. These cities and all their population, from the earliest charters of the Kings of England, have been governed by English criminal law alone; while the Mohammedan code has been the law of the provinces, excepting only where British-born subjects, or native servants of the

Company, are concerned; in which case, the King's Court at the metropolis had exclusive jurisdiction. Justice has always been administered in the name of the King, in the Courts of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. In 1773, the old King's Court of the Mayor and Aldermen of Calcutta being thought by Parliament not sufficiently powerful and venerable in the eyes of the Company's servants, a new and independent Court was created expressly to protect the subject against the notorious despotism of the Government, and abuses of power by its servants.

16. To this Court,—the jurisdiction of which at first pervading the entire dominions of the Company, was subsequently limited to Englishmen and public employers without, and to *all* men within the city of Calcutta, whether Native or English,—the power was confided of a negative upon all legislative measures of the Supreme Government. No regulation could have the force of law within Calcutta, until approved by the King's Court, as consonant to British law. In April, 1823, this Court (one judge only present) passed a law proposed by the Government, prohibiting the printing or publication of any periodical work, without previous license, *revocable at pleasure*, under heavy pecuniary penalties, to be inflicted by justices summarily; such justices being paid, appointed, and removeable by Government. From this local law, an appeal has been made to the King in Council, and various protests and reclamations were presented by Natives and Indo-Britons: all upon the ground that this licensing of the Press at will was repugnant to the principles of English law.

17. Until April 1823, therefore, no *law* existed in Calcutta to restrain free printing: but an indirect method of influencing the Press did exist before, and was effectual so long as none but Europeans possessed skill and capital sufficient to conduct the business of printing.

18. This indirect method arose out of a power vested in the Company from the very beginning of its monopoly, and inherent in a strict monopoly, of preventing any British-born subject of England from resorting to or residing in India, but such as were in its employ, or had its license to remain there, as private merchants, sailors, planters, and the like. This power has been continued in every successive renewal of the Company's charter, and in the last, 1813, was put in particularly strong and distinct shape, although the *commercial* monopoly of the India Company was taken away, or so altered as to hold out a *free trade* to British subjects with the East, China alone excepted. The Government having the power of sending any British-born subject to England a prisoner, without reason assigned, it is evident this terrible engine, though created for purposes of monopoly, and continued for other purposes not avowed, might be used effectually to intimidate any individual within its scope from doing, or leaving undone, any thing whatsoever that might not be agreeable to authority.

19. On the first establishment of the Parliamentary Government-General, and of an independent Council, and independent King's Court, in 1773, the Press in India was actually, as well as legally, free: that is, responsible only to the English libel-law and a jury: but this freedom virtually ceased as the powers of the Court were curtailed and those of the Governor General enlarged, while the privileges of the Council were at the same time cut down, and civil servants resumed the exclusive right of filling seats at that board. In fact, from the epoch of Lord

Cornwallis's administration, it may be said, British-born publishers have been intimidated from printing any thing unpleasant to persons in authority, or those protected by them, more or less effectually, according to their opinion of the irritability or mildness of the individual Governor, who holds the undivided prerogative of transportation at pleasure; but, in 1798, Lord Wellesley made use of this same power, in a more sweeping form, to compel *white* printers, through fear of banishment, to submit to the previous censorship of a Government Secretary. Still there was no *law* to restrain the Press; and, in 1818, when Indo-British editors began to start up, they refused to submit to the censorship, which they were professionally advised was a thing unknown and repugnant to law.

20. Lord Hastings, on that occasion, abolished the censorship, and circulated anew certain rules prohibitory of topics unpleasing to authority, which had been established by Lord Wellesley to guide censors and editors in his day. These prohibitory rules, however, were not *law*, not having been formally passed in the Supreme Court. They were, accordingly, in point of fact, never enforced, although the indirect power of fully enforcing them by intimidation on English editors still existed, and Lord Hastings publicly announced, in a speech to the assembled community, his intention and meaning that the intercommunication of thought by printing ought to be unrestrained for the sake of the governed, and should be so under his administration.

21. Mr. Adam, in 1823, succeeded temporarily to the Governor General's fearful prerogative, and found the influential press chiefly in the hands of Englishmen. Having all along disapproved of Lord Hastings's notion of unrestrained intercommunication by printing, he re-established the system of restraint by intimidation; and immediately on his accession, transported one editor, Mr. Buckingham, without trial or further notice, under the powers given him by the act to withdraw at pleasure the license of any British-born man to remain in India.

22. The Press, in consequence began to fall into the hands of Indo-Britons and Natives, who were beyond the reach of any power except that of the King's Court, administering English law. But Mr. Adam prevailed on the single judge (Macnaghten) then remaining on that bench, to let him enact a regular *bye-law*, in point of form, which should put down all free printing by *direct* restraint, and should constrain Natives and Indo-Britons equally with Englishmen. This novel contrivance appears to have been readily agreed to by that single judge, and became law as stated in par. 20.

23. At Madras and Bombay, previous censorship, enforced upon British-born residents, by terror of summary banishment, in imitation of Lord Wellesley's system, has existed since his day, and is still in force. But no law for licensing has yet been solicited by those governments of their supreme courts; or if solicited, the king's judges have refused to lend themselves to such purposes, so that the Indo-British, or Native inhabitants, who cannot be got rid of in a summary way, are free to print without restraint, subject to the English law of libel only, and to a jury of English-born men, whose individual votes in a verdict cannot be known so as to expose them to intimidation for acting conscientiously.

24. To understand thoroughly the state of the Calcutta press, after the censorship was removed and free discussion was publicly invited by Lord Hastings, it must be remembered that the power of summary transportation is *not* vested in the majority of the Government, but personally in the Governor General alone. The circular "*regulations*" to editors, substantially the same as Lord Wellesley's, were the work of the collective Government—namely, Governor General and three Councillors; but as these regulations were not in any respect *law*, they could only become operative to the extent that the Governor General, individually, should choose to give them indirect penal effect, by backing them with his *personal* and special warrants for transporting such as should disregard the missive of the Government.

25. When the Governor General, therefore, openly challenged that scrutiny of the public press, which the Government had previously forbidden by its circular, the only means of giving efficacy to the vague denunciations of that missive being in *his* hands, the inference naturally followed from this gloss of the Governor General, that the regulations were not according to his taste, and should remain as a dead letter. In point of fact, they did so remain for several years, notwithstanding the unceasing exertions of the minority in council.

26. This then is the actual state of things with regard to the press in India:—1st. All intercommunication of thought by printing, or circulating of things printed, is prohibited by law, save under revocable license, within the Bengal provincial jurisdiction. 2d. All periodical printing or circulating is prohibited by law, save under revocable license, within the jurisdiction of the King's Court at Calcutta. 3d. Printing in the Madras and Bombay provincial jurisdictions is not yet restrained by any known law. 4th. Within the cities of Madras and Bombay there is no legal restraint, and the King's Courts affect knowledge of none other than the libel-laws of England. Nevertheless a previous censorship is enforced on British-born subjects only, through the fear of summary banishment; but natives, foreigners of whatever country, Indo-Britons, are all, in short, free from other restraint than that of the English law: they are really, as well as legally free.

27. The Indo-Briton and various classes of Native inhabitants of Calcutta complain, that the revocable License-Act deprives them of the most valuable of their privileges and *birthrights*, secured by repeated royal and parliamentary charters, since the first settling of Fort William, and, therefore, inherited from the remote ancestors of the existing generations. They maintain that they cannot lawfully be deprived, through the machinations of an unconstitutional judge and arbitrary governor, of their privilege to be governed, in all things, by English law, and bye-laws strictly consonant thereunto. They affirm, that if any political or other expediency requires that the law be changed to their detriment, such change can only be judged of and determined by the British Legislature; before which they can safely plead, and be fully heard in defence of liberties, immunities, and properties, without fear of offending or of being intimidated into silence and submission to arbitrary power. They expect that the King in Council will be advised, by his servants, to use his power in quashing an irregular or improper Indian bye-law, without putting the aggrieved to the charges and risk of a judicial appeal in so flagrant a case.

28. The unfortunate natives in the provinces of Bengal have no channels of judicial form through which to appeal against the more sweeping new law of prohibition and confiscation, to which their intercommunication of thought and opinion is subjected. They have no right to assemble or petition collectively, and individuals are afraid to offend power, unprotected as they are by any institutions, or even by any tribunals essentially independent of a government which pays, appoints, and removes at pleasure. They try to hope that the Directors of the Company, or the Board of Control, who have the power in their hands, will annul a regulation that destroys their privilege of intercommunicating, and bars all speedy and substantial improvement of their minds or condition.

29. The British-born inhabitants of Calcutta join in the protest of their non-British fellow-citizens against the licensing system, which deprives them, also, of their right, even more undoubted, to be governed by English law only. They further expect, in common with Englishmen at Madras and Bombay, that their *property* and persons will be protected, in future, by the abolition or narrowing of the arbitrary power of discretionary banishment; since without this, no real freedom or equal justice can be secured, however much the semblance of administering equal English laws may be kept up in vain forms. The same intimidation that silences a printer, or forces him to submit to censorial restraints not acknowledged by the laws of England, might be employed in any other injustice which those in power choose to enforce by this omnipotent means. Crimes might be shielded as easily as legal innocence punished. Men might be intimidated from prosecuting just but unwelcome claims, or resisting wrongs and demands productive of collision with those in authority. The very institution itself of a supreme King's Court—they maintain—set up, though it be declaredly, to do equal justice between high and low, may be thus virtually defeated and nullified, or reduced to an expensive mockery, by a system of unavowed, but well-understood intimidation, at the mere pleasure of an intemperate or unwise ruler, with courage to incur local odium, or reliance on powerful protection at home.

Section II.—Arguments bearing on the Question of the Indian Press.

30. The argument on the expediency of allowing free intercommunication of thought (see par. 3 and 4) among the inhabitants of British India, may be thus stated, setting out, as a basis, from certain points upon which all men profess to be agreed.

31. England has publicly declared, by the organ of her Parliament, in 1813, her resolution to forward the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of India as a primary and bounden duty. From this national pledge, few will be found to dissent avowedly, however much they may practically act in contravention of a praiseworthy sentiment, that virtually binds the governing power to consider the good of the governed as its primary object.

32. The enemies of free intercommunication either *do* or *do not* desire the good of the governed as the primary end of our Indian Government.

33. *First.* If they *do not*, then they must consider some *other* good as

primary, and that can only be the good of the governors; for every man who has attended to the science and history of government, is aware that there can be no honest compromise of *goods*, no middle course between pursuing the separate good of the governing and that of the governed: one or other must be primary; the true benefit of the governors, in an enlarged sense, will surely follow the good of the governed; but not the converse: for no separate good can be wrought to the governors, that is not at the expense of the governed. Hence it follows, that if the opponents of free intercommunication declare their primary desire to be the good of the governing power, they must hold that the English Company having conquered India, maintain it as a pure conquest; that the chief object of England is to extract all the profit or tribute in its power from that conquest; and only to do so much good to the conquered, as shall be prompted by the fear of losing, or rendering less productive, this profitable milch-cow.

34. If such sentiments be confessed—and they have been often hinted at second-hand, as an argument against the improvement of India—the avowal should at least be made openly, and the policy, which undeniably follows from the premised seeking of the good of the governors, defended. All Europe would then know, that what has so often been said of our Indian policy, by Napoleon and other foreign rivals, is unblushingly admitted and openly justified. There would be an end of canting about our Indian administration, our humanity, beneficent sway, love of civilization, pure religion, morals, &c. &c. &c. All these complacent self-attributions are wholly incompatible with the idea of our holding India as a profitable despotism; such gratulations only serve to betray great ignorance or greater hypocrisy.

35. *Secondly*. But few men will boldly avow this doctrine with its unavoidable sequences. If, then, the opponents of free discussion in India profess, that they *do* desire the greatest good of the greatest number, then they are agreed with the friends of the Press, as to the object of our Indian domination, differing only as to the means of best attaining what is the sum and end of all good government; namely, the most perfect administration of cheap justice, and the lightest possible taxation, compatible with complete security to person and property from foreign or domestic danger.

36. Even as to the means of compassing this common object, both parties are so *far* of one mind as to agree, that free public scrutiny and the control of public opinion (to be exercised *somewhere*) are legitimate and necessary means towards keeping the Indian Government, like every other, in the right path of duty. Even Mr. Adam fairly admits this, in a printed Indian appeal to his countrymen at home; and no one has yet denied that in the Indian Government, *as in all other polities*, there must be a constant struggle between the general interest and the particular interests of individuals and classes of the rulers.

37. But the two parties professing this same end of good government, and agreeing as to the means of influencing its attainment, differ utterly as to the time when, and *place* where, this control of public opinion can be best exercised: one party would only have it exercised in England; the other (approving, likewise, of its employment in England) is of opinion that it can only be exercised with the greatest vigour and benefit on the

spot where its effects are to operate, and near the time when the evils, which it is proposed to correct by this influence, may be supposed to happen. One party would limit this avowedly desirable control to the authorities in the mother-country—the English Parliament—the English Press—in short, the Public in England; the other party would place reliance on those authorities also, but only as auxiliary to the best and *proximate* check of this description; namely, the public voice in India itself.

38. Whether this control be exercised in India, or in England, it is evident to all, that two essential conditions are implied in a right notion of such a check.—SAFETY and EFFICACY are those conditions. An efficient check, attended with danger—or one that, being safe, should be without efficiency, are equally unsuitable to the desired purpose of promoting the interests and happiness of the body of the governed.

39. By SAFETY is understood reasonable secureness of the general interests (in this case represented by the Government) against external violence and unjustifiable internal convulsion. By EFFICACY, of course, is meant the power of stimulating the Government to good, and deterring it from evil, to such a degree as may balance the natural proclivity of all men intrusted with authority to prefer particular before the general interests.

40. If the control of public opinion, through the Press, on our Indian Government, takes place in England only, such control will indeed be, in one sense, quite SAFE, precisely *because* it will be INEFFICACIOUS. This impotence arises, first, from remoteness of time; second, from remoteness of place; third, from the slender degree of interest which the British public takes in Indian affairs; fourth, from the inveterate *party* habits of English statesmen; fifth, from the peculiar circumstances that India is leased to an exclusive Company. The affairs of, and events occurring in, that country, do not, therefore, become generally known, *in course*, as heretofore, to individuals at home; especially since the annual budget has been discontinued, and party destinies no longer hang on India bills, and the mockeries of impeachment; nor are Indian occurrences *necessarily* known in any detail to the Ministers or Parliament, except where special occasions arise to call forth party attention.

41. Any control, hampered with so many clogs and disadvantages, must be quite inefficacious for purposes of general usefulness, and therefore no doubt SAFE enough in one sense, and in the direct ratio of its impotence; but how long will this SAFETY continue? Only a limited time; and for this reason: that if the supposed control (exercised only in England) be, for the five reasons here assigned, inefficient to correct the evil tendencies admitted to exist, [par. 36,] then it follows that the Government in India will go on acting precisely as if no such popular check or corrective at all existed. The tendency to misrule, common to every human government, will be aggravated by distance and feebleness of responsibility: our Indian system of governing will not ameliorate. Surplus revenue, beyond all the wants and expenses of the state, will continue to be exacted, till the country becomes more and more prostrate, and every day less able to take English products, because less able to give any in exchange. Justice will be taxed higher and higher, and become less accessible, and dearer, too, inversely with the means of

paying; old monopolies of necessaries and luxuries will extend and become daily more rigorous and penal, as in proportion poverty and temptation to violate become more powerful; new monopolies and extortions in different shapes, will be devised; confiscations and sales will multiply, until property shall almost completely shift hands, and the old extruded landholders, poor and ignorant, but proud and influential, inflamed with rage against their official despoilers, are ready to head the general revolt, which must, *sooner or later*, follow this national course and progress of misrule in a dependency, the administration of which is relieved from apprehension of vigilant and hourly scrutiny.

42. This picture is not imaginary; such a course and progress of internal misrule, followed by such revolt, did occur in a province at no great distance from the seat of Government, only a very few years ago; and although it cost so much blood and treasure, at a most critical period of general war, to subdue the rebellion which was not *thoroughly* got under for years, the story has scarcely ever transpired to the notice of that English public, in which some profess to see a fit and sufficient organ for controlling and guiding the Indian governments! How such remarkable events as this, and other recent affairs of a like nature came to be kept from public notice, from the newspapers, from Parliament, even from the Court of Proprietors, does indeed seem a mystery. Such, however, is the fact, and it speaks volumes as to the utter inefficacy of the English press, and English public, (unaided by those on the spot,) as checks on men or measures in India. The censorship was then in full vigour, and this very Mr. Adam was the censor.

43. Experience, however, was not needed to prove this utter worthlessness of such checks; that was sufficiently evident, *à priori*. (See par. 40.) But some who disapprove of public discussion in India, whether from dislike or fear, and who also admit the proved inadequacy of the English public press, will nevertheless say that the check exercised by the East India Company and Board of Control would still continue to be sufficient, *as it has been heretofore*, for watching and checking misrule abroad, without the aid of *any* public or press, here or there. This merits examination.

44. As to the Board of Control, its share in the expected operations of watching and checking may be speedily discussed and easily measured. Whatever may have been the wishes of the political parents of that Board, it is notorious, and scarcely denied in Parliament, that the only Member of the Board, permitted to work at all, is the Cabinet Minister at its head. But it is not less notorious that the Presidentship is looked on as one of the lowest in rank and consequence of the ministerial ladder, and as a mere stepping-stone to a higher position in the Cabinet, or not unfrequently to the place of Governor General, that very functionary, whom, by our hypothesis (par. 43), the President of the Board is supposed to watch so vigilantly, and to curb in his undue tendencies to stretch authority! At all events, the Presidentship is deemed a second-rate and temporary office. He who obtains it, applies himself unwillingly, or not at all, to acquire knowledge and discharge duties of a strange, new, and painful sort: he languishes to escape from the office by translation to some other; if abroad, more lucrative and influencial; if at home, more congenial and elevated. In the weary interim he virtually resigns his important functions (save only in the *vital* concerns of

patronage) into the hands of some officious and shrewd leading member of those whom it should be his proper and jealous office to control. Is this an exaggerated delineation? Is it little warranted by the experience of twenty-three years since Lord Melville resigned the Presidentship? How then should such an Indian Zero, as a President with all his attendant ciphers, ever acquire political integrity sufficient to qualify him for figuring as representative substitute for free public discussion in overawing Indian misrule? *Ex nihilo nil.*

45. But are the East India Company able and willing to discharge efficiently this great duty, in substitution for the public press in England or India, or both? Who are to undertake the office? The Proprietors or the Directors? Not the former; for they cannot practically stir a step, they cannot know any thing, or see any paper, if the Directors choose to keep them in the dark, and—by juggles with the governments abroad, the committees of secrecy and correspondence, and the Board of Control—to baffle their inquiries, or lay their jealousy asleep. Neither can it be justly said, that the Proprietors, generally, are very well fitted, whether from previous habits and actual pursuits, from the constitution of their body, or the nature of their prescribed forms,—for meddling often, or with effect, in the details of administrative business abroad. Thus, then, we have only the Court of Directors, or rather its efficient Council of Nine, and more efficient Council of Three, left us to represent the Company, and to perform the part of a jealous, vigilant, and disinterested public, eager to detect and make known delinquency—directing public and general scrutiny to every abuse in a system, or fault in those who administer it,—having no interest in public exactions—deeply penetrated with sympathy for the poor, distant, and unrepresented native Indian, when suffering under the pillage of extortion, or the hard gripe of fiscal and monopolizing rapacity;—in fine, free from all fellow feeling or undue bias towards servants abroad, whether arising from *esprit du corps*, the love we all bear to our own creations, or reluctance, as Napoleon coarsely expressed it, to let our neighbours see us wash our dirty linen! Alas! for India; if she have no more zealous and effective guardians than such substitutes for public opinion—*quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* The Court of Directors have essentially and naturally an interest distinct from that of their unfortunate subjects,—a particular interest, counter to the general interest. It is not their *fault*, but their *fate*. They cannot sincerely seek the greatest good of the greatest number, if they would. They are urged on by an incessant craving for "surplus revenue," for taking without giving in return; and the financial annals of India, for some years back, show how perseveringly such a ruinous system may be acted on for a time. What its *end* will be time must show.

46. But if there were no other reasons that effectually and, *à priori*, prove the Court of Directors to be peculiarly disqualified from acting alone and unchecked in that task of controlling their governments abroad, which some men would assign to a Free Press, one reason, sufficient in itself, remains to be noticed; it is their hostility, as a body, to the existence of an unshackled Press in India. If they had no interests to follow out, distinct on the one hand from the general interest of the Proprietors, on the other hand from that of their subjects in India, how could it possibly have happened that so unheard-of an unanimity should

have taken place among thirty or forty gentlemen, (OUTS and INS, during several years,) who are apt enough to split into parties on all other questions? In this case of the Press, it is said, they have all been of one mind for the first time on record! But the Proprietors are not so unanimous on the question; and it might be supposed the Directors were a faithful extract enough from the constituent body, a tolerably exact image and representative of the shades of opinion prevailing in the "Lower House!" Not so. On this single question of the Press, all differences appear to be sacrificed at the approach of danger snuffed from afar, and all come forward, like so many life-and-fortune addressers in other epidemic times, to devote themselves to the sacred duty of keeping down, if even for a time only, the monster Free Discussion; of stifling, while yet in his cradle, the infant Hercules, who is prophesied to go forth at maturity purging the world of beasts of prey in every shape!

47. Whence, then, arises this sort of instinctive and universal feeling among all Directors, past and present? If their interest coincided with the general interest, they would naturally desire to obtain all the information they could, from every available source, as to the proceedings of all their Masters' (the Proprietors) servants abroad, high and low. The Press of India would certainly seem, at first sight, to have a claim naturally to the particular favour of the Directors; and one would have expected to see them supporting it with almost intemperate zeal *against* the very natural efforts of the servants of every class abroad, to put down an obnoxious tell-tale. The unanimity against the Press, of which the Directors boast, does seem, to the eye of unprejudiced reason, the very reverse of a *merit*, at least, as far as the Proprietors and English nation are concerned, and is altogether a circumstance so suspicious, as at least to bar their claim to be thought competent to watch our Indian government, *unwatched themselves* by a jealous Public here and in India. It must not be forgotten, that if a Free Press had existed in India, the revolts in Cuttack, Rohilkund, Bundelkund, and elsewhere, could not have happened so completely without the knowledge of Government in India, nor could the Proprietors and Public of England have been kept in ignorance of them to this day.

48. But even if the unchecked tendency to misrule should *not* produce among the natives the dangerous effects here supposed, or if the danger shall appear so distant as not to be an object of dread with those small-minded persons who live only for their own times, another *alternative* subject of uneasiness presents itself in the half European population, who are not likely to submit much longer to be kept down in a state of political Helotism. Experience has abundantly shown the convulsions to which European dependencies are every where subject, from the just pretensions of this race, and the arrogant claims of the whites to the privileges of a superior order of beings.

49. But it is proverbial that governments never profit by the lessons of history, and experience has taught no wisdom in this matter: the Indo-Britons are multiplying to a degree unknown to indolence in a country where no accurate census of any considerable portion of the population exists. They are rising in talent, education, and wealth; yet they all labour under a greater or less degree of tacit social and moral proscription. The males, at least, are scarcely associated with by the proud Europeans; are hunted out of all high and honourable public employ-

ment by the Directors at home; denied important civil rights by the Judges abroad; shut out, by Government in India, from beneficial and coveted stations in the judicial and other administrative branches of the public service; yet often treated as Natives where that distinction is felt as invidious; in fine, these men have been lately defrauded, through a political collusion of the protector with the oppressor of their BIRTH-RIGHT of free printing; heretofore the only counterbalancing privilege in their favour against the otherwise overwhelming superiority of their white fellow-citizens.

50. From the evils to be apprehended, sooner or later, if unchecked misrule be allowed to bear down the natives, or half-castes, the *English* Press alone affords no real safeguard; nor is it easy to see how that engine is to be brought to bear on Indian misgovernment, for want of information as to passing events and measures of authorities abroad. The whole frame of our governments in India seems contrived as if their subjects abroad, and fellow-citizens at home, were intended to have no knowledge whatever of any thing that is going on, save when the Councils choose to speak their oracles in proclamations and general orders. Their despatches to their superiors at home *may* abound in garblings and glossings, suppressions and misrepresentations: no one can contradict them in England, for no one can know what is true and what is not, if the liberty to those on the spot to speak freely, be taken away. But even those despatches, such as they are, the Directors habitually keep to themselves, and communicate them to the British public on rare occasions, and in a cooked-up state. The English Press, therefore, unassisted by a Press abroad, to collect facts and opinions, is utterly worthless for any primary purposes of giving publicity to Indian affairs.

51. In this INEFFICIENCY those only will imagine they see SAFETY who delude themselves into the belief that all must be well within when all looks smooth without, and that it is less dangerous to govern the Natives badly than to let them suppose any one thinks they might be governed better. *That* SAFETY *is only immediate, not durable.* To ensure PERMANENT SAFETY the very reverse of the favourite hoodwinking policy must be followed up in the present advanced and *progressing* condition of society in British India: namely, a system of internal rule, that is honest, fearless, open as light, "having nothing to conceal."—No people so governed ever yet revolted, for no people ever yet rose, as one man, against their rulers without good cause.

Section III.—Safety of the Press in India, as it regards the Permanence of our Empire.

53. The conclusion being obtained that the exercise of scrutiny and indirect control over the Indian governments by the press and public of England *only* would be without EFFICACY, although SAFE *for a time*, till misrule should ripen, and the proscribed races feel their growing strength,—let us proceed to inquire whether free discussion through the PRESS IN INDIA would be SAFE and EFFICACIOUS for the desired purpose of influencing the Government to pursue good and avoid evil.

54. The ablest philosophers, and best writers on legislation and historical politics, are agreed that there is never any strong tendency among the governed of mankind to rise against their governors; but, on

the contrary, a disposition to bear misrule long beyond the point when resistance to oppression would be justifiable in the eyes of God and man, at least, of all men, *except those concerned in the oppressions resisted.* Revolt is hazardous in its issue,—destructive to person and property during its progress, even should it succeed, but still more should it not,—it is further aggravative of the evils resisted if it fail. Men will bear very much before they become all of one mind to "rise and be doing;" and it is only when they are almost all of one way of thinking, that rebellion has any tolerable chance of success against the fearful odds of disciplined and organized authority. No presses, no harangues, no examples will be of the smallest power in persuading poor and peaceful peasants that they are ill used, if they do not really feel the scourge of oppression at their backs: if they *do* feel it to be beyond endurance, no one is needed to tell them so. Writers and haranguers against abuses starve or thrive in proportion only as rulers furnish them with texts. If the good considerably preponderates over the bad in any government, there cannot be unfeigned apprehension of revolt, (see par. 42). The public, I repeat, *never* rise in general resistance without good cause.

55. But there are those who sincerely think, and those who affect to think, (from whatsoever motives,) that some special exception exists, in respect to India, to these great truths, collected by wisdom from the lessons of history, and admitted to the rank of political axioms, on the subject of revolt, long before the days of Montesquieu. The first of the above classes of thinkers deserves every patience and attention, for it consists of men sincere and worth converting; but, unhappily, none are so hard to be persuaded by reason as those who are under the dominion of fear.

56. It is truly of the utmost consequence to the cause of civilization, of sound religion, and of humanity, that the thinking and sincere portion of the English public should be undeceived in this fatal idea, imbibed by many, because so sedulously and earnestly inculcated, that there is a disposition in India to revolt, and an aptness in the Indians to throw off our "foreign yoke," as it is vulgarly called, which proneness does not depend, as every where else it does, on the goodness or badness of the system of government, but on causes altogether extrinsic to any notion of merit or demerit on the part of those who rule over our Indian fellow-subjects. If this position were true, it would, indeed, be fatal to the happiness and amelioration of more than sixty millions of human beings, for it would afford the tyrant's ever-ready plea, *necessity*, in one of its most plausible shapes, as a prompt defence of every positive act of violent misrule, and every negation of improvement. If the people of India are not to be acted on by means of those ordinary feelings, or of those balancings of motives and chances, that actuate other men, in determining the great *home-questions* of resistance or submission, they must be scarcely better than brute animals; and it signifies but little, indeed, who is the driver of such cattle, or by what method they are kept to work and food.

57. But, happily for an unfortunate and undefended people, there is no truth in the position,—not even the shadow of truth. It is incumbent, in the first place, on those who take that distorted view of our Indian subjects, to burden themselves with the proof of a position so un-

natural and contrary to all experience. But let us sift this matter somewhat closer.

58. Who are "*the people*" of India that are so prone to learn, as the first result of their lessons from us, that they are bound, by their own interest and duty, to throw off a foreign yoke? The Indo-Britons?—their hour is not yet come! The other insulated small bodies of Portuguese, Parsees, Armenians, and so forth?—they are not as a drop in the sea of our Indian population. The Mohammedans?—they are no pupils of ours: they have "learnt nothing," if they have "forgotten nothing," in the course of the eventful revolution that has cast them down for ever in the extreme East, and stripped them of the conquests of seven centuries. Doubtless, the dreaming and arrogant remnant of their Hidalgo chiefs (if any such remnant there be under a politico-religious system, that is essentially hostile every where to the establishment of an aristocracy, or the perpetuation of great families) would gladly recover, if they could, so bright a gem as India in the trophies of Islam. But have they needed *us*, and our presses, and instructions, to teach them this? Have they profited aught, or is it in the genius of their *sept* to profit, by enlightenment so readily? Admitting, then, that *their* desire to throw off our "foreign yoke" be as strong as the *advocate* for darkness and retrogradation assures us it is among all the Indian people, generally, does it follow that their *hopes* are as lively as their desires? or that they are not tolerably capable of calculating their chances of success in a struggle against the united mental superiority of the English and physical outnumbering of the Hindoos? With such a tremendous struggle before them, and against such fearful odds, will they not weigh well the inducements to remain tranquil? and will they reckon for nothing in the balance of inducements and motives, that the English, who thrust their Indian Colossus off its *political* base, have not trampled in pieces the scattered members, but, besides conferring on all ranks equal rights of property and person with other subjects of the state, have preserved to their middling and better classes the monopoly of office in their criminal law, and a full proportion of public employment, and promotion in the army of the conquerors?

59. But the Hindoos, the infinite majority of the population,—will the first-fruits of their eating of our tree of knowledge lead them to discover that it is their duty and their interest to rise against their instructors, and throw off a "foreign yoke"? So far from it, that they only learn, from intercourse with us, their own nakedness, and cling the closer to a protection which, whatever lesser evils it may involve, and however defective in comparison with what it might be, and should have been, at this time of day, is still for the Hindoos a substantial benefit, when placed by the side of any one in the infinite series of foreign dominations, to which the Hindoo nations, or tribes, appear to have been successively subjected, almost from the days of Alexander of Macedon.

60. The body of the Hindoos are likely to quarrel with us, when the sheep shall disclaim connexion with the protecting shepherd's dog in presence of the wolf! We are their natural allies against their old enemies the Musulmans, who have not abated one jot of their pretensions to recover their empire, if any turn of the cards should chance to put an end to the English supremacy, and leave the field free to Mohammedan energy and unity of effort. In such a strife the Hindoos, excepting, per-

haps, a very few of the ruder warlike septs, thinly scattered in the north and west, would have no chance. A long course of passive submission to successive conquerors, and the debilitating influence of a superstition, at once the most barbarous and abject the world ever saw, have politically, if not physically, enervated almost all the Hindoo nations: to the influence, indeed, of their contemptible system of a religion without morality, resting its monstrous fabric mainly on the division into castes, may be ascribed, without much hesitation, the remarkable circumstance, that they have been unceasingly a prey to less civilized nations. This fatal authority of their priests, and all the destructive divisions of castes, still prevail in unshaken strength; and it may be doubted, notwithstanding the strange rise and fall of a solitary Hindoo power (the Mahrattas), within little more than a century, whether any Hindoo kingdom could possibly stand, in the present day, against the superior energy of the Musulmans, who are all as one nation and one faith, while the Hindoos are split into innumerable sections of tribe, caste, and country, united by no common bond. In the extravagant case of a successful revolt of the Hindoos being supposed to clear the field of the English, there is no doubt that a Mohammedan power would rise on their ruins; and, however distracted by civil wars and successive contests, still the crescent, backed by shoals of needy recruits from the northern and western hives of Islam, would keep its hold, till some second invasion should take place from sea, under extraordinary circumstances of desperate courage, talent, and good fortune, such as distinguished our early efforts in India, and once more push the faithful from their stools.

61. The more intelligent and cultivated of the Hindoos are perfectly aware of the common interest subsisting between them and us; they feel and admit that their Mogul conquerors have been the only real losers in the tremendous revolution which we have effected in India, within the last seventy or eighty years. Our toleration has won over to us the priesthood, habituated to Mohammedan brutality: our good faith with the army, (eleven-twelfths of whom are Hindoos,) in regard to pay, clothing, pensioning, promotion, and distribution of justice by the verdict of themselves, has ensured us the strenuous attachment of the warlike classes of the north. The banker and merchant classes enjoy comparative immunity from irregular pillage, unknown in the days of our Mohammedan predecessors; and if the condition of the ryots and manufacturers is, unfortunately, in *statu quo* nearly, because we have too exactly followed our predecessors' track, things are, at least, no worse than they were.

62. It has been remarked, that, exactly in proportion as a Hindoo, by dint of the knowledge and independence of thought which we teach him, begins to purge the film from his eyes, so does he see in a stronger light the *comparative* merits of the English rule, without being blind to its grave defects;—so does he descry and admit that our cause is his cause, and that the only hope of political regeneration, and of religious emancipation to his people, rests upon their connexion with the English. This prospect he allows to be *infinitely* remote, owing to the exceeding prostration of the Hindoo mind; but still it is looked to, in the fulness of time, even if not anticipated by the approximation, or even amalgamation of the races, in the course of that colonization and intermix-

ture which must, sooner or later take place, in spite of all endeavours to prevent them.

63. Let it not be supposed that these speculations are unreal, and of European fabric. Those who have seen the writings and correspondence of that patriotic and learned Brahmin, Ram Mohun Roy, the real apostle of Christianity among the Hindoos, are well aware that the sentiments and opinions here described are those held and zealously inculcated by that excellent person, and his small but increasing school of European-minded Hindoos. The British Government has no such true friends among its Native subjects, for it has none besides, that are Native, attached to it from reason and deep reflection. Painful it is to think that such men should have been obliged to protest in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and before the whole world, against the gagging and licensing system, by which Governor Adam and Judge Macnaghten have deprived them of their presses, of a birthright which they had used for the noblest, and purest, and most peaceable purposes! Painful to think that Ram Mohun Roy, who had descended to edit a Native periodical paper, with a view to contribute his great influence in that mode to enlighten his benighted fellows, should have found himself obliged *publicly* to abdicate so honourable an employment, environed as it became, under the new restrictions, with difficulty, degradation, and suspicion.

64. It is hoped that enough has been said to show that the general disposition to throw off "a foreign yoke," of which so much has been said, even to nausea, by superficial and timid men, is not only unlikely to *increase* with the progress of political improvement and instruction, but also not likely to have any existence at all, unless we drive men to such recourse, by perseverance in misrule, and by refusing to let our own eyes and ears be open to the evil of our ways. No chimera that ever haunted the imaginations of the weak and ignorant was more devoid of reality than this absurd idea of proneness to rebel in India; it might have been left to be dissipated by time and returning reason, were it not unhappily a mischievous as well as stupid phantasy, affording pretext for bringing into play restrictions, tests, penalties, expurgatory indexes, and all the wicked and contemptible machinery of persecution for opinions' sake, which was thought to be pretty well exploded every where, but is now again revived almost simultaneously by the Pope, the beloved King of Spain, and Governor Adam. Each of these individuals, no doubt, conscientiously plumes himself on the validity of his special reasons for playing such fantastic tricks in his own particular dominions, and each by his friends is, of course, considered the best intentioned of rulers, and kindest of men; as if the possession of power had no tendency to transform and corrupt! as if the private virtues of public men might safely for mankind be admitted in qualification or extenuation of their public measures! as if, indeed, the personal good qualities of an arbitrary ruler were not a positive enhancement of the evils he inflicts, by blinding many to the true quality of his acts, and disposing them to greater forbearance! Yet of such puling stuff is the invariable defence compounded of every public man whose measures are attacked, and whose ready host of friends and connexions instantly start up with a plea of character.

65. If we desire to retain India for England, from a conviction that

in the present state of that country we do thereby really seek the greatest good of the greatest number in both countries, our policy is plain and simple. Honesty is that policy; and all suppressions of opinion, puttings down of intercommunication of thought among the governed, forbidding of books, gagging of the press, and ruining, fining, banishing, or imprisoning individuals who speak out and are our *truest* friends; all such pernicious vagaries of wanton power should be put an end to as soon as may be. This done, there will be no real cause for apprehending any thing like a general discontent or revolt; but even if there is such a tendency, the friends of free discussion and good government triumphantly ask of the reasonable and reflecting among their countrymen, whether is it *most* likely to have been created by the fomentings of a press, or by real and grievous misrule, considering how passive and long-suffering a people the Hindoos have always shown themselves to be? Or if such disposition to rebel exists, will expurgatory indexes or muzzles on the press keep men from thinking and conversing? Will they hinder the secret ferment from working and heaving? The opponents of publicity would do well to avoid sounding too loudly this alarm of danger from likelihood of revolt, lest the English public should indignantly demand, of what nature their administration must be in that country, since more than sixty years' undisturbed possession of the greater and richer part have not yet secured for them the affections of the governed beyond the reach of disturbance from "paper shot!"

66. The question how far indirect control over public measures by the Press would be SAFE if exercised *in India*, may be considered as set at rest in so far as concerns any danger of general revolt arising therefrom, or any *special* disposition to resistance in that country. There *is*, however, a danger of particular and provincial revolts to which our Government in India is greatly liable—not because there is too much license, but too little!—not because there is too much freedom of discussion, but because there is none!—not because there are too many residents in India, independent of the Company, "factious," "interested," "would-be-reformists," &c. but because there are too few!"

67. Assume, if only for argument's sake, that an impolitic impost is laid on, which bears particularly hard upon this town or that city—on a cloth, sugar, or silk district—on an opium, or salt province; or let us assume, what may be equally improbable, that a European chief functionary of justice, revenue, police, commerce, opium, salt, or the like, oppresses a distant province, whether from bad temper, from *positive* corruption, or from *negative* malversation in not preventing his swarms of officers and defendants from fleecing the helpless natives. In any of these cases, the Government has no means of coming at the facts of wrong suffered or imagined, except through official channels. No one likes to report that this tax, or that monopoly, will excite discontent or resistance in *his* district, for such reporters are not looked on kindly by the counsellor or secretary who patronized the tax. The spirit of discontent is not represented in strong enough colours. The Government remains in ignorance of the impending resistance until a positive revolt breaks out, being the only *constitutional* mode of resistance known from time immemorial in the East.

68. Then in regard to delinquencies of public officers, the Government in India is more overwhelmed with minute forms and tedious

paper proceedings than any on earth. Give it *regular* knowledge through "regular channels" that any thing is going wrong, and such wrong, in most cases that are flagrant, and do not too nearly touch on matters of revenue, will be fairly inquired into, and probably redressed. But suppose the official channels are themselves shut or polluted? Suppose a less flagrant case—namely, that the provincial "channels," being utterly dependent for their very subsistence on the good pleasure of Government, should not show any great alacrity to bear bad news or disagreeable representations to the supreme authority? Suppose some governor-commander, or counsellor, or even some secretary, should have happened to play the projector, and should view with parental fondness particular measures, and eye with coldness such as reported evil of his projects? Or, imagine cases of provincial malversation in a judge or collector, is the *oppressor* expected to be the ready organ of accusation against himself? Is the suffering party, a poor, ignorant, helpless Native, to put himself courageously forward in the breach, and to persevere in the unequal strife against power, riches, ingenuity, and prejudice, until he prevail in getting the Government to listen to him, and tumble his oppressor from his seat? Such expectations are truly preposterous, and it may be doubted if any one can be sincere, who professes to put faith in them, knowing the state of society in the East Indies.

69. Even in the Mohammedan days, it was the duty and the practice of the King in his capital, and of his deputies elsewhere, to sit "at his gate," and listen to the complaints of the meanest of his subjects. Doubtless, the duty was often neglected, and the practice as often reduced to a vain form; but the meaning was good, and the customs and tongues of every nation in the East show how deep-rooted and universal is the feeling, that the wrongs of the subject were to be freely and publicly heard. What substitute has the English system provided for this and other rude customs of appeal? A series of official complaints, through ascending "channels," to be conducted under forms that utterly overwhelm the poor suppliant by their magnitude, their intricacy, expense of time and money, and more than doubtful issue.

70. One would think that for such a frame of government, and state of society, the application of free discussion through the Press—anonymous (otherwise a mockery), but subject to severest penalties in case of falsehood—is the very one thing; the desideratum for India; that expedient which cannot fail to be of the clearest benefit both to governors and governed. Let us look at this more closely.

71. In India there are two grand divisions of inhabitants, connected in public relation, but mutually abhorrent of social connexion. One of these is the dominating race; the few, certainly, but the able, the opulent, the powerful, *White*. The other is the subjected class; the ignorant, the poor, the weak, the *Black*. Of the dominating race, a more select few monopolize all power and place in the state, from seats in the Supreme Legislative and Executive Council, down to the lowest deputyship of revenue or police. These select few are educated in England by the Company, at a separate seminary, as if to keep them a distinct caste from other English gentlemen; they go to India as candidates for public employment, (of which their order has a rigorous monopoly,) they are there entirely dependent on the good-will and favour of the

Government; appointed and removed at pleasure; extremely well paid when in office, in the greatest poverty and want if out of employment. They compose, as it is evident they cannot but do, a potent aristocracy of place, the only body in India answering to an aristocracy of any kind, since, by the Mohammedan system, which we found in play, no power, no property, could stand up between the one king and the many people; all of these were on a level, compared with him, and were kept down nearly to that condition, by the legal and illegal rapacity of their system.

72. The provinces of India are parcelled out into districts, or circles, that may be likened to large English counties; in each of these, many of which are from five hundred to a thousand miles from the seats of Government, one or two of these Company's European servants reside, to administer justice in the first instance, to superintend the police, to collect the revenue, and so forth; they are, in general, free from any of the restraints which the irksome vicinity of gentlemen, their equals in talent, wealth, and *complexion*, must necessarily impose on persons in power: they are, in truth, without any *moral* control, but their own consciences, for each chief stands alone in his proconsulate, erect amid thousands that lie prostrate. The *constitutional* controls and checks provided are, theoretically viewed, not inconsiderable, in respect of steps and gradations of appeal and complaint; but all labour under one common and radical defect—namely, that all are exercised by the same class of men; the same aristocracy of *place*, of *origin*, of *complexion*. The head of the Government, and the chief of the Army, are the only individuals in authority to whom this disqualification does not *always* apply: of these, one is not likely to engage actively in matters foreign to his habits, and particular sphere of duty, while the other, in general, occupies himself with the department of foreign policy, naturally leaving local and ministerial details to those of his colleagues, whom he presumes to be more experienced than himself, although, in reality, they are the worst fitted to sit in judgment on any part of a system, in the midst of which they have grown gray.

73. To this view of the state of society and frame of government in India, we may add, by way of finish to a very singular and original picture: *First*—That the legislative and executive powers are both in the same hands—those of the Council, consisting only of four men, of whom two or three are from the civil service of the Company, and one almost always a military man fresh from England. *Secondly*—That this Council is in the habit of corresponding with the Judges of its provincial courts on matters more or less connected with their judicial duties; and employs them in commissions of inquiry, political offices, and other matters not strictly judicial, while the highest Company's Judge in the country is removeable by the local Government, without cause assigned, or by the Court of Directors at pleasure. *Thirdly*—That the Judges of the Supreme King's Court, ostensibly set up to protect the people against the Government, are not themselves protected against the effects of that Government's displeasure as they ought to be, by being made irremoveable by his Majesty's Ministers, at the instance of the Company's Government, or of the Company or the Board of Control, who are, practically, one and the same. *Fourthly*—That, in all the Company's dominions, there is not an *institution* inde-

pendent of the ruling power, nor any admitted right of petition, or of meeting to petition. No corporations—no colleges—no privileged orders—no constituted bodies—in short, of any description, who have the *right* of addressing the Government in the collective form of "*we!*" The system of *centralization*, over which Bonaparte boasted, as completing the *beau ideal* of despotism, is thoroughly realized in India; where the shadow of political or municipal privilege is not to be found in any individual under the Government.

74. All this machinery is perfectly well understood among the parties concerned, actual and expectant holders of high office. Is it then very surprising, *First*—That distant *Pro-Consuls* should occasionally fall into malversation and injustice themselves, or slide into indolent, if not corrupt, connivance in the crimes of their *locusts* of native dependents. *Secondly*—That a fellow-feeling should prevail among the superior grades of the same order of men, if not to screen actual delinquency, at least to create as little public scandal as possible, for the reputation's sake of the Government itself; and still more for that of the order to which *all* in common belong. Parties interested may, and, doubtless, *will*, attempt to raise a cry of libel and calumny in this matter; but it will not be the less undeniably true, *First*—That any men, or order of men, similarly circumstanced, are likely, in all human probability, to yield to similar temptations, and to err exactly as the present civil servants of the Company are supposed liable to err. *Secondly*—That no imputation against all its individuals is necessarily contained in general remarks on viciously constituted public bodies; there always have been and always will be great exceptions—greater, because of the difficulty to resist temptation—to ordinary cases and maxims. *Thirdly*—That no body of men ought to be intrusted with vast powers, under circumstances that virtually take away, or infinitely enfeeble, responsibility.

75. But the Press seems to be expressly devised for coming into play in such a case as this of remote *lieutenants*, each clothed with almost unlimited happiness or misery, in respect to men under his sway, with whom he has few or no sympathies. If the Central Government wished it ever so much, if it were ever so free from bias towards its servants, and desire of giving the authorities at home an impression that all goes on well and smoothly abroad—it would not be in its power to exert an efficient and minute superintendence over those remote *lieutenancies*. Distance, intimidation, and fear of odium, too often hinder the truth from reaching the metropolis; and, if it *could* arrive there, its quantity and magnitude would exceed the powers of any *general* government to go into in detail. *But there is a method* by which distance may be made to vanish—a moral vicinage of talent and keenness be created, where none physically exists, to overawe idleness, injustice, favouritism, or peculation—by which the arm of Government may be nerved and elongated—its dim sight strengthened—its dull tympanum quickened. That method is the Press; and there is none other in the wit of man to devise, which shall effectually, and for any length of time, answer the desired purpose. It is for want of that engine which, when free, cannot be cajoled or silenced, that the Government, in India, is kept utterly in the dark on the very eve of those sudden and violent revolts of provinces, which every now and then arise from the oppressions of the "official channels," and the absence of all modes of constitutionally

opposing men in power. In no country might the Press be *such* a powerful SAFETY-VALVE as in India. It is folly, or hypocrisy, to say that the denunciations of a Free Press should not be *anonymous;* if its operations are *not* so far concealed, it loses all its real utility, and becomes only another mode of preferring accusations under attestations which expose the oppressed man, who turns the accuser, to all the persecutions of the accused, or of his brethren; the very evil which, by hypothesis, the Press should be set up to remedy. Is it then to be inferred, that any one of the friends of publicity, and to anonymous discussion, (the only shape in which it can be truly free,) desire to free the Press from responsibility for falsehood or proved malice?—Far from it: but it is a favourite mode of arguing this subject—the motives sufficiently obvious—to beg that part of the question, to assume a Free Press to mean the printing of *any thing*, without liability to punishment, however false, slanderous, or malicious; as if any offence against society ought to escape the visitation of law, because committed through one or another instrumentality, whether of Press, or speech, or action.

76. Few will deny that the Libel-law of England, as explained by modern Judges, is severe enough; so much so, that it would extinguish all public writing whatever, but for the attempering given by our Juries, even our special ones. Fewer will deny that one of those statutes, which are usually called the Six Acts, (1819,) makes the old law still more severe, by inflicting banishment for a second offence. Yet this severe body of law would be received with thanks and rejoicings, as the Press-Code of India, because administered by a Jury, even a special one. In exchange for the late illegal violence of revocable licenses, and for the terrible Star-Chamber mode of arbitrary banishment by a Council of Government, but without the trial and defence allowed even in that abhorred tribunal, any code which ensured a public trial would be a blessing. Suppose the power of summary banishment for presumed state-offences, of great danger and urgency, were taken from the Government, and vested in a full bench of the King's Court, under the same forms of public hearing, concurrence or rejection, which are at present in use, to pass a bye-law on the proposition of Government? This would be virtually enabling the authorities in India to take out of the hands of a Jury, and vest in those of the Judges, all such *extreme cases* as both executive and judicial power should concur in considering of imminent hazard to the welfare of the State. Such a change would be no small departure from constitutional principles; yet even this would be a blessing, compared with a state of law, or rather lawlessness, where the property and person of every Englishman are placed in the wanton, because irresponsible, hands of Government.

77. Fenced in by such powers as those of the English Libel-law, of 1819, and even (if it must be) with power of moving the King's Court to banish summarily, will not the Indian Government, the Civil Service, and the Company, consider themselves secure against the terrors of the Press? What can be the meaning of this extraordinary panic terror? What the extent and nature of the evil apprehended through the Press, a word which means no more than free intercommunication of thought between man and man? It has been shown (par. 58 to 61), that in the divided state of society, population and interests in India, all idea of *general* revolt, under reasonably good government, is out of the

question. If then a Government were actuated solely by the adherence to the general interest of the greatest number, and not by any particular interests of individuals or classes in the State, it is rigidly demonstrable that it would naturally form the strictest alliance with the Press, as a firm and fast friend, as the most powerful auxiliary conceivable, in the common cause of promoting good government. It is, indeed, true, that, in the first instance, individual writers and printers set up in order to their own advantage, in like manner as men pursue any other avocation that benefits the public secondarily, themselves primarily; such being the order of nature and society, that, in the struggle of individuals, each for his particular profit, the general profit is best wrought out. Hence, if an editor should depart from truth, frequently and wilfully, to appearance, or should seemingly give way to private hatred of himself or others, under colour of public good, or otherwise dissatisfy the society in which and by which he lives, it would be a signal to others to invest capital and labour in rival publications: self-interest would keep each alive to the falsehoods and faults of the other, and the *general* interest and advantage could not but profit by the detection of error and the promulgation of truth.

78. But it is said it would not be SAFE to allow the subjects of a government to print matters "tending to bring it into hatred and contempt." To this may be *asked*, by way of reply, if the government justly deserves hatred and contempt, ought it not to suffer such treatment? If I am told it ought not, then it will follow that crime should be protected, not merely from punishment by positive infliction, but from punishment by loss of good name; it will follow that a false impression is to be given of such a government, which is thus to derive support in its misconduct from falsehood, instead of being forced to cease meriting "hatred and contempt," that it may by such reformation avoid reproach. Evil is to be done that good may come of it: the end sanctifies the means! But where is a government to stop—a Christian government planted among immoral Hindoos, and talking largely of reforming them—where is it to stop if once it begins a career of falsehood and vice, as part of its ordinary ways and means? Did ever any government derive durable strength from such confusion of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood? You cannot hinder every individual from judging of the government as he thinks its acts deserve. You cannot hinder them all from *speaking* of it to one another; what then is gained by hindering the intercommunication of those evil opinions which, by supposition, (vide supra,) every body entertains? And in whose eyes is the gain obtained, of passing for what you are not? Not in the eyes of those who already think the evil, and know what you are; it must be in the eyes of others, foreigners, that you try to raise a false impression of respectability by keeping back the truth from being written. This, perhaps, is the real explanation of the extraordinary uneasiness testified on the subject of the Press. The Indian Government and the Company want to deceive England, America, and Europe, as to the true state of their dominions in the East. It is a remarkable fact that nothing offends a Press-censor, in all countries, more than any public allusion to his censorial erasures, and to the suppressions of truths and impressions of falsehood, which it is his occupation to create. This is, at least, a consolatory homage which political vice pays to virtue: the

false impressions would fail in their effect, if readers were fully apprized of the arts of censorial cookery employed to produce effect. In the last years of Bengal Censorship, it was considered the height of contumacy—a "*lese Majesté*" of the deepest dye, if an unfortunate editor, at a loss for matter to fill the chasms suddenly caused by the censorial pen, studded the gap with eloquent stars. Such are the caprices of despotic power; its objects must not only bear with its inflictions, but pretend as if they felt them not!

78. But if the Government does *not* merit hatred and contempt, and knows that it does not, why should it wince, like the galled jade, under every severe thing that any one may say of it? No good government ever was brought into lasting "contempt or hatred," unless it well deserved to be so; and a ruler, who is strong in conscious integrity, and in the knowledge that he always pursues the greatest good of the greatest number, will smile at the puny efforts of malignity to misrepresent him, assured that the delusion cannot last. But why suppose that the Press would be likely to try to bring into hatred and contempt rulers who did not merit such obloquy? He who prints what is *not* according to the opinions and tastes of a large class of readers, will not be read, nor, in a country like India, where there are no struggles of parties as in England, to obtain the conduct of public affairs, and a monopoly of loaves and fishes, will he long pursue the expensive amusement of printing for the gratification of private malice. He whose abusive strictures find continued encouragement and patronage from a considerable class, shows by that unquestionable proof, that his censures are not devoid of foundation. The former should be beneath the notice of a good government, the latter only so far worthy of notice as to draw attention to those evils of which the presence is indicated in the system, by the angry inflammation on the surface.

79. It is in vain, however, to argue on the reasons assigned by the Indian Governments for wishing to stop every press but their own paid one, and to suppress every thing like freedom of judgment or discussion on their measures. They will go on for ever assigning any reason but the true one for their unnatural hostility to that best friend which they and their masters at home can have. They know, too well, that there is *no* likelihood of any general revolt in India. They know that if there is danger of *partial* risings, in consequence of sheer despair and resistance to oppression, such insurrections have not a chance of ultimate success, while our general government is tolerably good; and, at all events, the Press has never had any thing to do with such revolts, not one of which has occurred since the Press was free. They know, besides, that not a score of Natives in all India are yet capable of reading, *to understand*, discussions in an English newspaper, and that the minds of a very inconsiderable number are yet matured to comprehend political discussion, even in the Native languages, fewer still being capable of translating such from English, and not a dozen, perhaps, of writing original matter on such topics. They know, finally, that if a Native or European journalist were to blow the trumpet of sedition, and summon the Blacks to rise against the Whites, the European editor, if he escaped the lunatic asylum, would have very little chance of escaping from the furious hands of the Whites, who must form the jury to try him for treason or sedition,—about as little chance as one

similarly situated in Jamaica would have from a jury of slave-drivers and planters. As to a *Native* editor, if in Calcutta, he must pass through the hands of a similar jury of Whites; if in the provinces, through the hands of a single White judge. All these pretended alarms for the "consequences" of a Press (subject to the English Libel-law) are miserable pretexts, the real object being to escape the shame of having faults and jobs exposed; they deceive nobody on the spot, however effective in Leadenhall-street and on the Stock Exchange. The Press has always been entirely free in our slave colonies, and the slave states of America; but who has ever yet been mad enough to employ it to rouse the Blacks to a servile war? In like manner the Press was virtually and practically free in India for several years posterior to 1818. Yet no man ventures, agreeable as it would be to those in power, to point out *any* injury that it did to the country or its rulers. If a free Press had been likely to produce danger, that danger *must* have been greatest at first starting from a state of thraldom, Yet never was India in profounder tranquillity—never, certainly, better governed! never so progressive!

80. The secret cause of hostility to the Press arises, most probably, on the part of the Directors of the Company, from an extreme unwillingness to draw more public attention than they can avoid towards India. They are egregiously deceiving themselves, if it be so, in supposing that any such policy will avail them in the approaching day of their utmost need; when their present victories and triumphant votes will be remembered bitterly against the petitioners, who will then be humbly soliciting a renewal of lease, and showing cause (against the merchants, manufacturers, and ship-owners, of the land) why they ought to have the confidence of the liberal and the pious continued to them. Times are greatly changed since 1813, when England had her hands too full to think much of the Company. There are *some* redeeming, and even constitutional points in the system of governing India through an organ of patronage not *directly* at the beck of the Minister of the day; and if the Directors wish to come before the public of England with a good case in 1833, they would do well to think of showing what they have done for the country intrusted to their management; what improvements, "intellectual, moral, and religious," they have encouraged, rather than come forward to make a merit of having quenched utterly the spark of Free Discussion that had been kindled by the most liberal of their Governors, and of having bound the intercommunication of thought among their subjects in India with stricter chains than had ever before been devised.

81. The irritation on the part of the local governments against free discussion, through the Press, appears to arise from none of the motives of alarm and so forth, which they have alleged through shame of confessing the littleness of the real motive. This seems neither more nor less than the love of undivided power—in other words, the preference of particular before the general interest common to all governments under the sun, and which should always be studiously counteracted in every good system of civil polity. It may almost be doubted if even the best earthly governments *heartily* love and cherish, perfectly free discussion. In India, to these ordinary feelings and motives are superadded others peculiar to the situation of that government, to its long enjoyment of

undisturbed absolute power, and to the nature and composition of the civil body. All these circumstances united produce, in the Indian authorities, a degree of arrogant conceit, of ludicrous bursting indignation, at the bare idea of any one not of the privileged order, or constituted authorities, presuming to have any opinion on public questions, or daring to obtrude it; to which Cervantes or Swift, perhaps, might have done justice. But the contiguous sublimity and burlesque are forgotten in the melancholy spectacle of free-born Englishmen thus de-nationalized and demoralized by long residence under a debasing system of arbitrary rule on one hand, and slavish submission on the other. Still more distressing is the recollection, that, for a time, at least, and until this indignant country shall recall powers that have been so abused, these men have it in their power to do very much evil, and to defeat the national wishes and schemes for the intellectual improvement and civilization of millions.

Section IV.—Efficiency of the Press in India as a local Check against Misrule.

82. The positions being established,—*First*, That the exercise of scrutiny and indirect control through the Press *in India*, is perfectly compatible with the SAFETY of our empire. *Secondly*, That such control is essential to the PERMANENT SAFETY of the country, however uncomfortable to rulers who desire not, *primarily*, the greatest good of the greatest number; it remains to prove the EFFICIENCY of such a local check. On this part of the argument it is unnecessary to dilate,—*First*, because most of the considerations affecting the questions of EFFICACY have been touched on incidentally, in the proof of SAFETY, in which they are necessarily involved. *Secondly*, Because to the EFFICACY of a Local Press, the Governments abroad bear the strongest of all testimonies, in their extreme alarm at the establishment of so unwelcome an intruder among the monopolists of office.

83. The favourite position put forth in all shapes and phrases by the enemies of free discussion, to catch unthinking people in England, is this—"There is no Public in India—therefore, no public opinion—therefore, no use for an organ to express it—therefore, a free Press can do no good, and may do harm," &c.—This is the language of Mr. Adam. It may be doubted if a more contemptible sophism ever before disgraced the manifesto of any ruler, or trusted in the weakness of those to whom it was addressed. But the Press in India was first silenced, and dared not expose the sophistry; it was hoped, therefore, that any bold begging of the whole questions at issue would suffice for people in England, when India was the subject.

84. "There is no Public in India," that is, no public capable of forming opinions worth attending to. No? Not even when they *praise* the political, military, financial, or judicial conduct of their rulers? Why, then, are they allowed to assemble and offer their incense? But we must examine this assertion a little more in detail.

85. *First, as to the public of India, generally*. It may suffice, perhaps, to ask who lent the State the forty millions sterling of which the Public Debt consisted but the other day? Unless it dropped from the clouds, perhaps, it may be conceded that they who lend such sums,

in any state in all the world, would not be thought very unreasonable in pretending to have *some* political existence, not to say influence, in public affairs!

It may also be asked, without exceeding arrogance, who were they that formed a large European, Portuguese, Armenian, and Native militia, at the several Presidencies, in the times of Lord Wellesley, when danger was apprehended from French and Mysorean hostility? That militia, horse and foot, was indeed afterwards put down, with many other obnoxious measures of the noble Lord; but because it *is* not, does it follow that it *was* not? or that there was not then a Public, and is not now one, infinitely greater in numbers and in moral force?

Finally, it may be demanded, and not without some claim to a grateful reply from the people of this country,—Did not the Indian Public, or *No-public*, of all classes and *colours*, come forward lately to subscribe between thirty and forty thousand pounds to the relief of the distressed Irish? Yet we are told they are as a negative quantity in the political arithmetic of the Honourable East India Company, and their honourable servants abroad.

It may suffice after this to enumerate a few institutions and employments in Bengal, in which Natives and Europeans are indiscriminately engaged, as Directors, Contributors, Managers, or Capitalists. Such are the Society with a large capital for clearing Saugor Island.

The banks of Bengal, Hindostan, and the Commercial Company.
The Native Hospital.
The School-book Society.
The Society for Native Education.
The Agricultural Society.

86. *Secondly, as to the non-existent Native public.* It is quite true that the Natives have not, and ought not to have, political weight according to their mere *numerical* strength; but it is not less true that those of them who reach to a certain degree in the scale of property, intelligence, education, and integrity, ought to carry with them the same weight which the like attributions would obtain for them in any other modern community.

87. This granted, it may suffice to notice that the Natives are creditors of the state to a vast amount, as RAM MOHUN ROY and his brethren assert in their unavailing Memorial and Protest against the purposed Restrictions of Governor Adam and Judge Macnaghten, a document which will be admired in more unprejudiced times, as a master-piece of reasoning and eloquence. The Natives are directly concerned in the various undertakings and societies mentioned (par. 85) under the head of the *general* public. Many of them, at the Presidencies particularly, are individuals of prodigious wealth, acquired in external commerce and interior traffic—Hindoos, Musulmans, Parsees, Portuguese, Armenian, and Indo-British, deeply concerned in shipping, ship-building, indigo planting, coffee planting, rum distilling, &c. &c. They have assembled and voted addresses of praise, pictures, statues, &c. to several of their Governors, and particularly to many retiring Judges of the Supreme Court, with whose distribution of justice they were satisfied. They lately voted addresses of praise to a Chief Judge of the Company's principal Court, on his leaving India, and again on his returning to fill a temporary seat in council. On the death of Warren Hastings, many

of them joined the European Community, who assembled to applaud that Governor General's conduct, and subscribed for a public monument to his memory, censured though he had been by repeated resolutions of the Commons of England, and subjected to impeachment.

88. Is it not, then, the most contemptible of drivelling to say, that such men as these are to be considered as political nonentities? Every day brings them, in some relation of their multifarious and busy occupation, into official contact with the King's Judges—the Company's Courts—the Magistracy—the Officers of Revenue; nay, in appeals with his Majesty in Council himself. Shall it then be boldly said by Englishmen, and to Englishmen, that men so situated have *not* a direct interest in the purity and efficiency of all those, and all other public establishments under the Government?—that they have not a just and lawful right, under responsibility, to scrutinize the conduct of such judges and officers, and so by shame intimidate them into doing their duty, if they think it is not done well? We may, perhaps, for some time longer, terrify the less advanced and more timorous Hindoos into submission to demands so extremely unreasonable as this: that they shall not meddle with the conduct of any of their superiors, however injurious to themselves. But how long can it be supposed that we shall be enabled to intimidate the HALF-CASTE population into such absurd acquiescence? Examples enough might be cited of the vanity of such human wishes, if examples were ever of any use to mother countries, urged on blindly to their fate. Our own America, St. Domingo, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, all might be quoted, but would be quoted in vain. Each nation in turn flatters itself *it* is in the right, and that there is something different in the particular relations of its remote dependencies from those of other nations that have gone before! Every state having colonies forgets that the growth of new and prosperous dependencies, and the increase of Creole population, are not to be measured by the same *time-standard* that marks the improvements of older people, and increase of population in advanced periods of human society. British India is now moving on in its course with considerable rapidity, nor will the puny efforts of the Company, or its servants, be able to stop, or materially retard, a career which, on the other hand, is accelerated even now, and will become much more so, presently, by the *overdone condition* of universal England; the redundancy of capital; redundancy of population; redundancy of public burdens and public unredeemable debts. In a thriving colony, twenty or thirty years do as much work as a century in an old country. He that has been absent from India for thirty years, is probably about as ill qualified to form an accurate notion of its present political and statistical position, its administration, the habits of public men and of society, or the *feelings* of the various classes of inhabitants, as "THE SPECTATOR" would be, if he had to rise, and write, at this day, a "Hermit in London." If we apply this observation to our Indian system, it will not be difficult to find a clue to much of the strange matter that is put forth, from time to time, about India. The remark that there is no Public in India, was felt—bitterly felt to be without foundation; but it was believed to be of a *sort* still current in Leadenhall-street.

89. *In the third place*, we come to the *European part of the non-existent Public of India*. It is composed, we are told, of soldiers,

officers, King's and Company's, and of Civil servants, besides a scum of inferior persons engaged in the law, in trade, shipping, or handicrafts, only residing in India by sufferance (the badge it seems of all this tribe). It is asked, with a sort of triumph, silly enough, considering the unlooked-for answer that *may* be given--Whether a greater absurdity can be imagined, than that of a government being controlled by its own servants, or those whose existence almost depends on its favour?

90. Now, in the first place, we might well deny much of the premises in this formidably looking argument; we might deny that a gentleman or nobleman, holding a commission in His Majesty's service, and stationed in this or that particular part of the King's dominions, forfeits the smallest title of his right to have and to deliver opinions (under responsibility) touching the conduct of the colonial government. If he can do this at home; if he can sit in Parliament, and oppose the King's domestic administration, can he not do so of a subordinate government? In like manner we deny that the liability to be tyrannically seized and transported, however it may intimidate, can be said to take away the legal *right* of a lawyer, a trader, nay of a Company's servant of any class, to judge, speak, or write as he thinks fit (under responsibility to law) of the local government.—But, waiving all these important doubts, let us grapple with the main position, that it is absurd to suppose a government "*controlled*" by its servants and dependents.

91. The sophism involved in this question lies altogether in the significant meaning artfully given to "CONTROL." If, indeed, by that were necessarily meant a PUBLIC and formal power, exercised by the servants, of out-voting their master, or an authority vested in avowed dependents, of OPENLY censuring or putting their *veto* on the acts of their benefactor, unquestionably this would be quite as absurd, as it is meant to be thought by those to whom it is thus adroitly put, in the hope that they will not detect the trick. But there is a wide difference, indeed, between DIRECT and INDIRECT control; as between *power* and *influence;* or between *force* and *persuasion.* The Press every where does undoubtedly CONTROL in one sense, because it influences the measures of Governments, either by shaming or convincing; but does the Press—*can it* CONTROL the operations of Governments in the same sense that Parliaments or Courts control Executive Authority? Yet in this unworthy confusion of terms—this affecting to employ the same word used by an adversary, but employing it in a sense that was not, and could not possibly be meant, lies the entire force of this stupidly-triumphant question, and of the reasoning derived from it! So we are told, with affectation of phraseology, that we should not apply the institutions of a highly civilized state to a less advanced state of society, as if there was question about FORCING the uncivilized to use the Press, to print, or write, or even read! or as if it were any good reason why those who are *sufficiently* advanced should not use the Press if they choose—that numbers of their countrymen are still unable to profit by or use it!

92. The very essence of a Free Press in all countries consists in the liberty of *anonymous* writing in matters of opinion or reasoning, and also in statements of fact, subject always to rigorous *legal* responsibi-

lity for every thing that is published. Take away the privilege of writing anonymously, and things will be no better than under the favourite system of "*official channels*" of complaint, although, therefore, it would be absurd to suppose a servant should *publicly* and avowedly arraign the measures of Government, or the (assumed) delinquency of a superior; yet so far from being preposterous or inexpedient that public servants should censure *anonymously* the measures or actions of any, whether above or below themselves, it is, in fact, a thing extremely to be desired, *first*, because the DIGNITY of *Government*, which might be thought compromised if it were arraigned by its own servants, is effectually saved by the anonymousness: *secondly*, because all it has to think of in this case is not who wrote, but what is written: *thirdly*, because none can be so fit and qualified to judge of public measures and public men as that very class who are solely employed in public affairs from their infancy, and who are eulogized in the strongest terms by Governor Adam (himself one of their number) for their capacity and distinguished qualities. But, at any rate, we should think the Directors at home ought to be very glad to get servants of so much experience and ability to write (anonymously) in the public prints, seeing that in no other conceivable way could the Directors so well discover what *was* doing—what was *not* doing—and what *ought* to be doing by their stewards and servants abroad.

93. But if it is proved to be innocent and even expedient that the Company's civil servants should apply themselves to influence the acts of Government, and their fellow servants, through the Press, (provided always they do so under the decorous garb of anonymousness,) it is needless to go further and prove that the *servum pecus*,—the *canaille*, of men of traffic,—law,—handicraft, &c. may use the Press with still more propriety than the Company's own servants, (provided always they do it in a respectfully anonymous way, as in duty bound towards those who claim to be as the breath of their nostrils). Probably, however, communications of this inferior class will not be likely to prove very useful to a Government of such high pretensions to infallibility.

94. And is there, then, no European "Public" in the great Presidential cities of India? It was not thought so of old, when they assembled in their Town Halls, or their Churches, built by subscription, to lend their weight *in support* of measures or men favoured by the government.—There they petitioned the Crown, in despite of *Sir Elijah Impey* and his brethren; unsuccessfully petitioned indeed to have their Juries restored in civil suits; when they voted addresses and money to Warren Hastings, though under the ban of Parliament; when they subscribed to Loyalty loans and contributions in 1798; when they addressed the late King on Hatfield's attempting his life, and other occasions; when they complimented every possible Governor or Commander, in coming and going; formally approved Lord Wellesley's *political* plans, and Sir Arthur Wellesley's military conduct; when they formed themselves into Missionary Societies—Bible Societies—Tract Societies—Native Education Societies—School Book Societies—Agricultural, and Horticultural, and Literary Societies—Companies for clearing jungles and waste land, building theatres, &c; when they came forward to assist in the preservation of order and save expenses by forming unpaid Magistracies—when they set up Orphan Schools—

Hospitals—Dispensaries—and similar institutions—when they were called to receive (as an acknowledged Public) from Lord Hastings a *conte rendue* of the greatest political and military operations ever undertaken in India—when they hailed the liberation of the Press in speeches and addresses, and, in short, did every thing which a Public, not actually holding any share in the Government or Legislation could well do, *to prove its existence.*

95. Times indeed are somewhat changed within the last few years, every thing thus savouring of free institutions is now carefully and jealously put down—the Press is destroyed; and the Supreme Court an Independent and Royal Court of Judicature, has *not* scrupled to rivet the fetters of publicity, and to accept at the hands of Government, which this Tribunal was instituted to check, *a scandalous immunity against free scrutiny and remark on the conduct and opinions of the Judges!!* a thing as yet unparalleled in the annals of British Justice elsewhere. The privileges of the inhabitants have been variously curtailed in the control over the public Charity-fund, which the Government have handed over to a close self-selected Vestry; and in the abolition of their ancient right as a *Grand Jury to assess their own* house-tax.

96. But in the midst of these mutations, all of which are in the same spirit favourable to power and against the community, it is somewhat consoling to observe that the noble privilege of voting *agreeable* addresses remains unimpaired, provided always that things be done with the ceremonial prescribed by jealousy to take away real freedom of speech and opinion, while preserving all the appearances to the world of perfect independence. Since the epoch when the "public" voice was solemnly declared in print, by Governor Adam, to have no existence, legal or actual, this very same unreal, mockery of a Public appears to have awarded (or ridiculed) that illustrious declarant, by voting him empty compliments and a substantial picture. The same shadowy body has also performed the usual Ko-tou before the shrine of the new Ruler of their destinies;—and another section of this phantom—the non-existing Public—has even gone so far (headed indeed by a Major-General on the staff) as to congratulate Governor Adam, and *itself*, on his triumphant completion of the work, he had long it seems meditated, of crushing the last remnant of free opinion, and crowning it by a sacrifice—not indeed of himself—but of a defenceless individual, his family, and prospects, which are all reduced to ruin by Mr. Adam's act! This temporary Governor is not ashamed to take part in this despicable comedy; he affects to consider this addressing, but non-existing, Public, of military station, headed by their General, as an honest independent body "daring to be honest in the worst of times." He answers—*admitting their right to approve* and disapprove political acts, coquets as to his own merits, and finally allows that he *deserves* that praise they are so well qualified to bestow! True it is that all this consistent stuff has recently been exchanged between these personages; and to complete the humour of the thing, it is all carefully sent to the newspapers by some officious person or other, just as the discussions are coming on. But injudicious friends would do well to learn, that similar addresses are utterly valueless, and below contempt, in a community where all hold their offices, actually and

prospectively, at the will of the person addressed; and the reason is, precisely *because* they are signed publicly. In such a country, *anonymous* praise is worth a wilderness of addressing major-generals, because good ground must be assigned for the good opinion, and the anonymous *be-praiser* cannot be suspected of interested motives. Herein lies the marked difference between a free and a servile community. It is only in the former, that *open* praise is of value; in the latter all such is justly suspicious. What value can Governor Adam set in his heart upon the approval of those who, as he has written and printed, are not free to *dis*approve?

Section V.—Conclusion—and Connexion of the Press with Colonization.

98. The case, as originally proposed, is now closed. It is believed to be proved,

First, That if the good of the great body of the governed be truly desired, it is quite indispensable they should be protected against the severity of the Government, and misconduct of European and Native servants.

Secondly, That as NO INSTITUTIONS of any sort, independent of the Government, exist in India, the only possible substitute is, the Press, which enables men freely and *anonymously*, but under severe *legal* responsibility, to intercommunicate their thoughts, and to exercise an *indirect* control and check on the measures of Government, and the conduct of its servants.

Thirdly, That none *ought* to have a greater interest in the operations of the Press, than, 1st, The *Indian Governments*, who cannot possibly govern their immense regions without some such auxiliary to their direct superintendence. 2dly, The *Court of Directors*, who cannot otherwise know both sides of every story, or what is really going on abroad. 3dly, The *Proprietary Body*, who desire to review the acts of *all* their servants fully, at home and abroad.

Fourthly, That if this expression of public opinion through the Press be limited to England, it must necessarily be without EFFICACY, or even PERMANENT SAFETY to the common interests of the people of India and England.

Fifthly, That in India alone, it can be exercised with *complete* EFFECT and *perfect* SAFETY.

99. One only topic remains to be noticed, and that addresses itself chiefly to those persons in England, whether manufacturers, stockholders, Indian annuitants, ship-owners, underwriters, or others, who are connected with India, and interested in its prosperity.

100. It is vulgarly supposed, and no little pains have been taken to spread the notion, that the body of men in question have no near interest in the establishment of a more liberal system and institutions for British India. There cannot be a more entire or fatal mistake.—None can possibly have a *nearer* interest than they, in the development of the vast resources and powers of that country; and they are cautioned to turn a deaf ear—or rather a well-prepared ear towards such as, for their close and sordid purposes, endeavour to inculcate this selfish doctrine, and thereby, to keep India from obtaining the good wishes and powerful aid

of friends in England, in order that they may have her all to themselves, to serve their little turn.

101. Nothing is more undeniably true in political economy than this: that a nation cannot import more than she can pay for by exports. If India be not allowed to make the most of her natural products, in silk, cotton, sugar, indigo, saltpetre, coffee, &c. how is it possible she can take the manufactures of England to any amount?—If, in these respects, India were allowed to do her utmost, there is scarcely a limit to her power of taking manufactures. What hinders her from making the most of her products? Why does she not substitute, in her infinitely varied soil and climate, the finer cottons of the West for the inferior staples, which are indigenous to her? Why does she not indefinitely extend the growth and fabrication of silk? Why not improve the manufacture of sugar, according to the more finished processes of other countries?

102. The reason is two-fold, 1st. European skill, intelligence, and superintending industry, are excluded from employment, owing to the absurd and pernicious prohibition of Colonization. 2d. European capital is excluded from overflowing and enriching that boundless field, Indian agriculture. What *might* be done by European skill and capital, we see, by the creation, in our own times, of the indigo culture and manufacture. It had scarce any existence thirty years ago: now it produces, annually, eight or nine millions of pounds, and the finest qualities, equal to the old indigo of Mexico. All this is *entirely* the work of European skill and capital: it is believed to be owing chiefly to the policy of his Majesty's Ministers, that India was so far thrown open to enterprise.—A second such effort has never been made.

103. But nothing can be done towards this great work without COLONIZATION—not by means of a resort of labouring men; for such there is no room, nor would the climate admit of their working—but by a resort of men possessed of capital, education, and talents to direct the labour of others, and willing to render *militia*-service in case of invasion or rebellion.

104. COLONIZATION can never take place until that absurdest of bye-laws is repealed; which hinders Europeans from holding land in their own names,—a law that encourages and winks at mendacity, and public immorality.

105. COLONIZATION can never take place until every man's property and person, of whatever class, colour, or religion, be put under the protection of *known* and equal laws, that leave no pretext for imprisonment, banishment, fine, or confiscation, but by the sentence of impartial, public, and independent tribunals. To this end the power of transportation by Government, without trial, and the system of licensing Europeans at all, must be repealed, as the very first preliminaries.

106. COLONIZATION would increase the imports of British manufactures into India, not only by adding incalculably to the amount of exchangeable exports—not only by adding immediately and remotely to the numbers of consumers, but also by diffusing a taste for luxuries and conveniences, and gradually raising the *standard* of want, and thereby of happiness. India is at present at the very lowest step of the *ladder* of civilized life. The food, raiment, shelter, requisite for mere support of life, are all of the commonest and scantiest kind; in consequence of this and of the unfortunate stimulus given to early marriage by the per-

nicious customs of the Hindoos, the country swarms with redundant—but wretched—population, and the smallest scarcity carries with it the same tremendous effects as in potatoed Ireland.

107. All impartial travellers admit that the districts of India where European Indigo Planters have settled most thickly, are by far the most flourishing and prosperous. Such are the undoubted effects of European capital and example. All India might be *such* as these Indigo districts are.

108. But owing partly to the prohibition against investing European capital in land or agriculture, it is prodigiously accumulated in the hands of the great capitalists at the principal settlements. Unable to find a profitable, secure, and reasonable vent, it seeks investment in the Public Funds, which bear no proportion there to the wants of the capitalists, and which the Company are every day reducing still further in amount, to the great distress of thousands, and disquiet of those who think that one of our great securities for Native attachment is the vast quantity of the Public Funds which they hold in perfect confidence.

109. Thus the Public Funds rise prodigiously, and the general rate of interest falls vastly below the level at which it *would* stand, if capital were free to find its level in employment, whether agricultural or other.

110. The consequence of this unnatural rise of Funds and fall of Interest is, that the Government seize the occasion of paying off capital Debt, and reducing Interest, thereby adding immeasurably to the distresses of absentees, annuitants, and others, in England; of public charities, settlements, &c. &c. in India, all of which are invested in the stocks, because they are arbitrarily hindered from investment in landed property. But for this unjust prohibition, the acts of Government in paying off and reducing interest would be quite right: as it is, they profit by their own violence and wrong.

111. These are some of the views which it was at one time hoped the Freedom of Discussion by the Press in India might have helped to accomplish. Certain it is, that *without a Free Press there*, none of the benefits mentioned above, as so anxiously desired for India by her real friends, could, even if procured, be preserved against the vast power and influence of a government, which may be said *substantially* to hold in its hands the legislative, judicial, and executive powers, with all patronage, and not a corporation or institution of any kind to oppose it in any thing. It was believed that the shortest and surest way to obtain these benefits, in the first instance, was to bring men's minds, by dint of discussion, to see the necessity for such improvements. Perhaps this may have been the very reason why, from its outset, the Indian Press was viewed with such unmeasured hostility and alarm. It cannot be expected that the Company or the Company's servants should take the same interest in the improvement of the resources of India, and the happiness and productive powers of the people, that others do who are virtually Colonists, from *birth* or connexions, or whose fortunes and families are staked on the welfare of that country. The revenue of India already overpays its charges—what more could the Company gain by troubling themselves with dreams of improvement? What could the Company's servants gain beyond their salaries, of which they are quite secure in the present condition of the country?

112. It is now for the Merchants and Manufacturers of this country

to determine whether they choose to support the present close system, or to compel—for compel they *can*, if they *will*—a more liberal one. Of one thing, however, they may be assured,—that the Question of the Press is inseparably bound up with their interests and those of India—interests which are but one and the same, AND WHICH MUST SOONER OR LATER PREVAIL.

A PROPRIETOR OF INDIA STOCK.

STANZAS TO ADAH.

WHILE o'er thee now the sun of joy
Is shining with its brightest beam,
And pleasures haunt (alas! to cloy)
Thy daily thought, thy nightly dream;
While jaundiced wealth, or despot power,
In countless crowds thus worship thee,
I would not have thee cloud the hour—
I would not have thee think of me.

The sky that floats above thee now
Speaks endless summer to the eye;
The voice that breathes the luring vow,
The trembling and delusive sigh,
Appear the offspring of a love
Whose every hope is wrapped in thee:
I would not have thee *faithless* prove—
I would not have thee think of me.

The lip that now is pressed to thine,
The panting form that hovers near,
Are shadows of delights once mine—
Of bright delusions past, yet dear:
But while voluptuous mirth is seen
To hold its revel thus with thee,
Oh, turn thee not to what has been—
I would not have thee think of me.

Thou hast a lip where young love plays
With all his beauty, all his guile,
Oh, do not think, when others praise,
An absent one has shared its smile.
Thou hast an eye, whose sparkling light
Has drawn th' adoring throng to thee;
When others hail its beamings bright
I would not have thee think of me.

But Adah, if o'er thee should lour
The storm of life in years to come,
Oh, think thee in that cheerless hour,
There still is left one guardian home;
When all who worshipped in the day
Of gladness, have deserted thee,
And fled like dearest dreams away—
I then would have thee think of me.

D.

HISTORY OF A SECOND DAY AT THE INDIA HOUSE.*

Varied as our experience of men and things has been, we have met with nothing, amid that variety, so truly *unique*, so entirely differing from all other scenes and objects in the world, as the Great Temple of Folly, in Leadenhall-street, where despotism and democracy—power and puerility—affectation and absurdity—seem to have met in their extremes, and to have produced, by the incongruous mixture of their materials, as sovereign an enchantment as the witches' cauldron in Macbeth;† for, like that, it seems to steep the senses in oblivion, and lead all who come within its influence to irrecoverable infatuation. Whether the lordly confederates of this distinguished body are believers in the power of enchantment or not, we do not know; but as, among other symptoms of wisdom exhibited in their proceedings, they are decided enemies to the monster "Innovation," nothing is more probable than that they deprecate the repeal of the law against sorcery as much as they would the repeal of their own monopoly, each being founded on the same happy ignorance, and each being ultimately doomed to the same inevitable fate.‡

We have instanced despotism going hand in hand with democracy. Here is the proof—A speaker with unblushing front (it should be stated, however, that he was a practised legal advocate) insisted not only that the Indian government always *had* been a despotism, but added that it always *would* and *must* be so: and insisted that it was much

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* For a sketch of the First Day, see the Oriental Herald, vol. ii. p. 419.

† Add thereto a tiger's chaudron,
For the ingredients of our cauldron;
Cool it with a baboon's blood,
And then the charm is firm and good.

‡ The "wisdom of our ancestors," long since the Company's first charter was granted, was exemplified in their passing the following admirable laws: "If any person shall use any invocation or conjuration of any evil or wicked spirit; or shall consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward any evil or cursed spirit, to or for any intent or purpose; or take up any dead man, woman, or child out of the grave; or the skin, bone, or any part of the dead person, to be employed or used in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or enchantment, whereby any person shall be destroyed, killed, wasted, consumed, pined, or lamed in any part of the body; every such person, *being convicted*, shall suffer death." The "wisdom of our ancestors," which passed this law, has been decreed by the moderns to be the grossest folly, and the law has been repealed accordingly. Let us see if the "wisdom of our contemporaries" is of a much higher kind. They enact as follows: "It is the duty of this country to introduce religious, moral, and intellectual improvement into India. It is the will of the Government that British subjects trade freely with the East India Company's possessions in the East. It is the determination of His Majesty and his Parliament, that British courts of justice be maintained in India for the due protection of all classes in their respective rights. Nevertheless, if any man be found attempting to introduce this moral and intellectual knowledge; if any man be found trading freely with the natives of India; he shall, at the pleasure of the ruling Governor, whoever he may be, and without reason assigned, be seized, banished, and ruined, without any form of trial, or without the protection of those very courts which we have sent there especially to guard him from oppression." This is the wisdom of our own times:—By how much is it better than the folly of the times gone by?

more favourable to the country than freedom. At the same time, we see in the India House itself, annual election of representatives,* universal suffrage,† and the vote by secret ballot,‡ the three distinguishing characteristics of radicalism:—of which the utmost abhorrence is generally expressed by those very men who obtain their seats through its most essential forms. We have instanced power and puerility—here are our proofs: The Chairman, supreme in his directorial dignity *within* the bar; and a candidate for those high honours *without* the bar, soothing the Court with a train of flatteries, which a Hazelwood boy of fourteen would annihilate in the space of as many minutes. We have enumerated affectation and absurdity; and for this union we need only refer to one whose name will appear in due form hereafter, but who must be *heard*, and not merely reported, to appreciate duly the amusing affectation of superior wisdom, and the melancholy display of corresponding imbecility, which mark his orations, and perpetually remind the audience of the

Parturiunt montes—nascetur ridiculus mus.

Let us proceed, however, to give the reader, a picture of the scene of which we were on this occasion a witness, and lay before him, for his own inspection, a few of the choice *morceaux*, which we gathered up from among "the fragments that fell beneath the rich men's table," at this ample feast:—the whole would prove too much for any moderate digestion.

From the circumstance of the day being set apart to the sole and especial consideration of the question respecting the Indian Press, the Court was well filled at an early hour, and the gallery was literally crowded. Among the auditors in that elevated region, were conspicuous, two gentlemen recently arrived from India, and no doubt deeply interested in the proceedings of the day.

One of these distinguished visitors was the Reverend Joseph Parson, the original author of the expressive alliteration "pernicious publicity," as applied to the discussion of public measures of every description—a steady and determined enemy of the freedom of the press in India—an advocate of arbitrary power—a holder of pluralites—a newspaper controversialist, in favour of select vestries, closed doors, secret accounts, and irresponsible trustees, in the dispensation of public charities. This reverend gentlemen was also chief adviser of Major-General Hardwick, of the Indian army, a public patron of the John Bull, a secret enemy of the Calcutta Journal, who convened the majors, captains, and lieutenants of the Company's artillery, first at the regimental mess-room at Dum-Dum, and then at his own house, on pretence of military duty, but in reality to propose the expulsion of the Calcutta Journal from the mess; in which

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* Six of the Directors go out annually by rotation, and their places were intended to be supplied by an annual and popular election: but there is a certain "House List," of which we shall have more to say hereafter, who correspond with the patrons and members of close boroughs in Parliament, being sure of the vacancies from the mutual interchange of corrupt influence.

† This includes men, women, and children, possession of stock being the only qualification required.

‡ The secrecy is as complete as could be desired.

he was three successive times defeated by the opinions of the majority of his own officers, many of whom have been subsequently punished by the Indian Government, for daring to maintain their right to read any Paper they think best.

The other distinguished stranger was Mr. Henry T. Prinsep, one of the six Secretaries to the Bengal Government, who prosecuted the Editor of the Calcutta Journal for a libel, and were defeated by the verdict of an English Jury declaring the accused Not Guilty;—but who, nevertheless, rich, powerful, and numerous as they were, suffered the innocent defendant to be saddled with upwards of 600*l.* costs, although in the right. We should add, in candour, that Mr. Prinsep is said to have instructed his friend Mr. Trant to declare, that though an impression had gone abroad that *all* the Government Secretaries had written against Mr. Buckingham in the Indian John Bull, yet he had never so written. "Better late than never," says the proverb; but this tardy avowal is almost too late to be of any value. Why it was not made in India, where the impression was almost universal that the Secretaries generally wrote in the John Bull, and where the Government, when distinctly informed of this, never ventured to deny it, may be easily explained. It was the passport to favour and distinction in India; and individuals have since avowed that they even wrote against their feeling and conviction, in opposition to the friends of a free press in that country, with a view to save themselves from the persecutions of the Indian Government, who in this dispute would admit of no neutrality, and seemed to adopt the maxim—"He that is not with us is against us." It appeared, indeed, as if it had been decreed by them that "all manner of wickedness should be forgiven," except that of contending for the Freedom of the Press, which was the "secret crime," never to be pardoned "either in this world or that which is to come." To calumniate the friends of that Freedom, was to redeem every other fault, and the garb of hatred to all the virtues of Englishmen, there possessed the qualities so beautifully ascribed to the divine robe of charity, which is emphatically said "to cover a multitude of sins."—In England, however, some degree of odium is attached to such a perversion of official influence as that exercised in India by those government functionaries who first endeavoured to write down an opponent in argument, and failed; then prosecuted him, and failed; then combined to set up a Paper of their own, to calumniate him, and failed; and lastly, urged and procured his banishment, in the hope of thus silencing his efforts for the freedom of his fellow-men; and, even in that also, covered themselves with disgrace, and in all their attempts at justification most signally failed.

It is well, therefore, for Mr. Prinsep, now that the atmosphere of England has purified his vision, to see that a disavowal of any direct participation in these infamous proceedings in India was necessary to his reputation. It would have been more manly and generous to have made it on the spot, and at the time when these transactions were rife and in full operation. But, late as it is, we are glad to receive it; first, because it proves that virtuous feeling is not irrecoverably extinct; and next, because Mr. Prinsep is one of the few among the Indian Secretaries, of whose talents and private worth we have always thought favourably, and shall always be glad to entertain a good opinion.

We trust that these illustrious visitors were gratified by the amiable

light in which their friend and patron, Mr. Adam, was exhibited to the British public; and we should be glad to see them in the arena, either disavowing publicly all participation in his degrading sentiments, or entering boldly on their defence. But we must pass onward to the business of the day.

The state of the Press in India, and the conduct of Mr. Adam and Lord Amherst towards its conductors was ably stated by the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird, in a speech of considerable length, of which a faithful report will be found in another part of our present Number, and the perusal of which will satisfy all our readers of its clearness, accuracy, and powerful ability, though it is not easy to convey a faithful impression of the earnestness which marked its delivery. His speech concluded with a motion for the production of all the minutes of Council, and correspondence between the authorities in England and India, on the subject of the Press, from the year 1818 to the present time.

This motion was seconded by Mr. Hume, who reserved what he was prepared to say on the subject until a more advanced stage of the debate.

It might have been expected that the Directors, convinced as they profess themselves to be, of the propriety of all the late measures for fettering the Indian Press, would have rejoiced at an opportunity of producing the papers required, and overwhelming the complainants with the powerful mass of evidence by which they could establish the justice of their case. This would have been the course of honest, of honourable, and of innocent men, strong in their integrity, and invulnerable to attack. This was *not* the course which the Directors chose to pursue. Apparently, however, unwilling or ashamed to speak themselves on a subject on which every man among them ought to deliver his individual opinion, they put forth a legal advocate, not one of their own body, but one who has been before retained for their defences, to dogmatize from behind their bar with all the air and authority of a Director; and, like a true lawyer, to speak as he is instructed, to confound all distinctions between right and wrong; and stop at no means that will best effect the purpose of establishing the positions of those whom he is thus engaged to defend. The speech of such a man may be thought by many as entitled to no consideration whatever, and they would, perhaps, commend our passing it by with that silent neglect which ought to attend such productions. But we shall not, for a long time to come, perhaps, possess such abundant proofs of the contemptible figure which he who advocates injustice and absurdity is sure to make in the eyes of reasonable beings, as this speech of Mr. Impey affords, and we shall therefore analyze it with the care of a surgeon, dissecting, for the first time, some monstrous abortion of nature that he is never likely to see again. To the report of the whole debate, which will be found in another place, we have affixed some short notes beneath the speeches of Mr. Impey, General Malcolm, and Mr. Trant, which "he who runs may read;" but these being necessarily brief and hurried, we may be permitted to enlarge here, somewhat more fully and freely than could be done there; more especially as we have the authority of the three speakers named, for the undoubted benefit, as well as right, of the freest and fullest discussion of public men and measures in England. Let us then proceed to our task.

Mr. Impey sets out in his oration with a very popular avowal, and one which generally carries along with the avower, the sympathies of all his

hearers,—a professed objection to *ex-parte* statements. All men dislike these when made *against* themselves, their friends, or their party; but few men carry their scruples so far as to have the same horror of ex-parte statements, when made *in favour* of their own cause. Just so with Mr. Impey: he begins by saying, "Let us hear no more about Mr. Arnot; his case stands on *ex-parte* evidence; and we have not yet received the accounts of the transaction from official sources in India." The answer to this is, that Mr. Arnot's case does *not* stand on ex-parte evidence. It stands on the official letters of the Bengal Government itself; and on the public proceedings of the Supreme Court in India; of which, though the Directors may be ignorant, all the world beside are fully informed, as these official letters and proceedings have been published in the Journals of this country months ago, and their authenticity never once questioned or denied.

Mr. Impey next advances this new and ingenious position:—"As to Mr. Buckingham, (says he,) the Court must perceive, on the face of his complaint, that he cannot have been treated unjustly or illegally; for he has appealed to the Directors and the Board of Control; and they, after examining his case, refuse to grant him any redress." This has the merit of originality, at least. Then, if the servants of one institution, such as the British Museum for instance, rob an individual who visits their building, and the masters of these robbers do all they can to screen their servants from justice, and refuse to grant the injured individual redress, it is to be inferred, according to Mr. Impey's doctrine, that no such robbery has taken place, or that if it did, it was perfectly just and legal! This may be a convenient doctrine for oppressors; but it remains to be seen, whether the oppressed will acquiesce in it. The very refusal to grant redress, which is urged as proof of no injustice being sustained, is only an aggravation of the original injury, and shows, that to robbery and spoliation, there are some men who will not scruple to add an insolent denial of restitution; and on that very denial, ground their proof of legality and justice. Heaven help the unhappy victims who are to be dealt with according to such a doctrine as this!

Mr. Impey, in his zeal to rid the Indian Government of all responsibility to the Court of *Proprietors*, insists upon their conduct being subject only to the revision of the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control; and then exclaims, "But even if Mr. Buckingham be injured in his person or property, this Court is not the place in which he should seek for redress."—What! if the Directors, the *servants* of the Proprietors, may take cognizance of the conduct of their functionaries in India, may not the Proprietors, who are the *masters* of these Directors at home, also take notice of the conduct of their servants' servants abroad? This would be an invasion of "social order" indeed, and is the most revolutionary system of which we have yet heard; for it is not content with merely "levelling" all classes to the same rank, it absolutely sets the servants *above* the masters; and goes further than either Jack Cade, Wat Tyler, or the most infuriated rebel ever conceived, as a general system of responsibility in masters, and irresponsibility in those who are paid by them for their services.

Mr. Impey almost excels himself, however, when he comes to speak of a professional point, in which it is impossible to say whether we should most admire the candour or the logic of the "learned" gentle-

man. He says, that Mr. Buckingham was not removed from India, until after he had broken every "Regulation" laid down for the press; and then, he exclaims, "It is not for *me* to decide whether these Regulations were *laws* or not."—Here is a hopeful member of the *legal* profession! His brother quibblers have no other guide than that which he altogether contemns. With them it is not usual to ask whether a certain act is just or otherwise; but is always a sufficient justification of it in their minds, to say it is *law*. Mr. Impey, however, cares as little about the law, as about the justice of the case, and will not bend to either. It is sufficient for him, that it was a "Regulation,"—lawful or unlawful, it is all the same. But Mr. Impey seems to have yet to learn, that the Circular Letter for fettering the press, was not even a Regulation. No rules of the Indian Government can become a Regulation, unless passed with the sanction of the Supreme Court, which this Circular never received; and, therefore, *not* being law, a thousand breaches of its conditions could not constitute a crime. This, however, is not an argument that Mr. Impey is likely to understand, lawyer as he is; for to him, he avows, it is a matter of perfect indifference whether a certain rule or order be lawful or not; and, therefore, supposing the Circular to have prohibited Englishmen from communicating freely with their lawful wives, and obliged them to cohabit with concubines of the country, any breach of its unlawful commands would, according to Mr. Impey's notions, have been a crime; and for refusing to obey this, or any other unjust or unlawful order, depriving Englishmen of their rights, a man might be banished without trial, and without even a reason assigned! Mr. Impey, however, is not content with this shameless avowal of irreverence for the law by which he lives; he bolsters up his disregard of it by a palpable misstatement. He says, "It is of no consequence to me, whether the Rules of the Circular for restraining the press, were *laws* or not. Lord Hastings treated them as such; and they were even considered in that light by Mr. Buckingham himself." How it was possible for any man, having the slightest regard to his reputation for knowledge or consistency, to give utterance to such a declaration as this, we know not; but as it is a matter of indifference to Mr. Impey, whether an act is lawful or unlawful, so also it may perhaps be a matter of equal indifference to him, whether an assertion be true or false. Mr. Buckingham never did acknowledge these Rules in question to be *laws*, although he promised to do his best to observe their tenor and spirit, as he would that of any other rules made equally binding on all; and, indeed, his occasional seeming disregard of them was, in almost all cases, forced on him, in order to defend himself from the wanton and unprovoked aggressions of others, who were allowed to violate them daily with impunity. But so far was Mr. Buckingham from acknowledging these Rules to be *laws*, that he repeatedly, again and again, denied their legality, both in open controversy, and in correspondence with the Government; and it is made one of Mr. Adam's most serious charges against Mr. Buckingham, that he had the temerity to say, of these Rules, "that in point of law, they were mere waste paper." This is certainly a strange way of acknowledging what Mr. Impey has either ignorantly or perversely imputed to another.

The favourite topic of "repeated warnings" is next introduced: and it is thought the height of presumption in any man to complain against

being visited with disastrous consequences, if he had been previously warned that such consequences would be the result of his refusal to comply with certain conditions imposed. This point was pressed in the House of Commons, by Mr. Astell, as the strongest that could be adduced, and met in that assembly with the contempt and ridicule which it deserved. The whole essence of this matter lies in the question, "Were the acts warned against, innocent or criminal? Were the consequences threatened, lawful or otherwise?" A highwayman generally gives warning to those he may wish to rob, by saying, "If you do not yield me up your purse, I will banish you summarily from this world to the next." A pirate too gives warning before he boards, and says, "Strike your colours and yield up all your right of property, or I will sink you if you resist." So also the Indian Government, in this respect no better than either of the former, says, "Yield up to us entirely all your privileges as freemen: abandon the most precious of your birthrights, the liberty of speech and writing, subject only to the trial by jury, or we will banish you at our mere decree, without a reason assigned. Your lives and fortunes are entirely in our hands, therefore bow the neck for us to trample on, or we will exile you from your property, your pursuits, and your connexions, without even a reason assigned." Are such warnings lawful? are such threats just? It may be a matter of indifference to Mr. Impey whether they are so or not; but the world will not be so conveniently neutral in the matter. If it be lawful or just to use this power of banishment to threaten a British subject out of the exercise of any *one* right belonging to him by his birth and country, then it must be equally lawful to use the same power to threaten him out of the exercise of any *other* right, either that of his domestic enjoyment, his freedom of religion, his security of property, or any other of those possessions which belong to man in civilized society. In short, to admit the justice of exercising this right of warning a man against any thing which the Government may wish not to be done; and to countenance the power of punishing the neglect of such "warnings," whatever they may be, without reason assigned, is to set a Government above all law, and to break down all those barriers of reciprocal duty and protection, by which civilized communities can alone be distinguished from savage hordes.

Mr. Impey soon advances, however, to his legitimate conclusion upon these diabolical premises. He says, "While *we* have the administration of the Government of India, that Government must always be despotic:—it *has* always been so:—it *will* always be so." But the "learned" gentleman is not even original in this either. A certain Major Scott had used very nearly the same words before him in the House of Commons, and we shall transcribe here what was said on that occasion.

Mr. Burke said "it gave him great concern to find that British subjects in India were not to be permitted to enjoy the same privileges which British subjects in England enjoyed. If they were to be deprived of their freedom, if English mouths and English pens were not to be allowed to be exercised in favour of oppressed Natives, those natives must lose their freedom entirely; and no complaint against persons in office could ever be preferred with effect, so as to reach the knowledge and challenge the inquiry of the Parliament of Great Britain, because the acts petitioned against put it in the power of the Governor General to seize

and imprison every British subject who should presume particularly to state the variety of oppressions under which a Native might unfortunately languish."

Major Scott said, that "as to the Government of Bengal, it had ever been, and it must ever be despotic."

Mr. Burke maintained, "that the worst that could be said of any government was, that it was despotic. If the British Government established in India was despotic, so far from its being the best possible government for the country, all circumstances considered, it must be the worst, because of the infinite distance of India from the seat of supreme authority. If Englishmen in India were deprived of their rights and privileges, a total end was put to freedom in India, since an Englishman who suffered his liberties to be taken from him without cause and without resistance on his part, was an Englishman depraved, fit and ready not only to enslave himself, but to enslave others. It was natural, he observed, for men in power to feel an inclination to exercise that power tyrannically, and even to the enslaving of those subordinate to their authority; but it was the province of freemen to detect them; and when the freedom of Englishmen in India was taken from them, those in power there might with impunity carry into execution against the miserable Natives, whatever plans of slavery their arbitrary and unfeeling dispositions might suggest."

Mr. Impey next adverts to the acknowledged fact, that every man going to India under a license, agrees to observe all such rules and regulations as then are, or may thereafter be, in force at the Presidency in which he resides. No one can dispute this. But there is another provision carefully kept out of sight in this question. It is this,—The East India Company's Government abroad can pass no rules or regulations for the observance of British subjects residing within the limits of their several Presidencies, but such as receive the sanction of the King's Courts established there: and these Courts are authorized by act of Parliament to sanction only such rules and regulations as are just and reasonable, and not repugnant to the laws of the realm. This then is, in fact, no more than promising to obey all lawful regulations and all lawful authority established in the Presidency at which such licensed individual may reside; and to this condition, no man would refuse his assent. But it has been seen that the Circular for fettering the press never was sanctioned by the Supreme Court, and consequently was never made lawful; so that a disobedience of its mandates, even if proved, was no breach of any recognized condition, and no forfeiture of the license of residence. Mr. Impey, however, conceives that no conditions are necessary, for he cites the clause of the Act empowering the summary banishment of any British subject, whenever, *in the judgment of the Governor General*, it may seem necessary. But, even here, a condition is imposed, which is this, "Whenever in the judgment of the Governor General any individual shall *forfeit his claim* to the countenance and *protection* of the Government" under which he lives. Here is a specific condition: and if the clause means any thing, it must mean that the individual to be banished must, by some act of his, really and truly forfeit the countenance and protection to be then withdrawn. This necessarily leads to an inquiry as to what is the act by which protection can be truly forfeited. Protection and obedience are held to be mutual

and reciprocal duties between the rulers and the ruled, of every country under the sun, even the most despotic ones. As long as any man *obeys* the laws of the country in which he lives, so long is he justly entitled to the *protection* of those laws; and even in cases of disobedience, trial should always precede punishment. Mr. Buckingham's license to reside in India expressed no more than this, that he was to obey all rules and regulations duly sanctioned by the Supreme Court of Justice in India, and to act in other respects conformably to *law*. He did so, uniformly and indisputably. The whole list of charges made out against him are mere pretended breaches (for they do not even amount to real infringements) of a set of arbitrary rules that never were made *law*, and never received the sanction of the Court: so that if the breaches were all real instead of pretended, and were a thousand instead of ten, they could no more constitute a legal offence, than the shooting a thousand hares would amount to a crime if there were no laws in existence for the preservation of game.

Mr. Impey, to whom it is confessedly a matter of indifference whether a rule be lawful or not, does not forget to argue on it, however, as if its legality were placed beyond all dispute. He accordingly goes on to say, "This Circular for restraining the Press was sent to all the Editors of Papers in India; and they were told that their removal from India would be the consequence of their non-compliance with its restrictions." Even if this were true, on what authority, we ask, could any Governor dare to prescribe limits to the power of speech or writing, any more than to the power of walking or breathing? He might with as much justice have shut up men's bodies in dungeons, and forbid them on pain of death to utter a prayer for their release, as thus to imprison men's minds, and threaten them with banishment for venturing to breathe freely their thoughts and words to each other. It is perfectly monstrous to hear such a power as this coolly and indifferently asserted and admitted. But, although such a power has been since assumed, it is altogether false to say that this was either stated in the Circular, or intimated to Editors at the time of its being issued: neither was the case. The Circular contained only these words as relating to breaches of these rules.

"Relying on the prudence and discretion of the Editors for their careful observance of these rules, the Governor General in Council is pleased to dispense with their submitting their papers to an officer of Government previous to publication. The Editors will, however, be held personally accountable for whatever they may publish in contravention of these rules so communicated, or which may be otherwise *at variance with the general principles of British law* as established in this country, and will be proceeded against in such manner as the Governor General in Council may deem *applicable to the nature of the offence*, for any deviation from them."

Where is there even an allusion to "removal from the country" in all this? The Editors would of course be "personally accountable" for all they might publish, as they ought to be and are every where; but accountable to *law*: and the Governor General might proceed against them by civil action, by indictment, or by information, as the nature of the offence might require: but banishment without trial is not applicable to *any offence*, and is not applied even to the most heinous crimes in India. Men who commit murder, theft, fraud, and perjury, are all

granted the protection of the laws and a jury. It is only the unhappy Editor who offends *no law*, that is to be dealt with as a criminal whose offences are too infamous to entitle him to the countenance and protection of a government,—which Mr. Adam says is one of the most mild and lenient under heaven,—which Judge Macnaghten says, admits of greater freedom than any under which he ever lived before:—but which Mr. Impey characterizes with more accuracy than either, when he calls it an unlimited, an uncontrolled, an irresponsible despotism, which, we may add, in the drunkenness of its fury, seems to set alike the laws of God and man at defiance.

Even in this, however, there was the grossest partiality and injustice observed in the application of these absurd and unjust restrictions. The Government professed their determination to hold the editors personally accountable, and to proceed against them for *any* contravention of the rules prescribed by themselves. One of the prohibited topics was specified in these terms:—" Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissensions in society."—Yet this rule was broken through every day, for years in succession, by the editors of the Indian Government Gazette, the Hurkaru, and the John Bull, in a more gross and flagrant manner than was ever done in any country in which a Press is known. The most licentious papers of England and America exhibit nothing like a picture of the grossness and insolence, as well as malice and falsehood, of the aspersions contained in these papers, and particularly the last, against the very individual who has alone suffered for his forbearance. Mr. Buckingham's family and domestic relations were insulted; the young and innocent daughters of his brother, then living in his house, and never once intruding themselves, in any manner, beyond the modesty and retirement of private life, were exhibited in the pages of these hostile prints, to obloquy and scorn. His wife was publicly and grossly insulted by the most offensive insinuations in the John Bull, within a few days only after her landing in the country—the secret movements of all his friends watched—his visits made public—his acquaintances denounced—and threats of the anger and vengeance of Government held out towards those civil and military gentlemen who dared to continue towards him their countenance and friendship. Were not these " contraventions of the rules laid down for the guidance of editors;" and of that especially which forbade " personal remarks, tending to excite dissensions in society"? And were these not " proceeded against in some manner applicable to the nature of the offence"? Yes! The *punishment* inflicted on the offenders was an increased glow of the sunshine of official favour! New offices were created for the editors and writers who thus pandered to the evil passions of their masters. Promotions, emoluments, rewards, followed thickly on all who lent themselves to this base and abandoned employment; and while Mr. Buckingham was perpetually threatened with banishment, for daring to defend himself, and had repeated " warnings" not to venture again on forbidden ground, his accusers and calumniators never received *one* reproof from authority, but were covered with honours and rewards. And why, the reader will ask, was this? The answer is plain. The slanderers, and breakers of the rules laid down for others, were the Government functionaries themselves, and the servile and miserable tools whom they hired as their instruments. Nor was this a secret. The

Government of India was boldly told of this, in one of Mr. Buckingham's letters;* and they were so conscious of its truth that they never once ventured to deny it. Can there be any epithet too strong to apply to such conduct as this?

We find that we should run into too great length if we were to notice *all* the absurdities advanced by this lawyer from behind the bar; for every sentence of his speech abounded with misstatements, errors, and most inconclusive reasonings. We must reserve some space also for a few words on other parts of the Debate, and therefore leave Mr. Impey in the reader's hands, begging him only to refer to the speech of this gentleman, as faithfully reported in another part of our publication, where he will find certain notes appended to the text, from which, perhaps, he may derive additional information.

Mr. Dixon followed Mr. Impey in the Debate; and asserted his *belief* that a Free Press, the acknowledged instrument of great good in England, would be productive of infinite mischief in India. This is very convincing, no doubt, to Mr. Dixon himself; but to others, his mere *belief*, unsupported by reasons, can prove nothing. It is amusing to observe the importance which certain men attach to their own opinions, as if the mere utterance of these was to carry conviction to the minds of all other men. If the mere assertion of *belief* were admitted as evidence, there is no falsehood and no absurdity on earth that might not be fully proved. The professor of every faith *believes* his own to be right, and every other wrong;—the advocate of every party *believes* his associates to be wise, and all others ignorant. But the mere assertion of belief, without the reasons on which that belief is grounded, is utterly worthless. It is true, that in some cases, the superior opportunities and peculiar qualifications of one man or set of men, may make his or their opinions of more value than those of others, who have not possessed these opportunities and qualifications. But Mr. Dixon has no such superior claim above his fellows. If it be said that men who have passed thirty years in India are enemies to a Free Press, we say men who have passed thirty years in India are also its decided friends. Where is there a man who has had a longer or a more intimate experience of the state of men and things, both in the civil, military, and mercantile classes in India, than Mr. John Palmer? Where can be found so able and intelligent an individual, or one so intimately acquainted with the whole frame of Indian society and government, as Ram Mohun Roy, the celebrated Christian Brahmin? Where can be seen more zealous inquirers, more sincere and disinterested witnesses as to what would really benefit the country, which few know more minutely, than the Christian Missionaries? Where shall we look for a human being so thoroughly versed in the history and politics of India as Mr. Mill, its able and philosophic historian? Are the opinions of such men as these of any value? If any men deserve attention for their mere opinions, on a subject of which they are so competent to judge, it would be these; and they have all publicly and openly declared themselves the friends of a Free Press in India, expressing their undisguised conviction that no danger exists or can be produced by its exercise under the ordinary restraints of the

* See Oriental Herald, vol. I. App. p. xli.

law: while it has produced, was producing, and must again, whenever restored, produce great and incalculable good. But they have given not merely their opinions—they have substantiated them by good and solid reasons.—And shall we set up against all these, the mere unsupported *belief* of Mr. Dixon, which is but as a feather in the scale?

The clear-headedness of this speaker may be inferred from the following simple fact. He had heard that Mr. Buckingham resided in India under the license of a *Free Mariner*, and because he quitted the profession of a mariner, which he pursued in India for about two years, before he settled on shore, Mr. Dixon considers that Mr. Buckingham went to India on false pretences! It might with more truth be said of Mr. Dixon, that when he rises to offer himself to the Court, and obtains their hearing under the impression of his being about to say something that shall instruct them, and then talks such nonsense as this, he is himself exercising the patience of that Court on false pretences. Mr. Dixon must know that a license granting a man the power to pursue his profession as a Free Mariner, gives him this in *addition* to the exercise of all other natural rights, and not to their exclusion. A licensed Free Mariner is no more confined to the exclusive employment of navigating his ship from port to port incessantly, than a licensed hackney-coachman is obliged to be always driving from stand to stand. Each of these are privileged by their license to sail or drive in *addition* to all other things which they may think proper to do as other men:—and, in the case of a *Free* Mariner, more especially, it would be the strangest use of the term that could be imagined, if it meant that these *Free* Mariners were *compelled* to be sailors whether they would or not, without being free to do any thing else but navigate. A Mariner requires no especial permission to eat, to drink, to walk, to think, to speak, to draw, to sing, to write: and if not for these, why should he need an especial permission to *print*? If he can sue for damages in a court of law: if he can buy and sell, sit on juries, become a Magistrate, an Alderman, a Mayor—all of which has been, and is still done by Free Mariners in India; by what law, or for what good reason can he be prevented from writing and expressing his opinions fully on the acts of others, which form so essential a part of his duties in many of the offices named? On a reference to the London Directory we find that there are Dixons of almost every trade and profession, as well as printers. To which of these the honourable speaker belongs we do not know; but supposing all these trades and professions, learned and unlearned, to be licensed, would he contend that each of these could do nothing but follow his own avocations—and that none but the *printer* could meddle with types and presses? The thing is preposterous. But it does not end here.—The question is not whether any particular man may *print* or not; but whether a Free Mariner has any right whatever to think and speak, and give publicity to his sentiments through the press, like any other individual. We contend that he has a right to do every thing that all other men may freely do; and to *add* the pursuit for which he has a specific license besides. Mr. Dixon seems to think that he can do *nothing* but what he is specifically licensed to do, and has therefore no rights but those set down for him in his patent. If this were true, no man could *breathe* without a license. The error and confusion lies in the general ignorance of, or general

blindness to, this common truth: namely, that men do not *derive* their rights from laws, these being made to limit and define them. They derive their rights from nature, and are therefore, in every country, free to do every thing that is not expressly prohibited. Thinking, speaking, writing, and printing freely, were not prohibited by *law* during the whole of Mr. Buckingham's stay in India; and therefore he was as fully entitled to do any of these under his Free Mariner's license, as he was to eat, drink, sleep, shave, dress, or take exercise on shore, which are no part of navigation, though rights as essential to the comfort of mariners as of merchants. Mr. Dixon may not, perhaps, comprehend this: but clearer-headed men will.

Sir John Malcolm followed. Whether we should class him among the last description of persons remains to be seen. This speaker set out with the assertion that men in the employment of the government of any country are not an essential part of the public of that country. This we deny. The Cabinet Ministers, the large establishments of the Treasury, Stamp Office, Customs, and Excise, the whole of the Navy and Army the Church, the Law, Medicine, the Fine Arts, and the thousand ramifications into which the actual pay of the Government of this country branches, are all parts, and most essential parts too, of the British public: possessing certainly the greatest portion of its wealth, the greatest portion of its influence; and, as the friends of Government, with Sir John among them, generally contend, the greatest portion of intelligence and integrity. This, as we shall see hereafter, is the character given by him to the government servants of India; and this is as constantly assumed by all loyal and orthodox men as the character due to that large portion of the nation, who live on the pay of the government in England. Will Sir John, then say, that those who have the highest qualifications for *exercising* their judgment, wealth, influence, talent, and honesty, are to be *therefore* excluded from its utterance? He cannot answer in the affirmative. What reason is then left by which to support his assertion that they are no essential part of the public? Perhaps their inferiority in numbers to those who are *not* in the service of the Government. But, besides that their inferiority in numbers is not so manifest as some would think, even this could not exclude them. Let us imagine a class to be ever so small; as, for instance, India-shawl sellers, of which there are not nearly so many in all England as would man a line-of-battle ship; and, therefore, infinitely inferior in numbers even to one class of government servants, the India-shawl *seizers* (excisemen). But would their fewness of numbers make them no essential part of the public, when one of their own body, Mr. Waithman, has had a seat in the British senate, and is now chief magistrate of the first city in the world? Would the cooks and confectioners be less essential, with Colonel Birch preceding them? the fishmongers, the tallow-chandlers, the biscuit-bakers, with the Royal favourite, Sir William Curtis, at their head? The truth is, that there is no class, few or many, paid or unpaid, that are *not* essential parts of the British public: men of all classes may and do find their way into the British senate, from which, if Sir John Malcolm's hypothesis were true, all naval, military, and other servants of the Crown, ought to be entirely excluded; and if any one part be actually more essential than another as a *class*, it would seem to be that great body which Sir John declares to be not so.

The use, however, which Sir John Malcolm apparently wished to

make of this assumption (erroneous as it is) was this; he meant to say, government servants in England are no essential part of the British public; nearly *all* the English in India are government servants; therefore, the English in India are not a public, and do not need a press. He did not place the argument in this close and logical form; though we believe that this was his aim. But it was a most unfortunate one. Even admitting that the *whole* body of public functionaries in India were unfriendly to a free press: these are less than fifty *thousand* in number: while there are fifty *millions* of men subject to their rule, for whom this press is wanted. These last are not in the pay or service of Government, and are therefore a most essential part of the Indian public. It is to keep their governors in check, and promote the happiness of the governed, that the press is so essential: and shall not they have a voice, even if the British settled among them do not deserve this privilege? But the British as well as the Native public *do* desire a free press for their mutual benefit and information; and Sir John Malcolm himself knows, that by far the greater majority of the English in India gave the most marked and manifest support to the cause of free discussion, as long as they dared to do so, without risking ruin to themselves and their connexions, by venturing to evince a taste which their superiors wished to discourage.

Sir John Malcolm, unable or unwilling to extricate himself from the fatal web in which he had been once before entangled, had the imprudence to touch again upon the mischiefs of free discussion on passing events in *India*, and the benefits of free discussion on the same events in *England*. He prefaced this, however, by saying that the only limit that he would set to discussion in India should be *safety;* he would let the people in India enjoy as much liberty as was consistent with the safety of our empire, but no more. Such an imperfect observer of history as Sir John appears to us, from his recent avowals, to be, could hardly be expected to have made the discovery, that safety and security were more frequently allied to the *extreme* of liberty than to any *partial* enjoyment of it: and that nothing is so well calculated to strengthen the safety of empires, as the very cause which he seems to think would weaken it. And yet, if he had compared the weakness and insecurity of Persia, with which he is well acquainted, with the safety and strength of America, he must have been satisfied that an extension of liberty is an increase of security: and that America is more safe than Persia, and England more safe than Russia or Turkey, only because they are more *free*. Sir John confessed, however, that he did not believe the liberty of the press would at all affect the safety of our Indian empire: he confessed also that he would grant every liberty to India that would not affect our safety: and yet, (oh! consistent reasoner) he would not grant them this very press, innocent and harmless as he believed it would be, because it *might* be abused!

But as to free discussion on Indian subjects in England, from which he anticipates so much good: he says, first, that notwithstanding there is no free press there, official papers will come home from men in power to the Court of Directors, and these being commented on here, and the comments getting to India twelve months or two years *after* the events to which they relate have occurred and are forgotten, cannot fail to produce a very beneficial effect on the minds of the actors in *India!* Unless we

had heard this uttered, we should not have believed that a man of such reputation as Sir John Malcolm could have said it: but where there are no crucibles, base metal may often pass for sterling gold. One might write a volume, and a large one too, on the mass of contradictions and absurdities involved in this passage:—but we must be brief. In the first place it must be remembered, that even if the official papers adverted to, should come home, they would be the reports of individuals deeply interested in giving favourable accounts of their own transactions, without the operation of a single check to detect or expose their inaccuracy. In the second place, when they come home, the Court of Directors determine, and the Proprietors second their decision, not to produce them. In the third place, supposing the papers to be produced, there is a total absence of disposition on the part of English editors to discuss, as well as a total want of information to qualify them for ascertaining, the merits of questions of which they know only one side, and that the most partial. In the last place, supposing all these difficulties removed, Sir John Malcolm knows that Mr. Adam's law prevents the importation into India of any such comments made in England as may be unwelcome to authority in India. Yet with all these facts staring him in the face, he pretends that free and full discussions in England, (where they cannot be freely and fully carried on) will produce great good in India (where they cannot be freely circulated and read). Whatever Sir John's early opinions of the value of a free press may have been, we think he will be no friend in future to an engine that sets his logic in so disadvantageous a light. But we must do our duty, nevertheless.

One word more, and we shall suffer this speaker to retire. Sir John Malcolm avows himself the warm friend of the Indo-Britons—he wishes for their improvement—and he thinks them in general excellent and deserving men. He would not give them a Free Press, however; and why? Because they *might* turn it into an engine of great mischief! May not religion, may not knowledge, may not power, may not benevolence itself, be made an engine of infinite mischief, if abused? But who except Sir John Malcolm would therefore withhold them from any class of mankind? Swords and pistols, muskets and bayonets, fire and gunpowder, are all capable of being perverted to much greater mischief than a Free Press. Yet who denies the natives of India the fullest possession of these, because they *might* abuse them. Lives may be taken away, cities burnt, and massacre committed, by these deadly engines: and the mischiefs would be *irreparable*: but whoever withholds their use because they *might* be perverted? Such a maxim would go to prevent the use of every man's limbs, for he *might* use his hands to knock down his neighbour, and his feet to trample on him afterwards. The law that is powerful enough to deter men from murdering, by punishing the crime whenever committed, is also powerful enough to prevent the lesser crime of libel, by punishing it when proved to the satisfaction of a jury: and if the *previous restraint*, which Sir John recommends, were carried into effect, with consistency, it would tie up *his* tongue entirely; for it might be said, the best of men *may* misuse the power of speech by talking nonsense: and therefore we will not suffer them to have the power of speaking at all.

We cannot pursue the inconsistencies of this singularly unhappy logician further: and, referring to the notes on the Debate in its proper place,

we pass over the intermediate speakers, in order to close our history of this memorable day with a few words on the speech of Mr. Trant.

Mr. Trant apologized for his rising at so late an hour (6 o'clock) by saying that some of the nearest connexions of Mr. Adam had requested him to say a few words to the Court, and to read some documents on behalf of that gentleman. The very avowal was calculated to excite great expectation; and accordingly considerable attention was paid to the development of this prepared and avowedly friendly Defence. To what it amounted the reader will soon see.

In the first place, the document read was a letter from a Hindoo of Calcutta, stating, that on application to Mr. Adam, while temperary Governor General, he had consented to afford pecuniary assistance to the building of a Hindoo College, and a Government Sanscrit College, for the instruction of the Natives. We pray the reader to remark that this was *all* that the important document disclosed! and this was the utmost that *could* be produced by Mr. Adam's "nearest connexions," through the agency of his zealous friend. And what does even this prove?—That Mr. Adam, like a hundred tyrants that might be named, from Nero to Napoleon, could be liberal in the disbursement of money from the coffers of the state, and purchase praises and flatteries, for acts done without the smallest sacrifice of ease or fortune from himself. The charge against Mr. Adam is, that he has insulted and oppressed fifty thousand of his countrymen, and fifty millions of Native Indians, by fettering the Press, and closing the most efficient channel of information and complaint; and the answer offered is, that he has shown a disposition to befriend some fifty Brahmins, and five hundred Hindoo youths, by patronizing a College in which Sanscrit and Hindoo learning is principally to be taught! The charge against Mr. Adam is, that by his unjust and unnecessary banishment of one individual from his establishment, and its subsequent entire destruction, he has inflicted a positive injury, by cutting off from that individual a property worth the sum of £40,000 sterling, without a hope of its recovery; and the answer offered to this, is, that he has applied a much smaller sum of the public money for the production of a doubtful good to some *other* individuals, with whom the injured person has no connexion whatever! This was the whole extenuation attempted by the production of the document; and no other was even offered to be shown.

Pass we on to Mr. Trant's own individual opinions. The document was merely given to show what the Native Hindoo in Calcutta, and Mr. Adam's "nearest connexions" in London could produce on their honourable friend's defence. Mr. Trant gives it as his *opinion*, (we shall give his reasons for that opinion hereafter,) that a Free Press in India would be not a benefit but a curse. If he is unfortunate in this expression, he is still more so in quoting Sir William Jones and Mr. Mill as authorities against the value of a Free Press in India, as will be seen in the notes to the Debate. Mr. Trant, however, asserted that no one knew better than Mr. Buckingham that much had been done for the improvement of the Indian population.—That much has been done is true; but it was through that very Press which existed before Mr. Adam's supreme rule, and against his will; and which it was one of the first acts of his temporary government to beat down and destroy. Instead therefore of this being to Mr. Adam's praise, it is entirely the reverse:—

his only merit is that of having interrupted the very improvement that was going on,—and of being its destroyer instead of its creator or preserver.

Mr. Trant acknowledges, too that all are agreed as to the principle of our being bound to give the Natives of India, knowledge and freedom. This is a debt which all admit we owe them; but we differ, says he, as to the time when it should be paid. In general, the more those to whom we owe any thing are in want of the thing owed, the more important it must be to make the payment immediate; those who are not in want may wait the debtor's convenience: but those who are deplorably destitute require it much sooner. The Natives of India are in that state; and moreover they ask the payment of the debt *now*. Shall they who owe, be admitted to be the best judges when they ought to pay? If this were the case, most debts would *never* be discharged.

Mr. Trant was about to read something from an English newspaper, which he characterized as a charge against Mr. Adam, likely to give his family pain. We have no idea what this was; and Mr. Impey, with the sagacity peculiar to his profession, very shrewdly induced Mr. Trant not to give further publicity to this alleged slander on his friend. But, if these gentlemen were true to themselves—if, as they all pretend, the fullest and freest discussion in England of the characters of men and measures in India, must produce good; why should they stifle and suppress what they first meant to bring forward? If the charge were true, justice to mankind required that it should be made more public. If it were false, justice to Mr. Adam required that it should be refuted, and the refutation be made as public as the charge. But putting up a paper which had been brought into Court for the express purpose of being read, has certainly no very favourable appearance.

Mr. Trant says, "I may not approve of some part of Mr. Adam's conduct; but I decidedly disapprove of some part of the Marquess of Hastings's conduct." The Court was not met to contrast these: and the faults of the one were no excuse whatever for the faults of the other, especially considering that they were of so opposite a nature. But if Mr. Trant disapproved of Lord Hastings's speech in favour of a Free Press, which he admits he did, and says he considered it at the time one of the most imprudent addresses ever uttered, why had he not the courage to say so, boldly and publicly, in Calcutta, either at the Government-house where he heard it, or in the Journals of the following day? If half a dozen honest men, particularly functionaries high in office, as Mr. Trant then was, had only had the virtue to express their public dissent from the doctrines then avowed, it would have led to an immediate definition of the real meaning of that speech, and have prevented all the mischiefs that arose from its subsequent misinterpretations. In this respect, those who, like Mr. Trant, saw in this speech nothing to approve, but every thing to condemn, have much to answer for in not having had the candour and the courage to express their sentiments on it on the spot; and as this was the very privilege proclaimed by Lord Hastings, they could not have any thing to fear from exercising it. "The freedom of discussion in this Court," says Mr. Trant, "is very useful to India; and whatever the rank of an individual may be, I shall not shrink from expressing my opinion of his conduct." We see in this very instance the vast difference between the value of freedom of expression in the one country and

the other. If Mr. Trant had not shrunk from expressing this opinion in India, where he first entertained it, the whole train of mischiefs which arose from a misconception of this speech, might have been prevented. His not shrinking from the expression of this opinion now, is of no use, as all the evils have happened, and many of them at least are irremediable.

What the "some parts" of Mr. Adam's conduct are which Mr. Trant does *not* approve, he is half afraid even to hint at here: perhaps the "nearest connexions" of that gentleman have given him no instructions on that head. But it was not that he supposed him actuated by malice. Oh! no;—and how is this supposed impossible? Extend your vision, gentle reader, that you may be quite sure of what you see, and mark these memorable words—"A proof that Mr. Adam's conduct did not proceed from malice, may be found in the fact which has been stated, that Mr. Buckingham's counsel, Mr. Fergusson, moved a complimentary address to Mr. Adam"! This is at least new, if not ingenious, and the easiest way of proving a position that we have for some time seen.

"I am sorry, however," says Mr. Trant, "that Mr. Adam could not, consistently with his duty, have *delayed* the pronouncing of the sentence against Mr. Buckingham." He admits, indeed, that Mr. Adam was precipitate; and seemed to infer that he ought to have waited for his successor, before he inflicted banishment and ruin on an individual whom Mr. Trant cannot in his heart say deserved this severe sentence, which no Court or Jury could have pronounced: and yet he winds up his eulogium on Mr. Adam by saying, "I know him to be tender-hearted, and overflowing with the milk of human kindness. This, at least, was his character in 1820, when I last saw him, and I suppose he cannot have much changed since."——Alas! four years in an Indian climate, surrounded by the temptations of arbitrary power, and other blandishments to boot, are enough not only to dry up the milk of human kindness, overflowing as it might originally have been—but to exhaust all the fountains of humanity, and to change men of the softest mould into tigers and tyrants, as well as flatterers and slaves.

The issue of this memorable day is the best comment on the conduct of those who presided over it.—Certain charges are alleged against Mr. Adam. The individuals making these charges assert that the production of papers, now in the hands of the Directors, will prove these charges to be true; and ask them to be brought forward accordingly. The legal advocate of the Directors opposes the motion for papers; because he says, *the facts are all admitted*: but he contends that the Government of India has been, is, and always will be a despotism: and must, therefore, from its nature, be absolute and irresponsible!

Hear this, ye English ears! Feel this, ye English hearts! that already burn with indignation at the injuries of the past; and console yourselves for the future with this delightful assurance, that in India, ye have been—now are—and,

E'en though Britannia rules both land and waves,
Her sons (in India) EVER SHALL BE SLAVES!!

LINES,

On purchasing Pindar before the writer understood Greek well enough to enjoy his beauties.

Come, ancient Bard, be pleased to stand
 On that plain shelf, and sleep awhile,
I soon shall take thee in my hand,
 And hear thee speak and see thee smile;
And would not 'tween that time and this
 That many an anxious day should fly,
But that I have the constant bliss
 To see thee hourly meet my eye.
I'll look upon thy plain outside,
 As misers view their treasured chest,
Persuaded that those covers hide
 More wealth than miser e'er possess'd.

Those saucy minstrels who can peep
 At pleasure 'tween thy hallowed covers,
Would wish, false friends, thy charms to keep
 For ever from less favoured lovers.
But wert thou cased in tower of brass,
 As Miss Danäe was of old,
Through crack or chimney I would pass,
 Though, certes, not in shower of gold;
For, trust me, Pindar, each one now
 Must, if he would be rich, like thee
Attune his harp to noise and show,
 And tinge each note with flattery;
And sing—not plain horse-racing—no,
 That will not suit our chaster gust—
No, we must change to white as snow
 The slave of hatred, wealth, or lust;
Pour, fresh from Helicon, the stream
 Of song upon an Ethiop-soul;
And swear beneath the blushing beam
 Of heaven, no purer waters roll
Than those that waft the pleasure-bark
 From clime to clime, of lord, or king,
Though they in secret bear the mark
 Of vice's hated wandering.
For even the elements a stain
 From man's polluting converse bear;
And ere they rise up pure again,
 Must moulder many a rolling year:
But years, nor vice, nor envious tongue
 Can touch what now remains of thee:—
Thy harp—should earth be green so long—
 Shall thrill through all eternity.

J. S.

ABUSES IN THE SILK TRADE OF INDIA.

One of the great advantages which we hope to see flow from the freedom of publication in England, on Indian subjects, is the exposure and consequent remedy of abuses in trade, which cannot be published in the country itself; as it would affect the interests of individuals there: but which we shall have opportunities of disclosing freely enough, at least here. We have taken some pains to establish a correspondence with the different Presidencies, and shall soon begin to be in receipt of abundant information from all quarters. In the mean time, we present the following, as the first of a long train of communications, that we hope will follow it, as to the manner in which affairs are managed in the Silk Trade of India. It will sufficiently explain why the East India Directors hate a Free Press; although they would derive so much benefit from its vigilant scrutiny into the conduct of their distant servants. The writer says:—

"I thank you, Sir, for your invitation to communicate the circumstances under which the private traders in silk are placed in India. I would willingly give you instances of oppression which have passed, innumerable, under my eye; but since they are in a manner sanctioned by the Company's trading regulations, it might appear invidiously personal in me. A glance at these regulations, however, will immediately discover their tendency to monopoly.

"It should be understood that the Silk Trade, like every other in Bengal, is carried on by the system of advance. Before each silk bund, the ryots must have money advanced for their cultivation of mulberry, the workmen for their labour, &c. This is done both by the Company and private traders; and owing to the present increased demand for the fulfilment of the Company's investment, scarcely a man in the district is without advances from both. It has been likewise observed that lately, wherever a private filature has been erected, and the ryots been encouraged by any individual, there the Company have built factories, as it were, in opposition to both interests. In one instance, a new residency has been established (Surdah), by which thirty or forty private factories have been reduced from a flourishing to a ruinous state. This I have myself beheld and *felt*. Now in this state of things, let us look at the advantages enjoyed by the Company over us.

"I have before stated, that there is scarcely a ryot or winder in the country unindebted to the Company. The private trader has likewise made his advances; working time comes on; interests clash; no law—no justice—no inquiry! The Company's Resident has liberty to seize workmen wherever he can find them, without recourse to law; and the private trader must let his cacoons rot (which soon happens in this country) for want of the very workmen he depended on! *I have known* some winders who refused the Company's advances, and preferred working in a private factory; but these, when there was a great pressure of cacoons, have had money thrown down at their door by the Company's Sirdar, accompanied by a peon as witness, and then seized next day for being in advance. I have offered to repay their balance; but this offer has been rejected; they must *work* themselves out of debt.

"Again, the cultivators are used in the same manner. I have advanced for cacoons; and when the season came for their delivery, have had them *seized* from the heads of the coolies who were carrying them, by people employed by the Resident, and worked off at once in the Company's filature. In this exorbitant power, placed in the hands of the Resident, consists the chief obstacle to our welfare. A free trade naturally carries with it the idea of a perfect equality existing among those who engage in it; for if particular privileges are granted to any one party, (and especially that party enjoying all the advantages arising from a long prior establishment,) the law, granting such a freedom of trade, is rendered a mere dead letter. Nothing can be more certain than that such a state of things will revert to a monopoly.

"It is rather a singular thing that the Company's Residents are now referred, on taking charge, to the Regulations framed in the year 1793, for instructions as to their proceeding. Surely, a change so great as from a monopoly to a free trade, merits a revision of the trading regulations. I could scarcely have believed that the old regulations were still in force, had I not once been shown this letter of instructions, by a Commercial Resident, on taking charge of his office.

"You will observe I have said nothing above regarding the prices paid by the Residents for silk. They are so high, that it is my opinion, raw silk, equal in quality, could be remitted to England, at fully 25 or 30 per cent. lower price, were it not for the monopolizing views of the Company."

ENGINEER OFFICERS IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, Paris, June 28, 1824.

IN perusing the *Oriental Herald* for May, I observe a letter signed INVESTIGATOR, replying to the assertions of CANDIDUS, contained in his elaborate critique on CATO's remarks upon the rank, pay, and emoluments of the Company's three Engineer Corps. As far as the letter goes, it is a complete refutation of CANDIDUS; but as it does not reply fully to *all* his assertions, you will allow me, I hope, to trespass upon a page of your excellent Journal, in order to inform CANDIDUS that I also have examined a Calcutta Directory for the present year, and I find that instead of the Bengal Engineer Corps "possessing advantages far superior, and numerous appointments quite in disproportion, to any other branch of that army, and even quite out of their line of duty, consequently enjoying that which justly belong to others;" that it is impossible to point out even *one* appointment or situation of any kind held by an Engineer officer that belongs to any other branch of the service; whilst on the other hand, I find in the same Directory, no less than thirty appointments held by others which justly belong to the Engineer officers!

If I may form a judgment of CANDIDUS from the *kind* and *valuable* advice given to CATO, he seems to be one of that servile tribe who, having by some trick of fortune stepped into authority, find it convenient to preach up the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; but notwithstanding his predilection to love and flatter all that emanates from the "powers that be," I cannot forbear asking him, since he

appears to be quite at home in the arcana of India-House politics, and an approver of the measures of its military advisers, if he does not know an officer high in the military service of the Company, who has obtained his situation without one individual merit? and also to inform us how long this officer served in the Bengal army? how many *months* he did duty with his corps? whether he ever heard a shot fired on actual service? how long he was in the Auditor's Office at Calcutta? whether he did not ever mutiny against the Court of Directors whilst belonging to their army in Bengal? what his rank was on retiring from the army, and how he came by his present rank? whether his salary was not increased a year or two since, and for what purpose? if he did not shortly after apply to the Court for leave to retire, on the plea of ill health, and what was the reason of that scheme being defeated?

Travelling about as I am, it is not often, Mr. Editor, that I obtain your Journal regularly; but if Candidus will give us information on the above points, I shall no doubt see it sooner or later. If he does not choose to be communicative, I shall probably myself, at a leisure hour, try to enlighten the public on these topics, though I should be sorry to take the task out of such able hands.

Viator.

LETTER OF DAVID HUME RESPECTING HIS FIRST WORK.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

Sir, June, 1824.

While regarding the interests of the Eastern world with an especial attention, you will not, I am persuaded, be unambitious of serving the general interests of literature and science, which are, indeed, becoming every day more and more the interests of all lands. Nor will you deny your readers the occasional gratification of a literary *morceau*. Such, you may, perhaps, consider the annexed Letter from David Hume, which I copied from the original among the MSS. in the British Museum.

M. Des Maizeaux, to whom the letter is addressed, is well known among the *literati* of the last century, as the biographer of Hales and Chillingworth, the editor of Locke's posthumous pieces, and the correspondent of Antony Collins. At the date of this letter, (which I have no reason to suppose was ever in print,) David Hume was just concluding his 28th year. Of the work which is the subject of the letter, and which was the author's first publication, he has left the following account:

"During my retreat in France, first at Rheims, but chiefly at La Fleche, in Anjou, I composed my *Treatise of Human Nature*. After passing three years, very agreeably, in that country, I came over to London in 1737. In the end of 1738, I published my Treatise. Never literary attempt was more unfortunate. It fell *dead-born from the press*, without reaching such distinction as even to excite a murmur among the zealots. But being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine temper, I very soon recovered the blow, and prosecuted, with great ardour, my studies in the country." It appears that in 1747 he "cast the first part of that work anew, in the Enquiry concerning Human Understanding," which

was published while the author was attending General St. Clair's "military embassy to Turin." In 1749, "another part of the Treatise" was "cast anew," in the "Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals." *

Should you accept this offering, all at present in my power to offer towards the furtherance of your laudable purpose, you will probably have an occasional correspondent in OTIOSUS.

"To Mr. Des-Maizeaux, at Changuion's, Bookseller, in the Strand, London.

"SIR, "April 6, 1739.

"WHENEVER you see my name, you'll readily imagine the subject of my letter. A young author can scarce forbear speaking of his performance to all the world. But when he meets with one that is a good judge, and whose instruction and advice he depends on, there ought some indulgence to be given him. You were so good as to promise me, that, if you could find leisure from your other occupations, you would look over my System of Philosophy, and, at the same time, ask the opinion of such of your acquaintance as you thought proper judges. Have you found it sufficiently intelligible? Does it appear true to you? Do the style and language seem tolerable? These three questions comprehend every thing; and I beg of you to answer them with the utmost freedom and sincerity. I know 'tis a custom to flatter poets on their performances; but I hope philosophers may be exempted; and the more so, that their cases are by no means alike. When we do not approve of any thing in a poet, we commonly can give no reason for our dislike, but our particular taste; which not being convincing, we think it better to conceal our sentiments altogether. But every error in philosophy can be distinctly marked, and proved to be such; and this is a favour I flatter myself you'll indulge me in, with regard to the performance I put into your hands. I am, indeed, afraid that it would be too great a trouble to you to mark all the errors you have observed; I shall only insist upon being informed of the most material of them, and, you may assure yourself, will consider it as a singular favour.

"I am, with great esteem, Sir,

"Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

"DAVID HUME.

"Please direct to me at Ninewells, near Berwick-upon-Tweed."
(*Ayscough* 4284. 106.)

DEMOGORGON. †

[From an unpublished tragedy, entitled "Prometheus the Fire-bearer."]

Demogorgon is discovered, sitting on an involved serpent.

PROMETHEUS.

LISTEN, and learn of yonder choir, why he
Is ever dumb, fixed, changeless, motionless,
And destitute of oracles and shrines.

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* See the Life of David Hume, written by himself, (1777) p. 6—8, 12, 14.
† See Banier's Mythologie, tom. i.

CHORUS OF PAGAN PRIESTS.

I.

Ere the bright o'er-hanging sky
Turned in its crystálline mould,
Earth and Fate, or Power, old,
Felt infinite ages o'er them fly.
Where sits yon dim unspeaking power,
Eternity hath seen him sit,
Seeing, but noting not, the hour
Of change, to which all things submit,
Save his own realm : of guarding it
Fixed destiny hath charge
To lessen or enlarge,
Arrange or beautify,
Beneath, or far on high ;
But from his mystic throne not Fate is free
To hurl the awful God, whom, unnamed, worship we.

II.

World on world hath passed away :
Generations, like the waves
That roll unceasing through the caves
Of Ocean's depths, have yielded to decay ;
Crowning heaven's brow new suns have shone,
Bathing its fields in crystal light ;
And all its host shall, one by one,
Sink back to old primeval night;
On whose dim edge, to take their flight
For fated being, stand
A vast innumerous band
Of young existences,
Like clouds of clustering bees—
These take their destined round, and come and go,
And melt into the mass from whence all beings flow.

III.

All is wrought by Destiny :
Yet that power we worship not;
Secret, hidden—'twas forgot
When our faith began to be.
Yon dusky pair, joined in mystic link—
Earth's power and gloomy fate—are they
Who nature's frame uphold, which else would sink
To utter, irremediable decay:
Yet only visible is *He*, for aye
Representative of all.
Change and chance, which still befall
All the forms that ever rise,
Here, or in the purer skies,
Are lost on him : he lives unshattered, free,
And ever was, and must for ever be !

S.

DEBATES AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Friday, July 9, a Special General Court of Proprietors was held in pursuance of the following requisition:

To the Honourable the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, London.

We, the undersigned Proprietors of East India Stock, duly qualified, request a General Court of Proprietors may be summoned, for the purpose of taking into consideration the State of the Public Press in India, the regulations that are now in force respecting it at the several Presidencies in India, and also the proceedings which have attended the suppression of the Calcutta Journal, and the banishment of Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnot, two of its Editors.

DOUGLAS KINNAIRD,
JOSEPH HUME,
CHAS. FORBES,
EDWARD HOWORTH,
H. HOWORTH,
H. REID,
P. LAURIE,
WM. THORNTON,
J. ADDINELL.

The minutes of the proceedings of the last Court, having been read,

Mr. S. DIXON said, that before the business of the day was opened, he was desirous of asking the Chairman a question, which he was sure would be readily answered. He wished to know, then, whether any time had been fixed for the distribution of the Decan prize-money among the troops, who were entitled to share it?

The CHAIRMAN said that he could not answer the question. The distribution of the prize money did not depend on the Court of Directors, but on the Commissioners, who were appointed to determine the claims, one of whom was the Duke of Wellington.

Mr. S. DIXON said, that he remembered to have somewhere read that at a certain eastern court, persons called "flappers" were employed to remind officers of the business which had been intrusted to them. He was willing to act as a "flapper" on the present occasion, and he hoped that he might be the means of reminding the Commissioners that many persons were anxiously awaiting their decision.

The CHAIRMAN then informed the Court, that the Court of Directors had engaged two ships by private contract to carry on the trade in tea between Canton and the Canadas. The names of the ships were the Moffat, of 798 tons, and the Juliana, of 540 tons. The former was engaged at the rate of 10*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* per ton, and the latter at 10*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* per ton.

THE PRESS IN INDIA.—BANISHMENT OF MR. BUCKINGHAM.

The CHAIRMAN then stated the object, for which the Court had been specially summoned; and the requisition was read by the Clerk.

Hon. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.—Sir, I rise to speak to the question, which has just been read; but before I commence the discussion, I wish to make one observation. The business, which the Court has been summoned to take into consideration, having already been once deferred, on account of the previous introduction of other matters, I shall for this reason abstain from doing that now, which I shall feel it my duty to do whenever a Court is assembled, namely, to move for fresh papers on the subject of the Marquess of Hastings's administration. Unless that plan be adopted, it will be impossible to attain our common object without calling a special Court for each paper that a Proprietor may wish to be produced. I am aware that the subject, which under a sense of duty I introduce on the present occasion, requires greater skill and power than I possess, to bring it within a moderate compass. It is a question composed of many parts, each of which is so strong an appeal to the feelings of Englishmen and the Proprietors of East India Stock, that I am satisfied that any one of them is sufficient at any time for the consideration of this or any other assembly. So far am I from anticipating that this discussion will exhaust the subject, that I am satisfied it is only the commencement of a series of discussions, both here and elsewhere, which must end in an alteration of the present system regarding the press in India. I feel that I am addressing on the present occasion, not Proprietors of East India Stock alone, but Englishmen possessing all the intelligence and proper feeling which characterize our countrymen, and I beg to remind you that the Legislature never would have imposed on you, as Proprietors of East India Stock, those important and sacred duties, one of which you have met this day to discharge, but for the qualities it recognised in you as citizens of a free state. In confiding to you the great discretionary power of delegating officers to rule over a vast population, many thousands of miles from home, the Legislature took care that you possessed the right to meet and exercise your judgment in an open and constitutional assembly, on the manner in which your officers discharged their delegated trust. When, therefore, I address this Court, I beg to declare, with all respect

for the individuals composing it, that I am not speaking merely to merchants incorporated by law; but to Englishmen, whose character and whose attributes induced the Legislature to invest you with extensive superintending powers. We meet here in discharge of our express duty, to superintend the government of India, to express our opinion respecting any great abuses which may occur, and to obviate the danger which might otherwise result from them. We are frequently called upon to meet and reward merit (which gentlemen on both sides of the bar are always willing to do); but it is a no less important duty to meet and censure, when reproof is called for. These considerations induce me to call upon you to consider this question, not as it affects your private interests only, not to look at it merely as it affects you as Proprietors of East India Stock, but to recollect that the discussion which takes place here will be carried before the public opinion of England, and that you will be called upon to make out in the face of your country, whether the present system of the press in India be safe, or wise, or just. (Hear!)

It were a sufficient ground for the assembling of this Court, to obtain your judgment respecting the case of an individual who has been ruined by the oppressive, tyrannical, and arbitrary conduct of the late temporary Governor General, Mr. Adam. If this gentleman (Mr. Buckingham) possessed no other claim upon your sympathy but that of being an Englishman, that would be sufficient to induce you to discharge your duty towards him; but this gentleman, whom I am proud to call my countryman, on account of the spirit of independence which he displayed under the most gross persecutions, and of the talent which he has devoted to the improvement and instruction of his fellow men, has this further claim upon your attention, that the wrongs which he has sustained have been inflicted on account, not of his exertions for any selfish object, but for the increased happiness of the whole of India. (Hear!) I shall not now detain the Court with relating the injuries which Mr. Buckingham has sustained, and reciting the history of his ruined fortunes, but will proceed at once to the great subject, in which Mr. Buckingham's case is incidentally involved.

In bringing before the Court the actual condition of the press in India, I am aware that, in ordinary circumstances, it would be possible to raise a very long discussion with respect to the motives which have caused the destructive alteration introduced on this subject. But in the present case we are fortunately not left to conjecture: we have before us, under Mr. Adam's own hand, the views and the policy by which, as a statesman, he declares that his conduct was guided. It is impossible for me to open the present discussion without handling pretty freely the opinions and conduct of the late temporary Governor General Adam. I single him out the more particularly, because he has thought fit to put forth a pamphlet, or manifesto, which not only contains the grounds of his own past conduct, but pretends to lay down the only rule for the conduct of all future governors general of India. If I am asked, why select Mr. Adam from his colleagues? The reason is that he has under his own hand volunteered to state the grounds of his past conduct, and has favoured the world with his reasons why the press in India must ever remain in its present state of slavery and degradation. I hope I shall not be told that I am attacking a gentleman who is out of Court, and not here to defend himself. Mr. Adam's own example is sufficient to make me avoid that. It is with no weak feelings of disapprobation I recollect that Mr. Adam, having in the first instance banished Mr. Buckingham from India, and silenced every tongue, and tied up every pen, that could be exerted in his defence, then came forth with his own manifesto, and endeavoured to mangle the carcass of the victim he had destroyed. (Hear, hear!) Mr. Adam does not stand in the situation of a person who is out of Court; he has published his own statement of his own case, and upon that I will found all my observations respecting him, and if I say any thing for which I have not Mr. Adam's authority, I know there are many here who will contradict my assertions, and stop me in my course.

It has been said, that Mr. Adam is now on his trial; that he is being pursued by Mr. Buckingham for his breach of the law. This pursuit of redress, however, turns out to be a ruinous farce. Mr. Buckingham has been informed by the united voice of the first counsel in England, that it would be perfectly useless to go before a court of law to recover damages from a Governor General of India, who had chosen to exercise, without reason assigned, his power of sending an individual from that country. The Governor General had only to say that such was his will, without assigning any reason whatever, and there is an end of the matter. The law can afford no redress unless malice can be proved. It is evident, therefore, that it is a mistake, (to say the least of it,) to state that Mr. Adam is in the course of being tried; because Mr. Buckingham has been advised, and has resolved, to abstain from wasting any more money in the useless endeavour to obtain justice.

I will now, Sir, place before the Court the regulations to which the press is at this moment subjected in India. The Court is well aware, that up to the time of the administration of the Marquess Wellesley, no regulations existed which particularly applied to the press. The

Marquess Wellesley first controlled the press in India, by imposing on it a censorship. He declared that nothing should be published which had not previously been inspected by certain officers to whom that task was assigned. I, for one, am of opinion, that tyranny, if it is to exist at all, should be as complete as possible. In such circumstances, men's eyes are open to the perils of their acts, and they are not tempted, by a show of free-will, to place themselves within the danger of the caprice of the Despot. There is another state of things much worse than a pure despotism: I mean that in which a man is invited, by an appearance of freedom, to place himself within the fangs of power, which are turned against him the instant he does acts, into the commission of which he has been entrapped. The censorship left the Government responsible for every thing that was published, and no man could suffer, in his property at least. The Marquess Wellesley accompanied the imposition of the censorship with the publication of certain instructions, for the guidance of the functionaries by whom this censorship was to be exercised, such as a man in power like the Marquess Wellesley would give to his servants, as an explanation of his views and wishes. At a later period, the Marquess of Hastings was of opinion, that the law of England, administered in the Supreme Court by a jury of Englishmen, would be sufficient to counteract any abuses of the press, attacks upon the private characters of individuals, and malicious libels upon the Government. Relying, therefore, on the efficacy of the laws of his country, and wishing for no power beyond or above them, that illustrious person removed the censorship, and thereby, in my opinion, relieved the Government from a most dangerous and heavy responsibility; for to say that nothing injurious to the Government was published under the censorship, is contrary to the fact. It is notorious, that many articles which were allowed to be published under the censorship, were, on their re-publication, after the removal of that system, made subjects of complaint, and considered as acts of contumacy towards the Government. The Marquess of Hastings, therefore, wisely got rid of the responsibility which was thrown upon the Government by the existence of the censorship. At the same time, however, that the Marquess of Hastings abolished the censorship, he, well knowing the prejudice arising from ignorance which existed in this country on the subject of the freedom of the press in India, and likewise the unfortunate spirit which prevailed in the civil service there (which it is the duty of this Court and the Legislature to counteract by every possible means), composed as it was of men brought up in peculiar notions, which led them to look upon every alteration of the old established system as a dangerous innovation; for the sake of quieting their idle apprehensions, permitted Mr. Adam, the Chief Secretary, to issue certain portions of these old regulations of Lord Wellesley, respecting the press, in a private circular addressed to the existing Editors. I state this broadly to be the fact, and no man can be so idle as to pretend to believe that the Marquess of Hastings attached any importance to those regulations beyond that of silencing the frivolous fears of those who opposed his liberal policy on that subject. These instructions were mere waste paper, and had no more force in *law* than any thing which the Marquess of Hastings might have said to any of his servants.

We have been told, I know, in another place, that the Marquess of Hastings by no means placed the press in a state of freedom; and the late President of the Board of Control (Mr. Canning) is reported to have said, " Give me what power you will, and let me have no fear but from the press; then give me the press as regulated by the Marquess of Hastings, and I will consider myself safe." To be sure; there could be no question of that, if the *regulations* of Lord Hastings had had the force of *law*. But that was not the case. Nothing more is necessary to prove this than the tenour of the various correspondence which took place between the Governor General in Council and Mr. Buckingham. In every case Mr. Buckingham came off triumphant; in every instance he silenced the Marquess of Hastings's council, and in no instance did they dare to resort to the penalties which were threatened in their letters of attack and complaint. He must be the veriest ideot alive who can suppose it was possible to have acted on those regulations. They were put forth merely to satisfy those persons who imagined that, when the censorship was removed, the saturnalia would begin, and that discussions of a nature the most seditious and indecent would inundate the community. The real and only object of the Marquess of Hastings was to appeal to the law of England, and, thank God, it is on record that he never did resort to any of the unconstitutional measures suggested by his Councillors, although at their teasing instigation he was too often obliged to enter into discussions which were sure to end in the exposure of the Government. I deny, therefore, that the Marquess of Hastings's conduct is liable to any charge of inconsistency. He was obliged to adapt his means to this end; and if the persons about him were silly enough to suppose that the regulations which he permitted to be issued by his Secretary Adam would be a protection to their alarms on the removal of the censorship, he did wisely to give them the regulations, as a rattle to a child. It might be very well for the late President of the Board of Control, for the

mere sake of a laugh, to pretend that the regulations had the effect of a *law*. It is, however, quite amusing to perceive, that so completely was poor Mr. Adam possessed of that opinion, that he actually makes it one of his charges against Mr. Buckingham, that he called them "waste paper," which in fact, and in law, they were. And yet, no sooner had the Marquess of Hastings left India, and his power had temporarily fallen into the hands of Mr. Adam, than he found himself compelled to apply to the Judge, Sir F. Macnaghten, to give these regulations the effect and force of LAW, by registering them in the Supreme Court.

The Governor General and his Council, it is true, issue what regulations or instructions they please, but they cannot have the force of law until they have been registered by the Judge of the Supreme Court. Let me not be met then by any man hereafter citing the Marquess of Hastings's regulations, as a proof that he considered that something more than the law of England was necessary to guard against the licentiousness of the press. If any man draws such an inference, he reasons incorrectly. The Marquess of Hastings never resorted to the measure of banishment without trial: he suffered the regulations themselves to be issued at the solicitation of persons who were weak enough, as Mr. Adam appears to have been, to suppose that they could have the effect of law. The Marquess of Hastings reasoned thus, "I have satisfied these interested alarmists of the civil service by giving them these regulations, and now my experiment can have a fair trial, and I shall be able to refer to the tranquillity of the country as a proof of its efficacy." Mr. Canning's conduct proved that he agreed with the Marquess of Hastings, as to the propriety of controlling the press in India by the operation of the English law alone; for when the Court of Directors almost *una voce*, cried out, "Down with the juries and the law of England, and up again with the censorship," Mr. Canning rejected their recommendation; he locked it up in his desk, and took no further notice of it, thus treating the wise men of the east as they deserved. (Hear, and a laugh.) Mr. Canning acted very wisely in this instance. He said he would wait to see the result of the Marquess of Hastings's experiment of a free press; if it should prove successful he would be praised for his foresight, and if on the contrary it were unsuccessful, he could not be blamed.

The censorship having been removed, and the regulations given as a play-thing to amuse the old and weak-minded functionaries of the civil service, let us see what was the result of the experiment during the five years of the Marquess of Hastings's administration. This we have on record in the preamble to the fettering and disgraceful regulations for the enslaving the press, which were framed in that unfortunate period, when, in the concussion of events, in the storm of the moment, Mr. Adam was tossed up by accident, not by election, into the seat of government, where, mistaking elevation of position for dignity of attitude, he fancied himself fitted to wield the thunder which was in his hands. We have Mr. Adam's own authority for the result of the Marquess of Hastings's experiment of a free press during five successive years. Was it that popular commotion had ensued? Was it that private injury had been done with impunity? Was it that an increase of false and malicious intelligence had been disseminated? No such thing. If any of these facts had occurred, they would have been stated in the preamble to Mr. Adam's new restrictions. What says that preamble? "Whereas matters *tending* to bring the government of this country, as by law established, into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, have of late been frequently printed and circulated in newspapers, and other papers published in Calcutta:" how did it happen that these matters which *tended* only (for it was not said that they *produced* the effect) to disturb the good order of society, were never brought before a court of justice in Calcutta? (Hear, hear.) How was it that the only conviction for libel which took place in the King's Court, during the five years, was an action which Mr. Buckingham brought against the editor, proprietors, and secret writers in the *John Bull*, for a series of malignant attacks on his character? I will presently refer to the words of Sir F. Macnaghten on this subject, which are extremely important. The action which Mr. Buckingham brought was a civil action, which gave the defendants the power of justifying and proving the truth of what they had published. But not one jot of evidence of this nature was offered on that occasion. Mr. Buckingham obtained a verdict, and all the damages which he required, which were small, because he sought only the vindication of his character.—The Advocate General was many times consulted as to the propriety of prosecuting Mr. Buckingham for libel, but it was only on one occasion resolved upon, because in fact there existed no fair ground for such a proceeding, and even these proceedings were subsequently abandoned. Mr. Adam's preamble, however, goes on to say, "for the *prevention* whereof it is deemed expedient to regulate by law the printing and publication within the Settlement of Fort William, in Bengal, of newspapers, and of all magazines, registers, pamphlets, and other printed books and papers, in any language or character, published periodically; containing, or purporting to contain, public news and

intelligence, or strictures on the acts, measures, and proceedings of government, or any political events or transactions whatsoever." This, indeed, is a sweeping regulation. It is then ordained that, "if any person shall sell or lend a book or paper, of the nature before mentioned, without having previously obtained a license, he shall forfeit a sum not exceeding four hundred sicca rupees." (*a*) By this regulation a man might be subjected to this heavy penalty if he lent a newspaper, or a leaf of a book, to his friend to light his fire with, or for any other purpose; and the hardship of the case was aggravated by the power of conviction being given to two Justices of the Peace, who were removeable at will, and must therefore, according to Mr. Adam's avowed theory, blindly obey the wishes of the Government. It is then further declared that "nothing in this ordinance shall be taken to extend to books or papers containing *only* shipping intelligence, advertisements of sales, current prices of commodities, rates of exchange, and other intelligence solely of a commercial nature." How absurd is this, when commercial intelligence may possibly contain the most important political events.

Under these restrictions, however, the newspapers were henceforth to be published. They are much the same as Beaumarchais, writing under a despotic government, with much point and humour described the press under the blessed government of the Bourbons. He makes his character however, Figaro, describe the blessings of these restrictions to have been granted and felt in the city of Madrid. "Having escaped from prison," says Figaro, "the first news I learn is, that during my confinement, a new system of liberty has been established for the sale of productions, and amongst others, productions of the press; and that provided I do not touch upon power, or religion, or politics, or ethics, or persons, or place, or corporate bodies, or on the opera, or on the other theatres, I may publish whatever I please. Upon this," says Figaro, "I immediately issued a publication, intitled the *Useless Journal*." (A laugh.) I apprehend that the newspapers which are published under Mr. Adam's amiable restrictions, will bear a strong resemblance to Figaro's journal. (Hear.)

These regulations having been registered, the Government accompanied their issue with what I may call its commentary upon them. On the 5th of April, 1823, a paper was put forth by the Governor General in council, notifying to the proprietors and editors of newspapers, and other periodical works, the kind of matter the publication of which would subject them to be deprived of their license. (*b*) The editors of newspapers in the first place were informed, that they would forfeit their licenses if they made any "contumelious reflections against the King, or any of the members of the Royal Family," as if the law did not already sufficiently protect these. Secondly, "any observations or statements touching the *character, constitution, measures,* or *orders of the Court of Directors*, or other public authorities in England connected with India." Thirdly, "observations on statements of the above description relative to any allied or friendly native powers, their ministers or representatives." This again puts me in mind of the misfortunes of Figaro. He wrote a play in Spain, and he thought he ran no risk in placing the scene in Turkey; but the moment it was published, the minister for foreign affairs came to inform him, that the ambassadors of the Sublime Porte and the Emperor of Morocco, complained that it was offensive to their masters. Under this regulation of Mr. Adam's, a person could not write a pamphlet containing the most harmless strictures on a native power, with which we were in alliance, although if we quarrelled with it the next day, as was not unfrequently the case, he might abuse it to his heart's content. Fourthly, "all defamatory or contumelious remarks, or offensive insinuations levelled against the Governor General, Members of Council, the Judges in any of his Majesty's Courts in any of the Presidencies, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta," are expressly forbidden under the same penalty. It is not to be wondered at that Mr. Canning raised a laugh, when he read these regulations in the House of Commons. I am of opinion that the right hon. Gent. would not content himself with merely ridiculing these matters if his mind were not occupied with subjects which he considers of greater importance than Indian affairs; and, indeed, I am inclined to suspect from the readiness which he has exhibited in the direction of the foreign department since he quitted the Board of Control, that during the time he sat there his mind was more engrossed with European than Indian politics, and will account for many acts of omission and sufferance on his part. It was only upon rare and extraordinary occasions alone, such as that when the Court of Directors exhibited the glaring absurdity of calling for the revival of the censorship of the press, that he directly interfered. Fifthly, "discussions, having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions and observances."—What can be more absurd than such a prohibition as this, when at the same time the Government expressly encourage missionaries to go among the natives, for the purpose of inducing them to change their religion? (Hear, hear.) "Anonymous

(*a*) See Oriental Herald, vol. i. p. 124.
(*b*) Id. p. 125.

appeals to the public, relative to grievances of a professional or official nature, alleged to have been sustained by public officers in the service of his Majesty or the honourable Company," were also forbidden. The effect of this must be to deprive Government of all chance of detecting abuses in the conduct of their inferior officers. (Hear.)

These, then, are the regulations concerning the press; and the commentary upon them you shall now hear—"The foregoing rules impose *no irksome restraints* on the publication and discussion of any matters of general interest relating to European or Indian affairs, provided they are conducted with the temper and decorum which the Government has a right to expect from those *living* under its protection." Really the Governor and Council seem to consider it a high favour, that persons should have the privilege of living, of preserving *life* under their paternal sway—"Neither do they preclude individuals from offering in a temperate and decorous manner, through the channel of the public newspapers, or other periodical works, their own views and sentiments *relative to matters affecting the interests of the community*." Why, is not this a direct contradiction of all that has been said before? (Hear, hear!) However, such absurdities and contradictions may be fit to be issued from the Government press of an Eastern Empire, but they must excite only contempt and disgust in every other quarter.

The very day when these regulations had been registered in the Supreme Court, the Governor General in council, with breathless haste issued a code of regulations (*c*) for licensing the printing presses all over the presidency of Bengal. This code provides that "all persons shall be liable, on conviction of using a printing press without the license of Government, to pay a price not exceeding one thousand rupees, commutable, if not paid, to imprisonment for six months." The seizure and forcible entry into all houses in search of all books printed, and of all presses used without the license, is also authorized. Good God! Sir, is this a mark of confidence which the Government of India ought to repose in the people who were subjected to its rule, on account of the attachment and obedience which they have constantly exhibited towards it? Is this the way in which you in this country will suffer the Government of India to be carried on? The madness which dictated such measures, would appear almost incredible, were not the measures accompanied with acts towards individuals, which, when they are stated, will, I am convinced, excite equal horror and astonishment in this Court. In Mr. Adam's account of these transactions, are to be found imputations against whole bodies of individuals who have passed the ordeal of your service, which, if you sanction, you will in my opinion disgrace yourselves, and be a party to the slander upon others.

I request the attention of the Court to certain passages from a memorial which was presented to the Supreme Court, from Ram Mohun Roy, a native of great and acknowledged learning and ability, in conjunction with five other natives of the highest respectability, on the occasion of the proposal to register these odious regulations. (*d*) I speak in the presence of many who can testify, that what I am about to read, contains the real sentiments of Ram Mohun Roy. Let it not be supposed, that this is a memorial got up by Englishmen, who have put their words and sentiments into his mouth.

[The Honourable Proprietor then read an extract from the memorial, which set forth, that whosoever charged the natives of India with disloyalty to the British Government, must either be totally ignorant of their sentiments, or desirous of misleading the Government for unworthy purposes of his own—that the natives delighted to draw a comparison between their present auspicious prospects, and their hopeless condition under their former rulers.]

This memorial should be set up as an answer to the libels which the Council has passed upon the Government of India, in sending forth these disgraceful regulations for the press. The Government of India ought to be proud to be able to hold up these sentiments to Europe as a record of its justice.

[The Hon. Proprietor read another passage, which declared, that if the regulations issued by the Council should be carried into effect, a complete stop would be put to the diffusion of knowledge, and the natives would be precluded from communicating frankly and honestly to their gracious Sovereign in England, and his council, the real condition of his Majesty's faithful subjects in that distant part of his dominions, and the treatment which they experienced from the local Government.]

This is a most important consideration. I beg the Court to recollect, that, but for the impression and confidence among the natives of India, that justice would ultimately be done them at home, the East India Company would vanish into air. To the natives of India, this country stands in the situation of an Almighty Providence, which holds out the hope of future good. The establishment of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, had carried to India the blessings of the British constitution; and if they should

(*c*) See Oriental Herald, vol. i. p. 126.

(*d*) Id. p. 130.

be taken away, I do not hesitate to say, that I hope our power in the East may perish. The memorial concludes with a prayer, that the natives may be permitted to *continue* in possession of the civil rights and privileges which they have so *long enjoyed* under the auspices of the British nation. This memorial is a high testimony to the character of the Indian Government, and a proof of the good that must result from it, if persons elevated into momentary power be not permitted to destroy a system which it has been the work of ages to establish. (Hear.)

Permit me, Sir, to advert to what passed in the Supreme Court on the occasion of registering the regulations to which the memorial of Ram Mohun Roy refers. It is one of the special regulations, that no person in India shall speak about a judge; but as that regulation does not extend to England, I may perhaps take the liberty to make a few observations presently, upon Sir F. Macnaghten's speech. On the 31st of March, 1823, Mr. Fergusson, who, I believe has been, since, during Mr. Adam's accidental reign, for a short time Advocate General, addressed the Supreme Court, opposing their registration. He began by declaring that the natives who had signed the memorial, were of the first respectability in Calcutta, that they expressed the sentiments of the whole of their countrymen. He then characterized the regulations as the most odious, and the most extraordinary that had ever been attempted to be made law in that settlement, governed as it was by the rules and principles of English law, and proceeded thus:—"This preamble, your Lordship will be pleased to observe, does not ground the necessity or expediency of this regulation, on any facts or circumstances within the particular knowledge of Government, in respect to the state and condition of the country, or the minds of the Indian community, as actually affected by such publications: it speaks of the *tendency* only of such publications. If the preamble had said, that such publications had *had* the effect of exciting in the community of India, or in any part of it, any thing like a feeling of discontent against the Government, &c. the necessity of this regulation would, at least, have been asserted on the face of it. But as it stands now, such necessity is neither asserted, nor can be implied ..... To justify the odious restrictions sought by this regulation, to be put upon the press, it should have been shown, not only that such mischievous publications *were* circulated, but that the law, as it stood, was insufficient to repress them ..... It is now five years since the censorship, which never had the semblance of lawful authority to support it, has been withdrawn from the press. During that period there has been one prosecution by indictment, and another by information; neither of them for publications levelled at the Government." This is the clear and unanswerable reasoning of Mr. Fergusson. The learned gentleman also referred to the acts of Parliament on which the authority to pass the regulation was made to rest, and showed that the Governor General in council, was only empowered to make such rules and ordinances as shall be agreeable to reason, and not contrary to the laws and statutes of England. But the regulations which Mr. Adam issued, *are* contrary to the laws and statutes of England, as well as to common sense and prudence. This cannot be denied.

Before I proceed to Sir F. Macnaghten's speech, it will be necessary for me, in order to make you understand the observations of the learned Judge, to refer to a particular part of Mr. Adam's pamphlet, which contains the enlightened and statesmanlike views of that gentleman, with respect to the Indian Government, and his description of the community over which it is established. I quote from page 52 of the pamphlet. "The Governor General protests against the assumption of this right of control (of public opinion) over the Government and its officers, by a community, constituted like the European society in India." Generally speaking, says Mr. Adam, it is very proper that governments should be subjected to the control of public opinion; but then, he adds, that the Indian public cannot exercise that control, because every body in India is *dependent* on the Government, and *incapable* of forming an opinion on their measures. Will the many gentlemen present, whom I know have served in India, admit that they were ever in such a state of thraldom? Shall we allow such an assertion to remain uncontradicted, when we know that many individuals, who have been in the Company's service in India, have obtained seats behind the bar, and in the senate?

Mr. Adam says, "The European community in India will be found, on examination, to be composed, 1st, of officers civil and military, of his Majesty and the Company; 2d, of persons engaged in mercantile pursuits, residing in India, under license from the Court of Directors, liable to be withdrawn by the local Government, *without reason assigned*." Aye, now the murder is out; grant Mr. Adam that, and he has every thing. But I deny that that is the right construction of the law. Are we silently to acquiesce in this, Mr. Adam's absurd exposition of the law? But to proceed: "3d, of a lower class of men of business, traders, and handicraftsmen, either residing similarly under a license at will, or without any such sanction; and, therefore, like the unlicensed of the former class, in the *hourly* commission of a misdemeanour at law. (A

laugh.) This is somewhat strange; here is a part of the community hourly misdemeaning themselves. (Laughter.) *Os homini sublime dedit*, &c. said the poet; but that cannot apply to the Indian community. They are base fellows, not *homines*, who dare not raise their heads. Hear Mr. Adam on that point:—"It is a *mockery* to claim for a community so constituted, the political privileges and functions of the great and independent body of the people of England." To be sure it is, Mr. Adam, if *your* description of them be true. "And the notion could only have originated in the minds of those who, from some inexplicable views, or from motives of *mere lucre*, seek to raise themselves to consequence." Mere lucre indeed! Why, what motives but that of acquiring this base lucre, have kept Mr. Adam in India so long? I only say, thank God that Mr. Adam has explained himself so explicitly. He plainly declares that the whole Indian community are a set of slaves, incapable of the exercise of independent functions.

In a subsequent page, he adds, "A greater political absurdity can scarcely be imagined than a Government controlled by the voice of its own servants, or by other persons residing under its authority, on sufferance, and liable to removal at its discretion." This is the point to which Mr. Adam perpetually recurs; and, in truth, so long as the power of sending persons out of India is permitted to be exercised as it has been by Mr. Adam, it will be absurd to expect that free and independent men will be found in India. It is not possible, however, that Mr. Adam's exposition of the law will be allowed to go uncontradicted. I hope that the Court of Directors have already sent out to India such remonstrances as will correct Mr. Adam's notions regarding the law on this point; if not, they have neglected a most pre-eminent duty. What will the natives think when the officers, who are placed over them, shall say to them, upon Mr. Adam's authority, "You are a set of slaves, and we ourselves are not a bit better"? I hope that the Directors will exhibit a proper feeling on this occasion, and which should be more frequently displayed in Parliament, when the character of the Indian Government is brought in question. I do not know the secret motives of gentlemen who have attained to elevated stations in India; but there is too frequently displayed among them, a disregard to the interests of those who have yet to pass through the lower grades of the service. Those who have reached a high rank, too often think that the system which has been good for them, requires no amelioration. If the Court of Directors do not show some regard for the character as well as interests of the Company, and boldly come forward to vindicate the Government of India, there is no censure, however strong, that they will not merit.

It is amusing to hear the manner in which Mr. Adam talks of "servants," he himself being all the while a servant. He says he has the right to send out of India, as he has sent Mr. Buckingham, any servant of the Government. Does he mean to say that he himself constitutes the Government of India? After this exposé of Mr. Adam, no doubt the declaration of Sir F. Macnaghten will be considered quite a *sequitur*, namely, that he never knew a society more free than that of Calcutta—(A laugh.)—This, after Mr. Adam has declared that the community is in such a state of dependence on the Government, that their opinions on any subject could not be sincere! If Mr. Adam should be asked why he did not consult the opinions of the other members of the Government, he would be obliged to say, if he preserved his consistency, that such base fellows could have no opinion. Sir Francis Macnaghten afterwards says, "as the Government is at present constituted, I am sure it cannot exist together with a free press. Such a press coming in contact with this Government, is quite inconsistent—they are incompatible, and cannot stand together." Sir F. Macnaghten goes on to make some extraordinary observations respecting the granting of licenses, which was a question of private property. A man having obtained a license, may be induced to lay out a large sum in establishing a newspaper; and for the Government to refuse to continue the license after that had been done, would manifestly cause a serious loss if not ruin to the party. That such had been the case, in regard to Mr. Buckingham, was unfortunately but too true. So great was the reputation which Mr. Buckingham had obtained from his paper, that it yielded him at the period just before his banishment, eight thousand pounds a year profit: and its value was so well established, that on estimating the whole property to be worth 40,000*l*., one-fourth of it was readily and immediately purchased by parties in India for 10,000*l*. The description which I am enabled to give of the manner in which this valuable property has been depreciated, and, I may say, destroyed, cannot fail to astonish the country.

The observations which Sir F. Macnaghten makes with respect to the licensing of newspapers, are very extraordinary on the part of a Judge who was about to register a law, which was to regulate the sentiments and conduct of the whole community. Instead of founding his determination on general principles, he makes the granting of licenses a condition of his acquiescence. "In regard to the property which any gentleman may have in this paper," says Sir F. Macnaghten, "in the first place, I believe there is no

intention to refuse a license to any paper now printed in Calcutta. I speak from my own opinion merely; but if it be not the case; if any one entertains any apprehension of such refusal, I will assure him that a license shall be granted to him; because I will not consent to register the rule until it be granted." Here is a confession for a Judge to make! This will be a standing joke in the House of Commons for the next Session at least. Here is a Judge, who says, that unless licenses are granted to all the newspapers then existing in Calcutta, he will not pass a law, which, like all laws, should only be founded on general principles. Was ever such a thing heard of before? The learned Judge afterwards says, "If any person connected with an existing paper, be apprehensive of not obtaining a license, I will guarantee it. . . . If there be any abuse of it (the Regulation), I hope it will be complained of, and I will forward the complaint with zeal and energy [had he the power to do so?]. With respect to licensing the papers at present in existence, I shall delay giving this Regulation the force of *law* until a license shall be granted to them all." The learned Judge then delivers an opinion, that the licensing of the press, so far from being repugnant to English law, is quite consonant with it, and he endeavours to find an excuse for it in analogous practice. And what do you think are the cases which he refers to? Why, apothecaries and hackney-coachmen! Really, when a Judge can venture to utter such disgraceful trash, I fear that the community must be almost in as degraded a state as that described by Mr. Adam. It is too contemptible to waste words upon. However, here we have Sir F. Macnaghten's reasons for registering the Regulation of Mr. Adam. There is only one way to remedy the disgraceful state of things now existing in India, and that is, by the decided expression of the opinion of this Court, and of the Legislature. I shall always be happy (at the risk of being taunted from behind the bar, with occupying too much of the time of the Court) to join any of my brother Proprietors in an attempt to bring this question under the consideration of Parliament, in the only constitutional manner, namely, by an appeal from this Court.

It is time, however, that I should take up the extraordinary political manifesto of the temporary Governor General Adam, as contained in his pamphlet; and I think a publication of greater absurdity, betraying more want both of head and heart, was never before sent forth to the world. (Hear, hear!) It is a disgrace to the writer, and to the age in which it is written. It is filled with misrepresentations, and is distinguished only for imbecility and slander. If I do not prove this before I sit down, I will consent to forfeit my character with the Court. Mr. Adam sets out with a misstatement: he says, that the Marquess of Hastings, in abolishing the censorship, substituted for it the regulations I have before alluded to. This is an insidious misstatement. The abolition of the censorship was an act openly and publicly proclaimed to the world; but the regulations were contained in a private circular to the editors only, and, in point of law, were merely waste paper, put forth, as I have before said, to gratify the wishes of the people about him. One word as to the morality of the proceeding. I cannot think that the noble Marquess is to be blamed for acting in this manner. He said to himself, "If my Council are satisfied with these regulations, and think they are laws, let them; but I will try the great experiment, whether British law is not of itself sufficient to prevent the licentiousness of the press." Mr. Canning must have reasoned in the same way, otherwise he would not have said, "Let the experiment of a free press be tried," when the Court of Directors wished to apply to it the padlock and irons.

I will now proceed to the first charge which Mr. Adam makes against Mr. Buckingham; for, after having ruined that gentleman's fortunes, and expelled him from India, he thought proper to put forth a pamphlet, of more than eighty pages, full of the grossest personal abuse of Mr. Buckingham. He charges him with having, from the first moment of his residence in India, been actuated by the basest motives; and so far did he carry his enmity against him, that he even made the publication of the advertisement of the opening his library for public use, a ground of complaint; and an intimation has been subsequently given, that no license would be granted for the publication of the Calcutta Journal, whilst Mr. Buckingham continued to have any interest whatever in its property! In page 5 of Mr. Adam's pamphlet, it is stated as one of Mr. Buckingham's offences, that he had it in view to establish a free press in India. That, however, had previously been done by Lord Hastings. The first charge which Mr. Adam makes against Mr. Buckingham is the having expressed his regret at Mr. Elliott's continuance in power in the Presidency of Madras. Before, however, I proceed with the charges against Mr. Buckingham, I beg to call the attention of the Court to a circumstance, not a little extraordinary after the doctrines which Mr. Adam has propounded concerning the state of the Indian community. After Mr. Adam has declared publicly that the civil and military functionaries in India, and indeed the whole population, are incapable of expressing an opinion with respect to the conduct of Government, it was with some surprise that I read his answer to an address from the inhabitants of the province of Benares, signed by General

Loveday and others. Mr. Adam's reply is dated the 7th of December 1823, and is as follows:

Gentlemen,—The very flattering testimony of your approbation conveyed to me by the address which I have had the honour to receive from you, demands my warmest thanks. The favourable opinion of so respectable a body of my country men, whose *ability to appreciate* the effect of public measures gives weight to their judgment, and whose *independence of character* is a pledge of the sincerity of their professions, must ever possess a high value in my estimation, and constitute a solid ground of satisfaction in reviewing the transactions of the short period during which the charge of the Government was vested in my hands. In entering on the duties of the station to which I was so unexpectedly called, I derived confidence and support from my experience of the talents and *public spirit* of the great body of the service in all its branches; and the conviction that the measures I might pursue, if honestly directed to the promotion of the public interests, would be candidly and fairly judged when their objects and results were known. The sentiments you are pleased to express, assure me that the expectation was well founded, and must, while they will always be a source of grateful recollection and pride, be an incentive to the same line of conduct which has been honoured with your good opinion during the remaining term of my connexion with the administration of this country, &c.

I hope Mr. Adam will obtain his reward from his countrymen here. I hope and trust that he will meet with the reprobation of every good man. I can find no language, consistent with the rules of courtesy, in which to express my contempt for the weakness of human nature, as exemplified in the elevation of that man. Mr. Canning remarked, in the House of Commons, in his usual jocose manner, that he should as soon expect Lord Amherst to become a tiger as a tyrant. That I am sure could not be his deliberate opinion; for all history tells us that men, by the possession of power, have been converted from the best to the worst of their species, and this too not so much from a thirst for blood as an obstinate adherence to an erroneous course.

Let me return, however, from this digression to the subject of the charges brought by Mr. Adam against Mr. Buckingham. The first charge, as I before said, is that Mr. Buckingham had expressed his dissatisfaction at Mr. Elliott's continuance in power. Upon that occasion, a letter was sent to Mr. Buckingham, complaining of the circumstance; this letter was signed by the Chief Secretary to the Government, and dated June 18, 1819. In reply to this, Mr. Buckingham wrote a letter expressing his regret at having given offence to Lord Hastings, and stating that he would endeavour to avoid doing so for the future.(*e*) A more proper, consistent and courteous explanation, and expression of deference to the wishes of Government, I will venture to say, never was penned. I believe, too, that the letter contains a sincere declaration of Mr. Buckingham's real feelings of obligation to Lord Hastings. The noble Marquess, upon the receipt of the letter, in the most dignified manner abstained from further comment.

The second charge against Mr. Buckingham is, that he made some offensive observations as to the Government of Madras preventing the publication in the Papers of that Presidency, of the proceedings of a meeting held there to address Lord Hastings, and he adds that these were, at the moment, overlooked, *because* of the expression of regret above referred to. Here again, however, Mr. Adam misstates the fact, for these remarks on the subject of the meeting were printed *before* those relative to Mr. Elliott, and could not, therefore, by any possibility, have been overlooked because of an expression of regret which had not then been uttered.

However, as nothing particular arose out of this circumstance, the Advocate General dissuading the idea of a prosecution, as he saw no hope of a conviction, I will proceed to the third charge, which is, that Mr. Buckingham complained of the measures taken by the Madras Government to impede the circulation of his Journal through their territories. I cannot help observing, that in the correspondence which took place on this occasion, as indeed in every case in which Lord Hastings was concerned, the dignity of the Government is preserved with singular skill. The circumstances out of which Mr. Buckingham's complaint arose, are shortly these:—Mr. Buckingham had entered into a contract with the Postmaster General, by which the Numbers of the Calcutta Journal were allowed to go free to Madras, and even beyond that Presidency, upon payment of a monthly sum by Mr. Buckingham. After this arrangement had continued some time, additional postage was charged upon the papers, although Mr. Buckingham still paid the monthly sum which had been agreed upon. I shall read some of Mr. Buckingham's remarks on this point, because they are monuments of the talent and circumspection which he displayed under circumstances of great danger, when even the sword itself was hanging over his head; and which it would be well for all editors of newspapers to imitate. Indeed, the talent and good sense which Mr. Buckingham displayed, under circumstances of such extremely aggravated ill usage, are perfectly astonishing. [The honourable Proprietor then read an extract from the

(*e*) See Oriental Herald, vol. I. App. p. ix.

Calcutta Journal, complaining of the impediments opposed to the circulation of the Paper. (*f*)] Would any one imagine that there was any thing in that article which called for the interference of the Government. On the day subsequent to that on which the article appeared, Mr. Buckingham received a letter from the Chief Secretary, the first paragraph of which was as follows:—"The tenour of certain observations contained in the Calcutta Journal of yesterday's date, under the head of a 'Notice to Subscribers under the Madras Presidency,' has appeared to his Excellency the most noble the Governor General in Council, to be *so highly improper* as to call for immediate notice from this Government." In a subsequent part of the letter, it is demanded that Mr. Buckingham should make an apology for having written the article. Mr. Buckingham, in a long letter to the Chief Secretary, entered into an explanation on the subject, but stated, that being conscious that he was in the right, he would not make any apology, and that he felt hurt at the demand for one having been made. In consequence of Mr Buckingham's letter, the Government instituted an inquiry on the subject, when it turned out that the Postmaster was in error, and that Mr. Buckingham was justified in the complaint which he had made. (Hear, hear!) Mr. Buckingham received another letter from the Chief Secretary, which contained the following remarkable observations:

It is with regret that his Lordship in Council has felt it necessary on public grounds to take any official notice of the observations in question. The rules framed for the guidance of the editors of newspapers, when they were relieved from the necessity of submitting their papers to the revision of an officer of Government, were in themselves so reasonable, and so obviously suited to the circumstances of this Government, and to the state of society here, as to warrant the expectation of their general spirit being observed, even if they had not been officially prescribed. Independently of other injurious consequences to which an injudicious or perverted use of the discretion vested in the editors of newspapers may lead, it has a manifest tendency to raise a question as to the expediency of the liberal measures sanctioned by Government with regard to the press; and to lead to the revival of those restrictions, which common prudence on the part of the editors would render altogether unnecessary.

The Government in this case, we see was obliged to condescend to reason with the gentlemen of the press, and to make an appeal to their honour and prudence. Upon the receipt of this letter, the following paragraph appeared in the Calcutta Journal:

It gives us sincere pleasure to be able to announce to our subscribers under the Madras Presidency, that the measures we have taken to counteract the evil apprehended from the late interruption of the free postage of the Journal through their territories, have hitherto been attended with a success beyond our most sanguine expectations; and promise us more satisfactory results than ever the continuance of that system itself would for a long period, at least, have commanded.

Mr. Adam calls this a most contumacious act; indeed he seems to be extremely indignant at Mr. Buckingham's conduct throughout the whole of this transaction. Mr. Buckingham, he says, was asked for an apology, and instead of making one, he had the insolence to defend himself. These are Mr. Adam's words: "To the clear and positive injunctions of the supreme Government of the country, Mr. Buckingham, a licensed free mariner, thinks proper to oppose his own pretended dignity;" (What! was his being a licensed free mariner to deprive him of the feelings of an Englishman? Was he, when he knew himself to be in the right, as the result proved, to make an abject apology, and acknowledge that he had done what was improper?) "as if the *unfounded* insinuations thrown out by him against the public conduct of the Madras Government were nothing, and his dignity every thing. . . . . Instead, therefore, of an apology to Government as was demanded of him, he sends a long letter of justification; and it was not until he was called on a second time, that he sent in a draft of a letter, for the purpose of being forwarded to Madras, which contained no apology whatever, but another attempt at justification." It is impossible to account for such misstatements as these, except upon the supposition of a want of intellect, or of a motive which I will not characterise. After this correspondence had taken place between Mr. Buckingham and the Government, in which it was only the good taste and judgment of the Marquess of Hastings, which prevented the dignity of the Government from being compromised; it turned out, as I have before stated, that the complaints made by Mr. Buckingham were correct; and yet Mr. Adam makes it one of the grounds for banishing Mr. Buckingham, and ruining his fortunes, that he brought these very charges forward. (Hear, hear!)

The next charge against Mr. Buckingham was, that he had published a letter complaining of the mode in which the British troops in the service of the Nizam were paid. What are the facts with respect to this transaction? Why, Mr.

(*f*) See Oriental Herald, vol. I. App. p. xiv.

Buckingham was asked to give up the author of the letter, to which, with the permission of the writer he consented. But the effect of the publication of the letter was that the system of which it complained was altered, and Mr. Buckingham was never subjected to the slightest reproof.

The fifth charge was, that Mr. Buckingham had published a letter signed "Emulus," on the patronage of merit in the Indian army. The Advocate General was consulted with respect to the propriety of a prosecution, which was accordingly determined on, but was afterwards abandoned, upon Mr. Buckingham disavowing at the express suggestion of the Marquess of Hastings himself, any participation in the sentiments contained in the letter of his correspondent.

The sixth charge is, the publication of a letter, signed "A Young Officer;" the object of which was to expose a system of monopoly among the older officers at certain stations in the Interior, in building and selling houses in an improper manner. The name of this writer was also, with his own consent, given up at the request of the Government; and he received a mild letter of admonition, written with Lord Hastings's own hand. The publication of this letter Mr. Adam calls another act of contumacy.

The seventh charge is, that Mr. Buckingham accused the Government of having circulated, free of expense, the infamous prospectus of the John Bull newspaper, which it could not be denied was under the patronage of the Government, for the Secretaries avowedly wrote in it. Mr. Adam has, in the most disingenuous manner, selected certain passages from the controversial articles which Mr. Buckingham wrote against this John Bull, and instead of giving them with their context, or stating that they were replies to articles in the John Bull, he leaves it to be supposed that they are specimens of Mr. Buckingham's usual manner of discussing the affairs of Government. (Hear, hear, hear!) Nothing could be more disgusting than such conduct as this. The Advocate General was referred to on the occasion here adverted to, but he advised that no prosecution should take place, and the truth of Mr. Buckingham's charge was never denied. Why, these were so many *triumphs* for Mr. Buckingham. Was it possible for a man to receive greater encouragement to go on in the course in which he had embarked, when he proved himself to be always in the right? (Hear, hear!) I really cannot account for the imbecility which Mr Adam has displayed in stating all these circumstances as matters of *blame* to Mr. Buckingham.

The eighth charge is founded on a letter published in the Calcutta Journal, from the "Friend of a Lady on her death-bed," which has been designated by a member of the Court of Directors, in the House of Commons, as an "indecent attack on the Bishop of Calcutta." Let us see, however, what this indecent attack is. It is well known, that in the Interior there is a great want of persons authorized to perform religious duties; and it is the practice of Chaplains of regiments posted there, in the event of their being well paid, to proceed to a considerable distance from their stations to celebrate marriage, or other religious ceremonies; in the mean time, those persons whose interests it is the immediate duty of the Chaplains to attend to, are deprived of their services. It was in reference to this practice that the letter to which I have alluded, and will now read, was written. [The hon. Proprietor here read the letter in question.(*g*)] On the 15th of July, Mr. Buckingham received a letter from the Chief Secretary of the Government, stating that the letter from the "Friend of a lady on her death-bed," contained insinuations against the character of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and calling upon Mr. Buckingham to give up the name of the author. (*h*) On the 17th of July, Mr. Buckingham replied, that the writer of the letter being unknown to him, he could not furnish his name, but that in publishing the letter he was influenced by the conviction that a temperate discussion of the subject contained in it, could not but produce public benefit. Upon the receipt of this reply, the Chief Secretary wrote another letter to Mr. Buckingham, stating that Government was dissatisfied with Mr. Buckingham's communication.(*i*) I cannot suppose that the Marquess of Hastings approved of all these proceedings. I have no doubt that, being teased by his Council, he told them —" You may enter the lists against Mr. Buckingham, and see how he will settle disputes with you." This second letter of the Chief Secretary contains the following passage:—" On mere presumption, if not with intentional disguise of a known fact, the statement would give it to be understood that the misconduct alluded to was unchecked, whereas *serious notice of the transgression was instantly taken*. Therefore it is not only a groundless imputation on the Bishop of Calcutta, but the culpable inattention of Government was falsely implied." Was not this a complete justification of Mr. Buckingham? Not only is the correctness of the fact mentioned in the letter published by him admitted, but it is stated that Government had *actually* taken serious notice of it. The Secretary goes on to say, " Had the object of the writer of the letter been to remedy an inconvenience, his ad-

(*g*) See Oriental Herald, vol. I. App. p. xxv.
(*h*) Id. (*i*) Id. p. xxvi.

dressing himself to the proper department was the ready and legitimate course for procuring an immediate correction of the evil." I appeal to any person in this Court to state which he considers the course more consonant with proper feeling, to bring an accusation against an individual, or by a public notice to call the attention of the Government to the system generally, in order that the evil practice may be remedied? The Secretary proceeds—"An accuser's concealment of his name has an obvious meanness in it, which ought to throw doubt upon his representation; and when to that circumstance was added the peculiarity of the signature—"A Friend to a Lady on her death-bed," adopted visibly to suggest to the minds of the public some brutal slight, the malignity of the disposition was unquestionable." No wonder that a Government which employs itself in writing such nonsense as this, should neglect more important duties! There was nothing of deception with respect to the signature of the letter. It is a matter of fact that it was written by a friend of a lady, then on her death-bed, and who soon after died.—However, from the accusations brought against him in this letter of the Secretary, Mr. Buckingham defends himself in a most admirable manner, in a reply which is too long to read here, but which deserves to be particularly referred to. (*k*) He was subsequently informed that this reply had produced no change in the sentiments of the Government; and thus this affair ended.

The next circumstance to which Mr. Adam alludes, as one of those from which it is to be inferred that Mr. Buckingham's object was to overthrow the Indian Government, is the publication of a letter under the signature of "Sam. Sobersides," on the 25th of October 1821. Mr. Adam complains that after the grand jury had returned a true bill against Mr. Buckingham for the publication of the letter of "Sam. Sobersides," on the ground that it was a libel on the six Secretaries; after this, he published a series of articles explanatory of the views and meaning of the Letter said to be libellous, but which Mr. Adam considered as tending to obstruct the due course of justice, by influencing the jurymen who were to try them, though these jurymen had not yet been impannelled, and no one knew who they were to be. How absurd is this! Mr. Buckingham, then, was to rest quiet under the imputation of having written that which was false, lest, by denying the accusation, he might influence any portion of the community in his favour! Mr. Adam mentions the circumstance of Mr. Buckingham's acquittal in a very brief manner—"The indictment," he says, "was tried on the 18th of January 1822, and the jury brought in a verdict of Not Guilty." He might have added, that the jury returned their verdict without a moment's hesitation; but it is sufficient evidence of Mr. Buckingham's innocence, to find that even Mr. Adam acknowledges that he *was* acquitted. A criminal information had, nevertheless, been filed, under the advice of the Advocate General, against Mr. Buckingham, on account of the observations which Mr. Adam says were calculated to influence the minds of the jury who were to try him. This criminal information was opposed, from the beginning, by Sir F. Macnaghten, who first objected to its being filed, as cruel, oppressive, and illegal, and when brought before him at its revival, a year afterwards, refused to try it. Mr. Adam has dismissed this circumstance also very quietly. He states the fact, that the judge refused to try the information, but he omits to say, that it was because it was cruel, oppressive, and illegal. Injury may sometimes be effected by concealing part of what is true, which the French call *réticence*, as well as by stating what is not true, and this is an illustration of that practice.

The tenth charge made by Mr. Adam relates to some comments upon a paragraph in a Glasgow paper, relative to the press in India. The passage which Mr. Adam deems particularly offensive is as follows, "Such is the boon of a free press" in Asia, with the praises of which the world has rung for the last three years, and from those who knew not what awaited it, is not even yet at an end. Such is "the salutary control of public opinion on supreme authority," and such "the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments." The hypocrisy of Mr. Adam on this point is beyond all example. He pretends to be exceedingly tender of the character of Lord Hastings, upon whom he says the passage I have read contains a gross personal attack. Why, all that Mr. Buckingham had done was to quote the language which Lord Hastings had used in his answer to the address of the inhabitants of Madras, on the 24th of July, 1819, complimenting him on his conduct with regard to the press. Mr. Adam says—

Mr. Buckingham, of all men, could least plead ignorance of the real meaning of the words which he had quoted; for, besides the clear purport of the speech itself, and the qualification with which the sentiments regarding the advantage of public discussion of the acts of government were accompanied, he had been repeatedly and authoritatively corrected for acts which he had attempted to defend, on his construction of that speech. His perversion of it on that occasion, in a manner still more grossly and personally offensive, seemed to demand the most serious notice.

(*k*) See Oriental Herald, vol. I. App. p. xxvii.

It is, however, a misstatement to say that Mr. Buckingham had been corrected by the Government; he had, on the contrary, always triumphed over it. But I think that what I am now about to state, is sufficient to induce the Court to agree to the motion with which I shall conclude. The Members of Council, it is known, are bound by oath not to disclose any of their deliberations; but Mr. Adam, in violation of his, has stated what passed in the Council on this occasion.

These sentiments (says Mr. Adam) were strongly maintained by two of the members of the Council, who were only withheld from proposing the immediate annulment of Mr. Buckingham's license, by the consideration of the proceedings in the Supreme Court, already noticed, and the probable misconstruction to which such a measure, at that time, might be liable. It was admitted, on *all sides*, that Mr. Buckingham's conduct was deserving of the serious consideration of government, and the seriously hurtful effect of his writings was acknowledged; but it was observed, that the discussion at that time about to take place in the Supreme Court, would exhibit the true quality of Mr. Buckingham's conduct. Should he be acquitted, then the government, by having resorted to a trial, had avoided the inconvenience of a harsh procedure in a disputable case. Should the verdict be against him, then the equity of a subsequent removal, which it was finally anticipated Mr. Buckingham would entail on himself, by renewed improprieties, would stand manifest in the judicial decision.

What can equal the baseness and folly of all this? It would not be very surprising that a man should inform his bosom friend of the cunning schemes which he had devised for the ruin of another; but that he should publish them to the whole world is indeed astonishing. The Jesuitical conduct which Mr. Adam attributes to the Council, is disgraceful in the extreme, and to refute such a charge the minutes of council must be produced.

The eleventh charge is, that Mr. Buckingham published a letter on the subject of brevet and local rank, and the value of a free press, written by the late Col. Robison, who I believe had been thirty years in his Majesty's service, and was a gentleman of great talents and high character. (Hear.) This letter was published under the signature of "A Military Friend," but with the authority of Col. Robison Mr. Buckingham gave up that gentleman as the author, on the Government demanding it. The subject was referred to the Commander-in-Chief, who wrote, what I shall always consider to be, a most hasty and ill-advised letter to Col. Robison, desiring him to remove, in very offensive terms. Col. Robison in the heat of the moment wrote a reply to the Commander-in-Chief, in which he gave too full a vent to his feelings. For this offence he was tried by a Court Martial. He apologized for the indiscretion of which he had been guilty to the Commander-in-Chief, and asked permission to withdraw the letter: but that was refused. The Court Martial declared the gallant Colonel guilty; but on account of his previous excellent conduct recommended him to mercy. The recommendation, however, was disregarded; Col. Robison was sent home, and died in the British Channel. (Hear.) The Commander-in-Chief here, I believe, confirmed the sentence which had been passed on him. Mr. Buckingham's offence, however, was quite distinct from that of Col. Robison's, as he simply made some observations in defence of the original letter from Col. Robison on the value of a free press in India, which had been published in his Journal, and which conduct of Mr. Buckingham calls forth this notable remark from Mr. Adam—"*It is not possible to conceive a more gross and open insult to government than the publication of this defence of a paper, which he knew had excited its displeasure.*" What a sentiment for an Englishman to utter! Mr. Adam then lets out another secret of his Council; for he says, that, on this occasion, four of the Members of Council proposed Mr. Buckingham's banishment from India; but that it was negatived by the Marquess of Hastings. It was not till the departure of this nobleman that these gentlemen were able to carry their kind intentions of summary banishment into effect, and as soon as Lord Hastings had quitted the country, they seized on their victim accordingly. (Hear.)

The next charge made by Mr. Adam is, that Mr. Buckingham, in a controversy with the *John Bull*, characterized the regulations issued in Lord Hastings's circular to the editors, as, in point of law, mere waste paper. On this subject Mr. Buckingham received a letter from the Government, of which the following passage is the most important:—

You are now finally apprized, that if you shall again venture to impeach the validity of the statute quoted, and the legitimacy of the power vested by it in the chief authority here, (the power of banishment,) or shall treat with disregard any official injunction, past or future, from Government, whether communicated in terms of command, or in the gentler language of intimation, your license will be immediately cancelled, and you will be ordered to depart forthwith from India.

Mr. Buckingham wrote a reply to this letter, in which, after stating that he was entirely at the mercy of the Governor General, if he thought fit to exercise the power of banishment, he says—

That I may not again incur the imputation of a mischievous suppression of fact, as tending to

betray others into final error, I shall rely on his Lordship's justice to permit me the publication of the official correspondence in which I have been involved on the subject of the press, in order that no persons may henceforth plead ignorance as their excuse for not conforming to the wishes now so clearly and finally expressed by Government. It is not only granted to my opponent the John Bull, to publish such portions of the letters of Government to me, as may suit his purpose of bringing my writings and character into disrepute; but access is given him to all such documents sufficiently early to make them a subject of comment in his pages, almost before they reach my hands, and certainly before I have been able to reply to them. (Hear.) Those who remember the avowed purpose for which that paper was established, to crush and annihilate the Calcutta Journal, those who know the manner in which it has been supplied with every mark of official countenance and protection, being made indeed the channel of information formerly confined to the Government Gazette, as well as a vehicle of the most angry denunciations against myself and my opinions, in letters written for its columns, and generally believed to have been penned by some among the highest functionaries of the state; those to whom all this is notorious, (and they include nearly the whole of the British community of India) will not wonder at the ungenerous exultation which the habitual contributors to that paper have already displayed at what they no doubt deem the immediate harbinger of my irrecoverable ruin. (Hear, hear!)

The subject which is alluded to in this paragraph, deserves the serious consideration of this Court. The connexion of the Government with the John Bull has never been denied; as little can it be denied, that the most atrocious calumnies against Mr. Buckingham appeared in the pages of that paper. Judge Macnaghten has sufficiently denounced the libels which the John Bull put forth against Mr. Buckingham, when he said, that he could not speak of them without horror; and yet the Calcutta Journal, which has never been found guilty of libel by law, up to the period of Mr. Buckingham's banishment, has been suppressed, while the John Bull, convicted of malicious and even horrible libels, still continues to exist, and to enjoy the patronage of the very Government that professes so much alarm at the danger of a licentious press! Is it possible to imagine hypocrisy more complete than this? (Hear.)

The circumstance of which Mr. Adam complains, is the publication by Mr. Buckingham, of some remarks upon the appointment of a Mr. Jameson, the secretary of the Medical Board, to be superintendent of a School for native doctors. The remarks complained of, are nothing more than a piece of good-humoured irony, which was naturally called forth by the appointment of an individual to perform the duties of two offices, which were totally incompatible. Mr. Jameson applied to Government on the subject, but they sent him about his business, for they were aware the job was too gross to be defended; and yet Mr. Adam gravely mentions the transaction, as one of Mr. Buckingham's offences against the Government. [The Honourable Proprietor here read the greater part of the article in question, which afforded great amusement to the Court. (*l*)] A duel took place between Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Jameson, and thus this affair terminated. Mr. Adam, in reference to this circumstance, insinuates, that Mr. Buckingham, in addition to his other crimes, attempted to take away an innocent man's life. (A laugh.) But had Mr Jameson fallen a sacrifice in this instance, I say that his blood would have been on the head of the Government itself, who refused to redress their servant, and yet by their conduct towards the press, encouraged this resort to private vengeance for supposed public wrong.

I now come to the last charge, which completed the sum of Mr. Buckingham's offences, and was followed by his banishment from India. There was at Calcutta a Scotch clergyman, who was known to be an active supporter of the John Bull, and was generally believed to have written some furious personal attacks on Mr. Buckingham, there and elsewhere. It was confidently asserted, and never clearly and unequivocally denied, that the Reverend Divine was the author of some of the libels characterized, as even horrible to think of, by Judge Macnaghten; and if the letters attributed to him, were really his production, I will give you in the words of one of these, a specimen of the manner in which the Reverend gentleman thought it was proper to combat Mr. Buckingham's political opinions. The extract I am about to read, is from the pages of the John Bull.

The phenomenon of a journalist venting his sentiments without the aid of a censor, is but new in India, and it was manifest that in this country, such a man might prove the instrument of incalculable evil. In looking around me, I beheld the evils that might be feared actually occurring. I saw them insinuating themselves into the very strong hold of our power, and possibly paving the way for an event, which the enemies to this power have hitherto attempted in vain. Entertaining these views, *the conductor of such a press became, in my eyes, a public enemy*; and resting his power, as he did, as well on his *character* as his principles, his reputation became *a fair and a legitimate object of attack, and its overthrow a subject of triumph to every lover of his country.* [Hear, hear, hear!] If in the course of this argument,

(*l*) Oriental Herald, No. I. p. 64, 65.

I have shaken his reputation, I must, on his own principles, have necessarily weakened his arguments, and paralysed the evil influence of his doctrines. Were I called upon to combat these doctrines in themselves, I should not shrink from the task, nor should I fear being able to prove, that the freedom of the press, which he advocates, is inconsistent with the government under which we live, and would prove the worst of evils that could overtake us. While the press in India is in the hands of honourable men, freedom from censorship must prove a blessing, and it is due in justice, to the gentlemen connected with it, to say, that with the *solitary exception* of the journalist, this blessing has not been abused. He *alone* has converted it into a curse.

Here then was the doctrine of attacking private character to secure political purposes openly avowed. (Hear.) But what will be the astonishment of the Court, when I inform them, that Mr. Buckingham, who is said *alone* to have converted the press into a curse, came off triumphant in *all* his controversies with Government; and was pronounced innocent by the laws of his country; while the others, his opponents, who are here said to have made the press a blessing, were convicted and pronounced publicly in a court of justice, to be guilty of libels that could not even be thought of without horror! Can falsehood and injustice be more manifest than this?

This Reverend Doctor was appointed to be a clerk to the committee of stationery, by the Indian Government. The unfitness of such an appointment for a clergyman, struck Mr. Buckingham forcibly, and he put forth a light and good-humoured article on the subject, under the head of "Appendix Extraordinary to the Government Gazette." [The hon. member here read the article, which, like the former on Mr. Jameson, excited considerable laughter in the court.] (*m*)

A formal letter of dismissal, in the following words, was in consequence addressed to Mr. Buckingham:—

Sir,—Referring to the editorial remarks contained in the Calcutta Journal of the 8th instant, page 541; and to the communications officially made to you on former occasions; I am directed to apprise you, that, in the judgment of the Governor General in Council, you have forfeited your claim to the countenance and protection of the Supreme Government.

As if, forsooth, the jocose remarks made by Mr. Buckingham on the appointment of Dr. Bryce, had endangered the safety of the Indian Government!—an appointment, the subject of general disgust in Calcutta, and which has also occasioned some severe animadversion in the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. Is it to be endured, that Mr. Buckingham was to be sent from India, his establishment to be broken up, and his fortune to be ruined, because he had made some lively and good-humoured remarks on such a scandalous job as this? (Hear!) The letter proceeded:—

I am further directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an order, passed by Government, on the present date, by which the license of the Court of Directors, authorizing you to proceed to the East Indies, is declared null and void, from and after the 15th day of April next. You will be pleased to notice, that if you should be found in the East Indies, from and after that date, you will be deemed and taken to be a person residing in the East Indies without license or authority for that purpose, and will be sent forthwith to the United Kingdom.

This is the termination of the long list of charges directed by Mr. Adam against Mr. Buckingham, and on which he has attempted to justify the course he has adopted against that much-injured individual. If the Court agree that they were good grounds for the harsh measures exercised towards Mr. Buckingham, then I contend that no freedom reigns in India. Nothing can have a worse effect on the population of India, than the silent sufferance of such proceedings as these, which must show that the Government possesses unlimited authority to destroy at pleasure the property of any man throughout the whole of India. They must perceive that all improvement will be put an end to by the exercise of such an arbitrary and capricious authority, directed especially against the freedom of discussion. Our Government at home hold the maxim, that the rulers should keep in view the good of the whole state; but the principle laid down in our colonial establishment, appears to be quite of an opposite nature. It would appear, that the only object of sending out Governors there, is to further their own private and particular purposes. We must look at home alone for enlarged views of policy. The ruin of the Company will probably be the consequence of their adhering to their present system, of not exercising a vigilant superintendence over the conduct of those who are raised to power in India. The possession of power, it is admitted, produces a great alteration in the disposition of men; but I cannot, in my conscience, conceive a greater transformation (not even that which has been mentioned of a benevolent man to a tiger), than that which Mr. Adam underwent after he was intrusted with supreme authority. He was changed from a plain, hard-working, calculating individual, who had clearly-defined duties assigned him, into an arbitrary and peremptory dictator. When raised to the pinnacle of power, he became dizzy, and lost his way in the immense

(*m*) See Oriental Herald, vol. I. App. p. xliii.

horizon which surrounded him; he forgot himself; and perhaps he is now conscious of the cruelty of his proceedings, under which the individuals selected for his victims are unjustly suffering. But, compared with the acts of Lord Amherst, his successor, even those of Mr. Adam were trifling. That nobleman had even disgusted his own Chief Secretary, so far did he go beyond Mr. Adam.

Mr. S. Dixon.—I submit that the conduct of Lord Amherst has nothing to do with the present discussion.

Mr. D. Kinnaird.—The subject of discussion is the state of the press in India, and it is notorious, that Lord Amherst has sent Mr. Arnot out of that country, in consequence of his connexion with the Calcutta Journal. Mr. Adam never did any thing so unjust as this; but Lord Amherst was not fool enough to put it upon paper. (Hear!) Mr. Arnot, one of Mr. Buckingham's assistants, whom he left behind in charge of one part only of his establishment, on his first being seized by order of the Indian Government, was brought up by Habeas Corpus, because, it appeared, his capture and detention were illegal; and after a solemn argument in Court, he was discharged from confinement, and set at liberty. After this, he retired from the territories of the British Government, and went to Chandernagore, where he was again seized, in the presence of the French Governor, and put on board a vessel, going round to Bencoolen, and not bound direct for England, as the law ordains. By this means, Mr. Arnot was doomed to suffer imprisonment on ship-board, in a most unhealthy climate, and subject to a punishment as illegal as it was cruel; and this, too, under the sanction of Lord Amherst's authority.

When driven from India, Mr. Buckingham said, "It is quite impossible for any Briton to invest his property in this publication. It shall, therefore, be carried on by some other person, an Indo-Briton, or native of the country. He will only be subject to the power of the law; but an Englishman may be sent away without any reason assigned." Mr. Buckingham, in pursuance of this determination, selected Mr. Sandys as editor. That gentleman's name was given to the Chief Secretary as editor; but Mr. Arnot was only an assistant in the office. The Bengal Government, however, sent Mr. Arnot home, because they were not able to touch Mr. Sandys; and we have this openly and unequivocally avowed, under the hand of the Chief Secretary to Government, whose letter is on record. (*o*) This alarming authority, assumed by the Government, is like a roaring lion, prowling about, and seeking whom it might devour. The doctrine adopted by those in power, seems to be this: "If we cannot seize on one victim, we will sacrifice another."

Mr. S. Dixon rose to order.—The case of Mr. Buckingham is the subject for consideration, and what has subsequently been done by Lord Amherst has nothing to do with it.

Mr. D. Kinnaird.—I beg to state, that Mr. Arnot is specially mentioned in the requisition.

The Chairman.—I feel it my duty to inform the hon. Proprietor that the requisition does allude to the case of Mr. Arnot.

Mr. D. Kinnaird.—Though Mr. Arnot was avowed not to be the editor of the paper, it was resolved to send him out of India. Mr. Arnot was selected as the victim, since the Government could not wreak its vengeance on Mr. Sandys. The Government said to him, "You, Mr. Arnot, are a native of England, remaining here without authority, and we shall send you home to Europe." It is needless to detain the Court by reading the particular paragraph which is pointed out as the cause of Mr. Arnot's removal; I consider it, indeed, of no more importance than any of those to which I have before called your attention. (*p*) The disposition to exercise an arbitrary power, on any pretext, however weak, was quite evident. The success of the Calcutta Journal, beyond that of any other paper in India, I have no doubt excited feelings of jealousy. In the first instance, an attempt was made to put it down by setting up another paper in opposition to it, the proprietors and conductors of which were government officers. No publication ever teemed with such scurrilous articles as those which found their way into that paper; but Mr. Buckingham answered his opponents with superior talent; and thus conciliated the respect and esteem of all honourable men. To prove this fact, I will now read a letter, which Mr. Palmer, of Calcutta, addressed to Sir Charles Forbes, after the removal of Mr. Buckingham, and which Sir Charles read in the course of the debate in the House of Commons, when Mr. Buckingham's Petition was presented. It is this:—

I present my friend, Mr. Buckingham, the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, to your notice and friendly offices, under a full persuasion that your judgment of him, upon acquaintance, will justify the liberty I assume in recommending a banished man to you. The whine about the hazard of free discussion in this country will receive your contempt, whilst you will be satisfied that infinite benefit must result to the true interests of all societies from its indulgence.

The letter quoted, was dated on the 1st of March, and sent home at the time of Mr. Buckingham's banishment from India. After this, however, Sir Ch. Forbes

(*o*) See Oriental Herald, vol. ii. p. 232.

(*p*) Id. vol. i. p. 637.

received another letter, of a subsequent date, and entirely unknown to Mr. Buckingham, who had left India some time before it was written. The following is an extract of the second letter.

I have recommended Mr. Buckingham to a few of the East India Directors, without fear of being considered an incendiary, a rebellious or discontented spirit. I am satisfied of the salutary influence of a free press every where. I believe the Calcutta Journal has done much good, and was doing more. I request your notice of Mr. Buckingham, who, I believe, in spite of all sorts of calumny, to be worthy of your good offices and protection. Mr. Buckingham got very inadequate damages yesterday, in an action for libels, against the John Bull, though the Judge spoke of their malice with abhorrence.

Gentlemen, after such letters as these, coming from a man so well known, and so highly respected as Mr. Palmer, you must feel that Mr. Buckingham, protected by the shield of this flattering testimony, may stand against all the shafts that malice may hurl against him. Mr. Buckingham's earliest footing in India, was under many unfortunate circumstances; for soon after his arrival in Calcutta, he published a prospectus of his travels in Palestine; and in consequence of this announcement, he was assailed by the most groundless and malicious insinuations. His enemies accused him of having purloined his statements from the journal of Mr. Bankes, and applied this to his own use. Mr. Buckingham vindicated himself from this charge, and satisfied those to whom he addressed himself, of its falsity. A friend of mine wrote a letter to Mr. Bankes, in which he stated distinctly, that the charges were wholly unfounded. Mr. Buckingham instituted a prosecution against his calumniators in India, for publishing accusations, and obtained the damages alluded to by Mr. Palmer, his accusers having no proof whatever to offer in support of their charges. On his arrival in England, Mr. Buckingham also instituted a prosecution against Mr. Bankes, as the original author of the libellous insinuations, and attempts to impede the publication of his travels. That prosecution has been protracted and delayed, and is now at a stand, not from any act of Mr. Buckingham, who is ready to proceed to trial, and asks only inquiry and investigation; but from Mr. Bankes having requested time to bring over from Syria, or Egypt, a certain Albanian servant, named Mahomet, without whose aid, it seems, Mr. Bankes is not prepared to prove his assertions. Mr. Buckingham's character, I have not the slightest doubt, will in the end, stand as high and pure, as an upright, honest, and independent man, as his most zealous friends can desire. He is as every one must allow, an accomplished scholar, and a writer who combines soundness of judgment, strength of argument, and elegance of diction. I say this, because some have taken very unjustifiable liberties with his character and fame.

Although I did not intend to go so minutely into all the details of Mr. Arnot's case, yet as some may conceive that his cruel treatment must have arisen from some aggravated conduct on his part, I must beg to call the attention of the Court to the paragraph, for the publication of which Mr. Arnot was removed from India. It was expressed in the following words:

Our readers cannot but recollect the subject of the paper for which Mr. Buckingham was removed from India. The mention of this event is essential to our present argument; and we hope we may speak of it as a matter of history, without offence, as we shall express no opinion on it, either one way or another. If it were not absolutely necessary, we should not even allude to it; but in doing so, we shall not for a moment forget the respect due to the established laws and Government of the country. The article in question related to the appointment of Dr. Bryce, as clerk to the stationery committee: (*q*) [and the part of it which is understood to have been so offensive to the Government, as to determine Mr. Buckingham's transmission, was an allusion to the report of Dr. Bryce's being the author of those letters, placed in connexion with his appointment to his secular office. Thus, it appears, Dr. Bryce's reputed authorship, and pluralities, were the cause of Mr. Buckingham's removal, and of the new laws which are in consequence established for the press.] But for him, this society, might have continued in the enjoyment of all its former privileges, nor have been deprived of one of its members. When those who watch with anxious expectation the progress of improvement in this country, and the spread of that gospel which Dr. Bryce is commissioned to preach, consider the effects of these measures, it will be for them to award him the praise or censure which they think he has deserved.

For the publication of this acticle, Mr. Arnot was seized, and in the first instance illegally seized. He was brought up by *Habeas Corpus*, and the Court discharged him. Determined to place himself beyond the power of such iniquitous authority, he proceeded to Chandernagore, but there also he was torn from the protection of the law of the land,—hurried on board a ship, and sent by the Bengal Government, round to Bencoolen. Is it not evident that all this was done for the purpose of prosecuting, and of deterring any one who might be disposed to act in the behalf of Mr. Buckingham? It may be contended

(*q*) The passages printed between crotchets are those marked in double lines in the official letter of the Government to Messrs. Palmer and Ballard, as offensive.

that Lord Amherst was not the direct author of this act. He was at all events the instrument of tyranny, and I respect the agent as little as I do the principal. Mr. Arnot has experienced the most wanton and cruel treatment ever heard of. The intention of prosecuting Mr. Arnot, was to hold him up as a scarecrow to frighten away all others from taking the part of Mr. Buckingham. (Hear.) The prospects of that gentleman have been ruined by the proceedings against him. He has lost a property worth 40,000*l*. and an income of 8000*l*. a year, for venturing to express his opinion on the improper union of duties in a clergyman, who condescended to become a stationery clerk; an opinion, the accuracy and justice of which has been confirmed by the Clergy of Scotland censuring, and the Court of Directors annulling, the appointment; so that this unheard of punishment is actually inflicted by the servants of the East India Company, for the expression of opinions, which the Directors of that Company subsequently act upon themselves! Is it possible that such a monstrous injustice as this can go unredressed?

I have thought it necessary to dwell on all these points, in order that you may consider the question with the seriousness it requires. The insecurity of property, and the total enslavement of opinion in India, are at present in such a state, that a speedy alteration in this respect must take place. The Government has assumed a fearful and odious description of arbitrary power, which is directly opposed to freedom, and must occasion continual disputes and dissensions, if not actual rebellion. To this state of things, a censorship was far preferable. The Government cannot attend to its proper affairs, while it is engaged in this sort of constant interference with the press. The press had better be put down at once, rather than encounter the endless bickerings which must occur under the present system. While engaged in such paltry squabbles with editors, the Government must lose all its respect in the eyes of the natives. During the whole of the disputes between the Calcutta Government and Mr. Buckingham, I have shown, that the firmness of mind, and determination of the Marquess of Hastings, alone prevented the Government from placing itself in the most ridiculous situations. (Hear.) The losses which Mr. Buckingham has sustained, I have before alluded to, and I now take the liberty to read the following passages from a letter on that subject, written by Messrs. Alexander and Co. the agents of Mr. Buckingham, in Calcutta, and addressed to that gentleman, so recently as January last. They say :

We need not repeat the circumstances which led to the suspension, in November last, of the license under which your paper was published. With a view to promote your interest, as well as that of the other proprietors, we used every exertion to procure the restoration of the license, and at one time had some prospect of success—notwithstanding, we regret to state the opposition which we experienced. We have now ascertained that no license will be granted for the issue of any paper from your press, *whilst the ownership is constituted as at present*. This being the case, it has become necessary to make some arrangement for the close of the *present concern*, and the *transfer* of it to the best advantage. Mr. W. P. Muston has been negotiating with us for the purchase of the stock in trade and good-will of the concern, *such as it now is*, and we expect a formal overture from him, *when he has assured himself that he will be able to obtain a license*. Should we fail in effecting to him or some other person, a private sale which may be deemed satisfactory, it will become necessary to dispose of the whole concern by public auction. Further delay will detract from the value of the property.

I understand that the establishment which Mr. Buckingham had formed at Calcutta, was a monument of skill and enterprise. The like had never before been seen in India. It was on a most extensive scale, and caused all who viewed it to admire it. But as if its value had not been sufficiently deteriorated by the proceedings against Mr. Buckingham and his removal from India ; here was the blow that was to consign the whole of this property to destruction. I am greatly mistaken if Mr. Muston is not an editor who will prove himself very agreeable to the Government. Dr. Abel, a surgeon, who, I understand, went out with Lord Amherst, was applied to by the proprietors, who wished to have him as an editor, but the functionaries of Government were determined to have some one who was not under the control of the Governor General merely, they wished to have a sure man, and threw all sorts of obstacles in the way of Mr. Abel's editorship. I understand that Mr. Muston is son-in-law to one of the members of the very council, by which Mr. Buckingham was banished from the country; and no doubt they would allow this favourite to succeed to the possession of this ruined property, because it was to be purchased at a cheap rate, determining thus : "If he writes as we like, he may get a license, but if our public measures be freely discussed, it shall be taken from him again."

This was the state of affairs in India, when Mr. Adam published his appeal through the public press, declaring that they had in that country, a community of slaves, of which he was the complete master, whom he despised, and must despise, because he had it in his power to control their fortunes. The opinions of

such a society cannot be heard. Luckily, Mr. Adam is now no longer at the head of the Government in India—but that the spirit of the Government has become milder since his departure, I positively deny. The press cannot continue restricted by the regulations at present imposed upon it; and the Indian Government will soon be overwhelmed with contempt, its deserved portion, if you do not direct your attention to reform the system. The Executive seem not to recognize the fitness of the press, to effect that moral improvement in India, which is so much to be desired, and which I am confident cannot be so effectually brought about by any other means. But, as discussion must be banished from India, Mr. Buckingham was not of course allowed to stay there. What the views and feelings of the Government are, no one here can form an opinion; but that it is impossible for the executive body to recede without orders from this country, is manifest; and if the Directors do not firmly discharge the duty imposed on them, let them lay their account for a large share of taunts and reproaches at the termination of the charter. As the direction of the wind is known by throwing up a feather, so will their conduct be judged by what men say of them. They will not be merely joked and lampooned for their negligence, but will be arraigned in their own Court, as the weakest body of men who had ever abused the confidence intrusted to them. If, when the renewal of their Charter is sought, they dilate on the value of their stock, and subjects of a mere pecuniary nature, they will be laughed at for a set of traders, who regarded only their commercial affairs, when they should have looked after things of much greater consequence. Though the gentlemen who sit behind the bar, and superintend the weighing of tea, may smile at these considerations, I can assure them, they are of the highest importance. It is hardly credible that a Director should put the routine business of his office in competition with the higher duties he has to perform. But this has nevertheless been done on a late occasion.

I am, Sir, sensibly alive to the unpleasant position in which I stand, when compelled to characterize the acts of an absent individual, in the language which both truth and justice require. I am aware, Sir, (and I regret it) that the feelings of persons connected with that individual, must be wounded by expressions which they may deem unnecessarily harsh or severe. I profess to have been wilfully guilty of no exaggeration. Whatever I have said regarding Mr. Adam, applies to him solely, as the author of the deeds which I arraign. Though entirely unknown to him, I have been in the habit of exchanging the courtesies of life with many of his nearest connexions, and know, I trust, how to appreciate the claims they have on my respect and my regard. It is with pain, therefore, I have found myself forced to the conclusions, and to the opinions I have expressed, and if I have spoken warmly, it is because I have felt strongly.

Since the first hour I became a member of this Court, I have been convinced of the importance and necessity of a free press in India. By it alone will a better and more liberal spirit be introduced into the character of your civil service. They will learn the value, and know how to merit the good opinion of the community, in which they have to pass the best part of their lives. In returning to their native country, they will find that a free press will have already made their merits, their services, and their names, familiar to their countrymen. Such as may aspire to a seat in the Direction of the affairs of this great Company, would no longer have to sneak into any by-lane, or to thrust their cards into any obscure hole and corner, where a bed-ridden proprietor may happen to be confined. They will no longer appear in these precincts, cap-in-hand, to solicit as a personal favour, that which should alone be asked and granted on public grounds. Let the opinion of a community, which has known their merits, be the passport to the reward they may receive at our hands. This honourable career, Lord Hastings nobly opened to them. It unfortunately only excited their petty jealousies, and unworthy, selfish feelings in return; and thus will every liberal Governor General on all subjects be harassed and counteracted, until a free press shall have purified the pestilential selfishness of the elder branches of the civil service. Through a free press alone, will the Court of Directors, and the Court of Proprietors, have access to the ungarbled truth of what is taking place in India, and the Legislature of our country become once more alive to the vast importance of this field for commercial enterprise and intercourse. The interests of the Governors of that vast continent, containing millions of willing subjects to your sway, will then become something more than a subject for the jokes of an ex-president of the Board of Control.

Sir, I have no desire to make this room the theatre for idle declamation. But I am satisfied the time is at length arrived when, if this subject be neglected in this its proper place, it will be taken up elsewhere, at our expense, and to our disgrace. The progress of improvement in India has not been sufficiently known or appreciated hitherto. The short experiment of a free press has forced this knowledge upon us; it will do still more. The day of Colonization is no-

longer remote. The intelligence of a large population is already prepared to co-operate, and meet the benefical effects of such a measure. That intelligence is anxiously waiting for the judgment of their Governors at home, on the infatuation of their temporary Governor General. The doctrines of that gentleman's manifesto, you will uphold at your peril. If you pass it unnoticed, you will lose the most powerful ingredient in a good government, the confidence of the governed.

I beg to move, "That there be laid before this Court copies of all minutes, correspondence and proceedings, in and between the Council of Calcutta, and the Court of Directors, or any of their committees, and also the Board of Control, relating to the press in India, since the commencement of the year 1818." (Cheers.)

Mr. Hume seconded the motion.

Mr. Impey.—With respect to one point of the speech just delivered; that part which related to Mr. Arnot, I will give a plain and direct reply, a reply which I think must be satisfactory to every one present. It should be remembered, that the case of Mr. Arnot has not as yet arrived in this country. The conduct of the Government of India is subject, first to the animadversion of the Court of Directors, and next to the official notice of the Board of Control. The Court cannot take up an *ex-parte* statement. The proper time to discuss the question will be, when the details of Mr. Arnot's case, and the explanation of the motives of the conduct of Government shall arrive, otherwise the discussion will be highly injurious to the Government of India. It is unmanly to attack a man's character, and let the calumny go forth to the world, and then to wait for his explanation. (*p*)

I consider the speech of the hon. gentleman, who has just sat down, as consisting of two parts simply,—one, the praise of Mr. Buckingham; and the other, the abuse of his opponents. I conceive the present requisition to be connected with circumstances of great importance, putting out of the question entirely the case of Mr. Arnot. These circumstances are the removal of Mr. Buckingham unlawfully from India, and the late regulations enacted by the Indian Government, for the restraint of the press. The honourable Proprietor's address on these points, may be very shortly answered. The Court, in the first instance, must perceive on the face of the business, that Mr. Buckingham had not been treated unjustly or illegally, for he has appealed from the Government of Bengal, to the Court of Directors, and to the Board of Control, for the renewal of his license to reside in India, and both of these bodies, after examining his case, have refused to grant him a license; therefore he cannot have been treated unjustly or illegally in their opinion. (*q*) At all events, if he has suffered in person or property, from the conduct of the Government of India, this Court is not the place in which he should seek for redress. (*r*) A Court of Justice is a fitter place. Mr. Buckingham would no doubt have ample damages awarded to him, if it were proved before an English Jury, that the Indian Government had unjustly injured him. It has been observed, that an action at law would be of no avail, from the difficulty to prove malice on the part of the Governor General. That it would be difficult to do so, I allow; but then, with what face can the honourable Proprietor so confidently impute malice to the Governor General? (*s*) (Hear.) He asserts that Mr. Buckingham was illegally removed. If the case be so, I pledge myself that Mr. Buckingham may recover heavy damages. I, however, deny that his removal was illegal, and assert that it was completely just. (*t*)

To the second point of the honourable Proprietor's speech, I will return as short an answer. It will be admitted, that the Governor General in Council has the power to frame rules and regulations for the town of Calcutta, and for the interior provinces. Now, the complained-of regulations have been agreed to by the Governor General in Council, and argued and registered in the Supreme Court of Calcutta. (*u*) These regulations

(*p*) Mr. Arnot's case does *not* stand on *ex-parte* evidence, but on the official letters of the Indian Government, already published in the former numbers of this work; and if it be unmanly to attack an absent man, who cannot defend himself, it is Mr. Adam who has especially done so.

(*q*) Their opinion, however, is not worth a straw, in a case depending on evidence which they refuse to produce. Besides this, they are participators and parties in the dispute: and if they were not, it seems strange logic to say, Certain parties will not *give* one whom they have injured any redress, *therefore* he has not been unjustly used! It is this very *refusal* to grant redress which constitutes the injustice of the proceeding.

(*r*) But a few minutes before, Mr. Impey says, the conduct of the Indian Government is subject to the animadversion of the Court of Directors; but as they are themselves only the servants of the Court of Proprietors, the masters may surely take cognizance of what the servants may condemn.

(*s*) Because malice may be often *morally* inferred, when it is impossible to be legally proved.

(*t*) The removal might have been strictly legal, and yet far from just. But, after all, this assertion against assertion is worth nothing. Where are the reasons?

(*u*) This was not until *after* Mr. Buckingham's removal from India. If they were law before, why this arguing and registering, which was unnecessary? If they were *not* law, as this

were afterwards transmitted to the King in Council, to whom Mr. Buckingham has appealed. A printed statement of his case has been required from him, and when that is furnished, it will be argued before the King in Council. It is evident, therefore, that as regards this Court, the business is *coram non judice.* We have no right to interfere with it, our decision will not affect or influence that of the King in Council. (*x*)

As we have been informed, that this is only the first of a series of discussions on the same subject, which are to be commenced here, and afterwards repeated elsewhere, I think it right, supposing the Court possessed the necessary jurisdiction, by a plain statement of facts to enable it to judge how we should decide. It shall be my endeavour to prove that Mr. Buckingham has not the slightest ground for complaint,—that he was not removed from India illegally, but only compelled to leave that country after he had infringed every regulation laid down for the government of the press. It is not for me to decide, whether those regulations were laws or not; (*y*) but they had been treated as laws by the Marquess of Hastings, and considered in that light by Mr. Buckingham. (*z*) The Government of the Marquess of Hastings, had warned and menaced Mr. Buckingham repeatedly,—the Marquess of Hastings had repeatedly written to him on the subject of his infringement of the regulations; and after all these warnings, Mr. Buckingham complains of his illegal removal. (*a*)

The hon. Proprietor has argued at great length on the restrictions laid on the press, I am prepared to show that a free press never existed in India. (*b*) Such a thing was never contemplated by the Marquess of Hastings, (*c*) and was inconsistent with his own regulations. A free press cannot exist under a despotic Government. (Hear, hear! from Mr. Kinnaird.) While we have the administration of the Government of India, that Government *must always be despotic*—it has always been so—it will always be so. (*d*) (Hear.)

With respect to Mr. Buckingham, I beg to call the attention of the Court to a plain unvarnished statement of facts. Mr. Buckingham, we have been told, is a mariner. To pursue that profession in India, he had obtained a license from the Company to go there. He went to Calcutta in the year 1818. The license required that as long as he remained in India, he should behave in accordance to the regulations (*e*) that should from time to time be made at the Settlement where he might reside. In your charter the following provision is laid down, in order to enforce compliance with that indenture:—

Provided always, and be it further enacted, that if any person, having obtained a certificate or license from the Court of Directors, authorizing such person to proceed to the East Indies, or other place within the limits of the said Company's Charter, shall, at any time, so conduct himself as, in the judgment of the Governor General, or Governor in Council of the Presidency within which such person shall be found, to have *forfeited his claim to the countenance and protection of the Government* (*f*) of such Presidency, it shall and may be lawful for such Governor General, or Governor in Council, by order, to declare that the certificate or license, so obtained by such person, shall be void from a day to be named in such order, and from and after such a day so to be named in such order, such person shall be deemed, and taken to be a person, residing and being in the East Indies, or parts aforesaid, without license or authority for that purpose; any matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

This is the law which the Government of India had acted upon in the present instance. It becomes material, therefore,

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subsequent legalizing proves, then Mr. Buckingham was removed for a pretended breach of what was not law, and his removal was, therefore, illegal.

(*x*) If so, then no stronger reason could be given for the propriety of coming to a decision. In the House of Commons, the very opposite doctrine was taught; namely, that a decision in one Court *would* affect it in another, and would be, therefore, interfering with its proceedings. Both cannot be true.

(*y*) What! is this of no importance? Why, the whole question hangs on this. If they were *not* laws, a hundred breaches of them could not be a crime.

(*z*) This is utterly untrue: so much so, that one of the gravest charges made against Mr. Buckingham was, that he *denied* their being legal; and said that, in point of law, they were mere waste paper.

(*a*) A man may be warned against doing a lawful act; and a neglect of such warning is a virtue. To make the warnings of any value, the acts warned against must be shown to be wrong.

(*b*) This is utterly untrue. The Press of India was always free, till Lord Wellesley placed it under a censor.

(*c*) Then the Marquess of Hastings must have been the greatest hypocrite that ever breathed, and all India and England, who gave him credit for this at the time, were dupes.

(*d*) God forbid, Mr. Impey. So thought the oppressors of all times; but the day of retribution comes at last, and tells a very different tale.

(*e*) These regulations, however, must be made *law*, by passing through the Supreme Court; and those for the Press never were regulations, or law, until they received that sanction after Mr. Buckingham's banishment.

(*f*) Here is the true condition. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. As long as a man obeys the laws of the country in which he lives, he *cannot* forfeit his claim to its protection. Mr. Buckingham broke no such laws, and did not, therefore, forfeit the condition on which the Government were bound to continue the intercourse.

to consider how Mr. Buckingham conducted himself while he remained in India. Though he went there as a *mariner*, (*g*) he set up a press in Calcutta. Whatever I may think of the manner of conducting this press, I do not object to the simply setting of it up. An important part of the question is, what rules and regulations Mr. Buckingham was bound to observe under his mariner's license. (*h*) We have been told that the acts of the Marquess of Hastings, relative to the Government of the Press, and, indeed, all that that nobleman did with regard to Mr. Buckingham, were intended as a feint. This, I contend, is insulting to that noble Lord, for it infers that he endeavoured to deceive his Council. (Hear!) It is insulting to declare that his opinions were different from the regulations he promulgated. (Hear!) If it were so, I can only say it showed a scandalous dereliction of duty in the noble Marquess. (Hear!) But I would ask what authority the hon. Proprietor possesses for placing the noble Marquess's conduct in such a light? What right has he to charge the Marquess of Hastings with insincerity? (Hear!) I am perfectly convinced the noble Marquess was sincere, (*i*) from the minutes I possess on the subject. One of those documents which the hon. Proprietor has denounced as so foolish and contemptible, which he has described in such offensive terms, was revised by the hand of the Marquess of Hastings himself. (Hear!) The noble Marquess himself wrote every word of the letter addressed to Mr. Buckingham, intimating that if he persisted in the course he then pursued, his license would be withdrawn and himself banished from India. What then must we think of a gentleman who asserts that the sentiments of the Marquess of Hastings were directly opposed to this line of conduct?

It is plain that a free press could not exist in India, consistently with the regulations promulgated by the Marquess of Hastings, on removing the censorship from the press. The Court may recollect that the Marquess Wellesley found it necessary to impose a censorship on the press, which remained in action until removed by the Marquess of Hastings; who, however, introduced other regulations (*k*) for the government of the press. This is what has been denominated a free press in India. When Mr. Canning quoted these regulations in the House of Commons, he laughed at the idea of their being considered as a proof of the establishment of a free press in India. (Hear!) The editors of the different newspapers received copies of the regulations adopted by the Marquess of Hastings; and they were informed of what was expected from them in conducting their journals. It was intimated to them that their removal from India would be the consequence of their non-compliance with the regulations (*l*). [The hon. Proprietor here read the Circular alluded to (*m*).] Now, let the Court say, whether that could be "a free press," which was subject to such restrictions. We will now see how far Mr. Buckingham complied with these regulations. The Government of India was first attracted by, and called to interfere in, what was considered to be a libel on the Governor of Madras. This appeared on the 26th of May, 1819. I do not mean to say that the production in question could be considered as a libel in this country, but it was one which the Governor General and his Council considered as such (*n*). I will abstain from detaining the Court by reading this arti-

(*g*) If it be meant as an imputation of unworthiness to call a man a mariner, let it be remembered, that Mr. Impey's employers, of whom he is the professed advocate and eulogist, are many of them mariners; and that it is to this class of men they owe the frequent preservation of their Indian empire from invasion and destruction.

(*h*) All *lawful* ones, and no more.

(*i*) If then, he *was* sincere, (as we believe he was in his *early* conduct,) what is the meaning of his eulogium on the exercise of public scrutiny, &c. &c.? The inconsistency of the Marquess cannot be overcome; but the weakness of his latter days led him to contradict the strength of his former declarations; and if the one is to be brought in evidence of his dislike, the other should be admitted as a proof of his attachment to a free press. If these neutralize each other, then let the evidence on both sides be discarded; but to take one without the other is an *ex-parte* proceeding, which Mr. Impey professes to abhor!

(*k*) They were *not* regulations, any more than a letter of the Secretary of State in England is an Act of Parliament. A regulation is a law which has received the sanction of the Supreme Court; and a Circular of the Chief Secretary in India, is no more law than a bill thrown out of, or never introduced into Parliament. This distinction should be always borne in mind.

(*l*) This is altogether false, and Mr. Impey, (if the report of this expression be correct,) must have been blind or wilfully ignorant; for he professes to have read the "Private Circular" of the Secretary, here or elsewhere so erroneously called "Regulations," and that Circular does *not* intimate that removal from India would be the consequence of disregarding the rules prescribed, but merely states that the Governor General would "hold the editors responsible for their publications, and proceed against them in such manner as he might deem applicable to their offence." This was understood, however, to mean *legal* proceedings, as against libel, under the protection of a Court and Jury, and not Banishment without Trial, which is inapplicable to any offence that can be committed.

(*m*) See Appendix to Vol. I. of Oriental Herald, p. ix.

(*n*) But they are not a Court, nor a Jury; and if they are not competent to decide other offences, such as fraud and forgery, without the aid of the laws, why should they be sole judges of libel, and those too against themselves, making them accuser, witness, judge, jury, and executioner in one?

cle; but I will state the letter which was directed to be written to Mr. Buckingham in consequence of its publication, by the Marquess of Hastings and two other members of the government. [The letter and reply was here read by the honourable proprietor (*n*).] I request the Court to observe how Mr. Buckingham kept the promise contained in this reply, —how he conformed to those regulations, with which he professed himself to be perfectly acquainted. (*o*) Many months had not elapsed when Mr. Buckingham renewed his attack on the Governor of Madras. The Marquess of Hastings again thought it necessary to direct a second remonstrance to be addressed to Mr. Buckingham; I will read a passage from the letter written in consequence to that gentleman:—

> The Governor General in Council has perceived with regret the little impression made on you, by the indulgence you have already experienced; and I am directed to warn you of the certain consequence of your again incurring the displeasure of the Government. In the present instance, his Lordship, in Council, contents himself with requiring that a distinct acknowledgment of the impropriety of your conduct, and a full and sufficient apology to the Government of Fort St. George, for the injurious insinuations inserted in your paper of yesterday, with regard to the conduct of that government be published in the Calcutta Journal. (*p*)

The hon. Proprietor who has previously addressed you, has enumerated the several libels, (*q*) published by Mr. Buckingham, in consequence of the appearance of which the Government was necessitated to interfere. (*r*) Were I to repeat these, I should only weary and disgust the Court. I shall content myself with observing, that during Mr. Buckingham's stay in India he libelled the Bishop of Calcutta, (*s*) the Clergy, (*t*) and the whole Government, (*u*) in charging them with being influenced by corrupt motives; insinuating that the Government discouraged merit and rewarded meanness and servility. He libelled the Governor General, (*x*) the Commander-in-Chief, (*y*) the Grand Jury, who found a bill against him, (*z*) and many private individuals had been the objects of his attacks. (*aa*) (Hear!)

I will take this opportunity of observing, in the presence of the Court, that I consider there is a want of the wisdom, promptitude, and firmness, which characterized the other parts of the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, in the affair of the publication of these libels. (Hear!) The noble Marquess did, to be sure, adopt some, but very inefficient means to curb the evil; he threatened Mr. Buckingham, he advised him, he endeavoured to check his career by Courts Martial, (*b*) but without success. Mr. Buckingham still persevered to the last in the same course. He at length in one of his articles denied altogether, and set at defiance, the authority of the Government. (*c*) A letter written by the Marquess of Hastings himself, and signed by the Secretary to the Government, was addressed to Mr. Buckingham on the 5th of Sept. 1822, (*d*) in consequence of the appearance of an article in the *Calcutta Journal*, which denied the power of the Government to remove any European from India who was not a covenanted servant of the Company. (*e*)

The Marquess of Hastings throughout the whole of these proceedings acted in opposition to the opinions of his colleagues, who wished stronger and more effectual measures to be adopted. Are

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(*n*) See Appendix to Vol. I. of Oriental Herald, p. viii. ix.

(*o*) Mr. Buckingham did observe these Regulations, *unlawful* as they were, unless driven in self-defence, and by the wanton provocations of others, to retaliate on his accusers.

(*p*) Mr. Impey professes to have a great horror of *ex parte* statements, when made by others; but he has no objection to make them himself. He read this letter, but said not a word of the answer to it. The answer was a refusal to make the apology demanded, and a justification of the conduct pursued. The Government waived their demand, and thereby acknowledged their own precipitancy and error.

(*q*) They were *not* libels. One only was brought to trial, and that was declared by a jury to be *no* libel. On what authority then does Mr. Impey so call them?

(*r*) Was there no Court of Justice in which this could be better done?

(*s*) Utterly false. (*t*) Doubly false.

(*u*) Trebly false.

(*x*) False. (*y*) False. (*z*) False.

(*a*) It is impossible to pass this over without asking, Where are the proofs?—During the five years in which the Paper existed under Mr. Buckingham's management, not one of these things happened; it had been stated, on the contrary, in a public Court of Justice, and remains uncontradicted, that in the Calcutta Journal, public character was fairly canvassed; that private character was never traduced; and that "there never was a purer Paper in existence" (Orient. Her. vol. i. p. 118) than this to which Mr. Impey falsely attributes all manner of crimes.

(*b*) This again is false; and betrays either extreme ignorance, or a wilful attempt to mislead. Mr. Buckingham was never tried by court martial, nor ever made subject to military jurisdiction; though even that would have been better than no trial, and no law whatever but the arbitrary will of a despot by which he was punished.

(*c*) This is as false as any thing that has gone before it. It denied no power; but was a mere question as to the meaning of a clause in an Act of Parliament.

(*d*) See Appendix to the Oriental Herald, Vol. I. p. xxxiv.

(*e*) It is remarkable enough that the virtuous speaker, who has such a pretended aversion to *ex-parte* statements, should here also have read the letter of Government in complaint, but omitted to read the reply in defence. This is the impartiality of a *professional* advocate.

we, then, to think that the noble Marquess alone was in the right? Is it to imagine that he was the only person who could judge with correctness on this subject? I am not competent to say what the Directors may think, but to judge from their sanctioning the removal of Mr. Buckingham, we may suppose that they considered that measure perfectly justifiable, and the conduct of those who adopted it, proper. The Marquess of Hastings, however, acted in opposition to the Council, who deemed it expedient to remove Mr. Buckingham. On its being proposed in the Council that that individual's licence should be withdrawn, the Marquess of Hastings was the only person who objected to the proposition; the whole of the Council supported it. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that when those who had formerly declared that Mr. Buckingham was not a fit person to remain in India, were placed at the head of the government, they should remove him for his *past* offences. (*e*) They waited, however, until a new transgression was committed, and they had not long to wait. I shall not pass an opinion as to the *nature* of this last offence: it is none of my business whether the Government has behaved right or wrong in punishing the offence in the way they have done. (*f*) (Hear.) That Government is alone responsible to the Court of Directors. It *conceived* the article to be an improper one, and resented the transgression, as it was empowered to do. The measure of the removal of Mr. Buckingham, when put in force by the Government did not, excite the censure either of the Court of Directors, or of the Board of Control. They agreed, on the contrary, in its propriety. (*g*)

I should be sorry to say any thing disrespectful of Mr. Buckingham, and can only wish that the supporters of that gentleman had manifested the same forbearance towards Mr. Adam. Were I to apply the same epithets to Mr. Buckingham that have to-day been used towards Mr. Adam, I should conceive that I was offering an insult to the Court. (*h*) (Hear!) The motives which instigated the conduct of Mr. Buckingham may have been, for aught I know, perfectly sincere. A free press might have been, in his opinion, beneficial to the Indian empire. He might, perhaps, have considered himself in the light of a martyr to his efforts to establish a free press. Mr. Buckingham, since his arrival in this country, has been engaged in conducting a very useful publication. No objection would have been raised against his publishing in this country what he had published in India. (Hear, hear!) The strictures of a free press in England would operate beneficially on the Government of India. (*i*)

I must, however, condemn one part of the conduct of Mr. Buckingham, or of his advocates. I allude to their making the question a personal one, between Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Adam. Mr. Adam ordered the removal of Mr. Buckingham, because he considered his removal beneficial for India; but his opponents have insinuated that he acted from personal malice towards that individual. It is easy to brand a man for a tyrant, and censure him for malicious conduct, when he is at the distance of half the globe from his native country. (*k*) In answer to this charge, I beg to read to the Court the opinion of some eminent men in India, relative to the conduct of Mr. Adam both personally and officially. I will lay before the Court some passages from a letter written by the Governor of Bombay (*l*)—some extracts from a letter written by Lord Amherst, (though perhaps an objectionable testimony to some gentlemen,) and the opinion of a public meeting held at Calcutta at the termination of Mr. Adam's government. That most favourable opinion of Mr. Adam was given by Mr. Fergusson, Mr. Buckingham's counsel, and every one who knows him will acknowledge that he is

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(*e*) They had no more jurisdiction over these than one Judge has over acts for which a man has been already tried and acquitted by another.

(*f*) Then, an honest man would have added, "It is also none of my business to pass judgment on the question," for here is a person stepping out of his way to praise and condemn what he declares it is none of his business to understand.

(*g*) So a coward who hires a gang of bullies to silence the object of his hatred would, no doubt, approve of any measures by which his object could be effected; but who would *therefore* conclude that this silencing by unequal force was right? Are the Directors so infallible, that whatever they approve of cannot be wrong?

(*h*) The essence of the question is—Does Mr. Adam *deserve* the epithets applied to him? If he does, their application is praiseworthy; for it is as mischievous to *withhold* censure where it is due, as it is to give it where it is not due.

(*i*) The absurdity here is double; first, in making two standards for the same act when done in India and England: as if murder, theft, fraud, &c. were not the same in each country; and as if truth and falsehood were not also the same, wherever uttered or written: and secondly, in pretending that discussions in this country must do good in India, at the same time that there is a law forbidding any man from republishing, or even selling or lending any book in which such discussions may be contained, on pain of fine and imprisonment if a native, and of banishment if an Englishman.

(*k*) No doubt, Mr. Impey: Mr. Adam, however, not only arraigns Mr. Buckingham at the distance of half the globe, but muzzles every one near him from saying a word in reply, and passes a law to prevent whatever may be written in England on the same subject from being imported into India! Who then is the guilty party? But Mr. Adam is the *accuser*, and it is Mr. Kinnaird who is defending Mr Buckingham from Mr. Adam's aspersions.

(*l*) A near relation, himself a Governor, and altogether a partial and interested witness.

incapable of dissimulation or injustice. (*m*) (Hear!)

The letter from the Governor of Bombay to Mr. Adam contains a passage in which the writer speaks of the high praise which *every individual* in Bengal bestowed on John Adam's administration, (*n*) and particularly applauded him for the steps he had taken with respect to the Indian press. In the letter written by Lord Amherst, dated 14 August 1823, his Lordship greatly lamented the loss that he sustained by the resignation of Mr. Adam. That honourable gentleman had informed him (Lord Amherst) that he would get every assistance from the other individuals in office; the disadvantage was very great, but he (Lord Amherst) must try to do as well as he could. It was, however, a great hardship to be obliged to do without a staff on which he had principally leaned. (*o*)

I now beg to call the attention of the Court to the public meeting held at Calcutta at the close of Mr. Adam's administration. Mr. Palmer, whose favourable opinion of Mr. Buckingham the hon. Member had so much boasted of, was the first who signed the requisition for that meeting. (*p*) The Chairman of that meeting, Mr. Fergusson, in the speech he delivered, thus expressed himself:—

Of such a character it was needless to say much. Every one who heard him knew that it was impossible to speak too highly of the manner in which he had executed his *public* and his private duties; and it was indeed to him a source of the highest gratification, to be called upon to propose a *public* mark of respect and esteem to such a man; whose purity of heart and sterling *public* worth entitled him to the highest consideration in the power of the meeting to bestow. From his (Mr. Adam's) having passed his life among them, they were well qualified to judge of his merits; for his own part, he firmly believed that British India owed the major part of its present prosperity to the arduous exertions, the indefatigable attention to duty, and the strict integrity which had distinguished Mr. Adam, in the execution of the duties of the various and responsible situations which he had filled. He would say further, that he firmly believed, that, in every *public* act of his life, he had been influenced by none but the best intentions, and he felt assured that it was the lot of very few men to be esteemed and beloved as was that excellent and admirable man. In unassuming benevolence, sound judgment, and purity of heart, he was surpassed by no man; and he, (the learned Chairman,) was justly proud of his friendship.

This is the character of the man who has been this day so *scurrilously* (*q*) attacked in this Court. (Hear.) I am very unwilling to trespass on the patience of the Court further, after the time taken up by the long speech of the hon. Mover; but I cannot abstain from offering to the notice of the Court some observations on the subject of a free press in India. The desire for the establishment of a free press in India, arises from a complete misapprehension of the nature of the benefits derivable from it, and is opposed to that fundamental maxim of policy, that when a new institution is introduced into any country, care should be taken to suit it to the habits of the society in that country. (*r*) (Hear!) For the same thing

(*m*) This immaculate lawyer (of which immaculate profession Mr. Impey is himself a member), who is so incapable of dissimulation, after being for thirty years a political reformer, a public advocate for the liberty of the press in India, a denouncer of the censorship as illegal; and after expressing his abhorrence of Mr. Adam's regulation for licensing the press, by calling it a tyrannical act of a most tyrannical government, contrary to law, to reason, and to common sense: goes up soon afterwards at the head of a deputation to express his public admiration of that very Mr. Adam, whose public act he had opposed with all his might. This is Mr. Fergusson's utter incapability of dissimulation!

(*n*) There were hundreds of individuals, nay, thousands, in Bengal, who disapproved entirely of Mr. Adam's administration; but no man dared publicly *express* this, on pain of banishment and ruin.

(*o*) Then it was, indeed, a broken reed. But who is so ignorant as not to know the utter worthlessness of one tyrant's commendations of another?

(*p*) In justice to Mr. Palmer we must state that the impression studiously conveyed by all those, who exerted themselves to get up this requisition, (which, however, was merely for a *meeting* to *consider* of some means of conveying the sentiments of the inhabitants of Calcutta to Mr. Adam) was, that it was merely to pay a tribute of respect for Mr. Adam's *private* virtues, and had nothing to do with his public administration. Like all acts of duplicity, however, the result was discreditable to those who attempted the distinction. Mr. Palmer, we have reason to believe, never did approve of Mr. Adam's conduct towards Mr. Buckingham and the press: though he might have thought Mr. Adam, in other respects, a mild and amiable man; but the leading movers of this address betrayed their trust, and broke their engagements by making the address a testimony to *public* character as well as private—and thus deceiving many who first gave it their support on the latter ground alone: and were then afraid or ashamed to mark themselves conspicuously, by withdrawing. As to private character, some of the greatest tyrants have not been deficient in domestic virtues: but neither the one nor the other ought to enter into this discussion, which is merely as to the merits of a certain act; and if that act be clearly cruel and unjust, it matters not whether it was committed by an angel or a demon, the act is still the same.

(*q*) It would be well if the meaning of this word were defined. In general, those who are defeated in argument apply it to the *reasoning* of their opponents.

(*r*) This fundamental maxim, if it be one, is a mere delusion. If no institution were introduced into a country till it were *fit* for it, it would never be introduced; for it is institutions that fit mankind for their enjoyment, and not mankind that fit themselves for institutions. This is, indeed, as much as to say—" Do not attempt to introduce bibles, churches, clergy, schools, and

that conduced to the happiness of the people of one country, might produce wretchedness among that of another. That a free press did never exist in India, and that the Government had always framed restrictions and regulations for its government, I have before shown. (*s*) We have heard these arbitrary regulations to-day condemned as an impeachment of the good sense and integrity of the servants of the Company. But I would advise the Court to pause before they attempt to alter that system, when you find *all your servants* (*ss*) men of ability and integrity, and of experience opposed directly to such innovation. This opinion has been expressed by the Government of Bombay by the Government of Madras, headed by Sir Thomas Munro, and the Government of Bengal, headed by the right hon. Lord Amherst. It is their unanimous opinion, that to introduce a free press into India, would create the utmost disorder and confusion, (*t*) and in the end destroy the British empire in the East. (*u*) (Hear!)

Where I to detail the grounds on which these calm and deliberate opinions were founded, I doubt not but they would be found perfectly satisfactory. In my idea, among a people who are advanced to a high degree of civilization, a free press can alone be tolerated. I believe I may say, that until our Revolution of 1688, there was not a free press in the world; (*x*) and I am perfectly convinced that a free press can only exist under a free Government. The people of this country are undoubtedly benefited by the exercise of the privileges of a free press. And why? Because the Executive is responsible to a free Parliament; and that Parliament to its constituents, a free people. (*y*) In this country, the various parts of the state are enlightened and united by the agency of a free press. Every one is affected by it, and all are united to preserve that from which they experience so much advantage. We all know, however, that his own immediate profit is the primary object of every editor of a public journal. (*z*) (Cries of No, and Hear!) Surely no one will deny the fact. I do not mean to say that the only object of a man who sets up a journal, is his own immediate profit; but I contend that it is his primary object. The consequence is, that as the press furnishes the best institution for the preservation of religion, order, and constitutional sentiments, so also it is often the source of irreligion, immorality, blasphemy, and sedition. It sometimes is a pander to our worst passions, and sometimes the supporter of our noblest propensities. (*a*)

The reason why the falsehood and calumny, which frequently disgrace the press of this country, make no impression, and obtain no credence, is, that society is highly enlightened and civilized, and all are capable of judging whether a statement be worthy or no of belief. No slanderous and venal journal can injure the character of a great and good man in *this* country. (*b*) The vessel of the state moves equably on in spite of the storms which a free press occasionally raises around it; and the law which protects those who obey it, corrects those by whom it is disobeyed. (Hear!) The reverse of this is the case in India, and, *consequently*, that country is not fitted for the existence of a free press. (*c*) The Government there re-

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other institutions of Christianity into India, until the Hindoos are *prepared* for a proper use of them by becoming Christians." But how are they to be Christianized without Christian institutions? How to be civilized, without civil institutions? How to be taught to think, without materials for thinking?—and how to be prepared for the proper use of a free press, without the press to make them so? It has been aptly said—This is like the advice of a grandmother, who tells her urchin not to venture into the water until he can swim.

(*s*) Not so clearly as you conceive, Mr. Impey.

(*ss*) This is unfortunately untrue.

(*t*) No doubt; all Governors and men in authority hate the "confusion" of being subject to censure for neglect of duty.

(*u*) No man of sense or experience can entertain any such absurd opinion; because the freedom of the press, exercised almost to licentiousness in the days of Warren Hastings, when our empire was weak, produced no danger whatever; and after the short experiment tried by the Marquess of Hastings, the empire was declared to be more tranquil when he left it than it had ever been before.

(*x*) Because printing was a recent discovery; but there were free tongues and free pens among the Greeks and Romans; and even among the Asiatics, to say nothing of our own early days of freedom in England before the press was known. Printing is only an extension of speech, and does the work of a thousand tongues instead of one.

(*y*) So ought a free press to be good in India. And why? Because the Executive is (according to Mr. Impey's former admission) responsible to a free Court of Directors; and that Court of Directors to their constituents, the Proprietors, who call themselves a free people. Where is the difference?

(*z*) If Mr. Impey had recollected himself, he might have named one individual at least who was an exception to this rule. Had Mr. Buckingham's sole object been pecuniary profit, he might have continued to remain in India, and by abandoning his rights as a man, for the more supple habits of a slave, have returned from that country in ten years with 100,000*l*. sterling; but he preferred virtuous poverty to ill-gotten wealth, and will always at least be able to say that he never bartered away his free spirit for "mere lucre," as some, who may well thank him for his forbearance, have basely and ignominiously done.

(*a*) This may be said of religion itself, and of all the elements of nature. But who would argue, from the mere abuse of any institution, against its use, except a Hireling, who must say what he is bid.

(*b*) Then why are journalists punished?

(*c*) What! is there no law there to protect the characters of those who are unjustly slandered? Then why is the Supreme Court of Justice maintained there?

ceives no check from the people, through the medium of a free Parliament. The authority which resides here is its *only* check. The people of India are not competent to judge of the truth or falsehood of any statement respecting Government, or of the distinction between right and wrong. (*c*) (Hear!) I am firmly convinced, that the truth of all the assertions made to-day, in this Court (which will be canvassed and examined in England), would be believed from one end of India to the other, without inquiry. (*d*)

Consider, Gentlemen, of what the population of India is composed, and then you will be able to judge whether a free press is calculated for that country. The population consists of two unequal parties, Europeans and Natives. Is a free press wanted for the Europeans? The Europeans are chiefly the Company's civil or military servants; and the rest are either merchants or shopkeepers, who are allowed to follow their vocations under the rules and regulations promulgated by the Government. A free press is not certainly wanted for the latter class. (*e*) Is it then wanted for the Company's servants? Would it be proper, I ask, to place the Government of Bengal under the control of the Company's servants, for such would be the effect of a free press? (*f*) The business of the inferior servants of the Company is to acquire a knowledge of the duties intrusted to them, and to discharge those duties faithfully. Ought they to be called from the performance of their duties, for the purpose of writing censures on their superiors? (*g*) (Hear!) Would India be benefited by their being permitted to state, that those in power appointed persons to office from base and corrupt motives? Would it benefit the Company's empire that the Indian Government should be subjected to the censure of Cadets? If such is to be the application of the use of a free press, I deprecate its introduction into the Company's dominions. (*h*) Trouble and dissension would at first be produced, but inevitable ruin would ensue. Its effects would be extended to the immense native population. And what would that population learn from a free press? They would learn that they were *forcibly* subjected to a foreign Government, and would be taught that all have an inalienable right to free themselves from a foreign yoke. (*i*) (Hear!) The progress of this knowledge would be slow, but it would arrive at last; and the expulsion of the British from India would be the consequence. (*k*) (Hear!) The native army would be taught a quicker and a more dangerous lesson. I have no doubt that great insubordination would prevail among that army, if a free press were once established. (*l*) The troops would soon follow the example of their officers, in debating on the measures of Government. They would soon learn that the preservation of the country depended on them; they would recollect that they were deprived of all participation in the honours and immunities of the state, and would be reminded that rebellion would ensure them a participation in those honours and immunities. This would be the last lesson taught by a free press in India. (*m*) The consequences would be fatal, where there is such disparity of force; and would be equally ruinous to this country as to India, which would be left a prey to rapine and devastation. (*n*)

As I consider that the production of papers will afford *no information* on the subject, I shall strenuously oppose the motion. For what information is required, when all the facts are *admitted?* (*o*) The Proprietors are to judge

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(*d*) This must mean the natives only, and it is the British public also for whom a free press is necessary; yet, if this be the state of the natives there, this class of the people of India must be no better than cattle, particularly if it be considered that they do not understand our language. And yet Mr. Impey would hardly object to the circulation of the freest newspapers among calves and asses.

(*d*) This is correct enough. People in India know the statements to be true, and therefore they already believe them. They have never been contradicted, even in Parliament or the India House, where there is a sufficient absence of shame to warrant the contradiction even of things known to be true. In India, however, they are too well known to be disputed.

(*e*) They contend that it is—and who are the best judges?

(*f*) The Government of Bengal is *already* under the control of the Company's servants; for ever Governors General are no more. What then does Mr. Impey mean?

(*g*) It is to help them to acquire this knowledge and to discharge their duties faithfully, that the press is required; and a free press could exist without calling them from their duties, or obliging them to censure any one.

(*h*) But this is not the use that has been, or would be made of a free press, if the Government were well conducted.

(*i*) Then this is admitting these things to be true.

(*k*) Then this is admitting that the English would deserve to be expelled; for no people ever yet expelled their oppressors without their *amply* deserving it.

(*l*) How then does not this take place in England?

(*m*) Then this is still admitting all these things to be true. If the preservation of the country *does* really depend on them, they ought to share the honours and immunities of the state; and if we do not govern them with justice, they ought to expel us from the country; for we have no right to reign there a moment longer than we rule them in equity, and with a view to their happiness.

(*n*) Then we should lessen this disparity between the small number of whites, and the great number of blacks, by increasing the number of the former, and granting the utmost freedom to the Colonization of India by Englishmen.

(*o*) Here is a confession! Let the reader, who has reached thus far, pause for a moment, and

what sort of case has been made out on either side. For my part, I believe I have satisfactorily met every part of the hon. Mover's statement, and do, therefore, move, "That this Court do now adjourn."

After having sat down for some time, without any one rising to second the motion for an adjournment, Mr. Impey again rose, and said, that as it seemed to be the wish of those near him, (the Directors,) that the question should be met by a direct negative, he would withdraw his motion of adjournment, which had not been seconded, and suffer the debate to proceed.

Mr. S. Dixon.—I am ready to second the motion of the learned Gentleman, in the expectation that an adjournment of the question will afford the Court an opportunity for considering the subject more fully. The motion of the learned Gentleman is, as I understand, not for a general adjournment of the Court, but for an adjournment of the question.

Mr. Impey.—As the Court does not appear to be inclined to meet the question in the way I have proposed, and as some hon. Gentlemen near me think the question should be met by a direct negative, I beg leave to withdraw my motion for adjournment.

Mr. S. Dixon.—Then, am I to understand that the question will be reconsidered?

The Chairman.—The learned Gentleman moved, "That this Court do now adjourn," and as the motion has not been seconded, the original question remains as it was.

Mr. S. Dixon.—I feel my inadequacy to discuss so important a question as the present; but I will rely, as I ever have done, on the sincerity of my sentiments. The conduct of the hon. Mover, on this occasion, has surprised me more than any other part of his public proceedings in this Court. The circumstances he is placed in are of the most embarrassing kind. He has discovered that the Marq. of Hastings, in his measures relative to the press, has been acting all along in a joke. (Hear!) He has found it impossible to disengage the noble Marquess from participation in the very measures of which he has this day been loud in his complaint; and has endeavoured to get rid of the difficulty by asserting, that the laws which the Marquess of Hastings framed for the regulation of the press, were only meant in jest. This doctrine is the strangest I have ever heard; it put me in mind of the adage, "Keep me from my friends, and I will take care of my enemies." (Hear!) Had I made such an attack on the character of the Marquess of Hastings, I should have been shouted down. Nothing is more painful to me than to say any thing which may affect the character or property of any person. My disposition leads me rather to defend an individual from the assaults of a public body. But I must be allowed to say that Mr. Buckingham went out to India under false pretences. He went there as a free mariner; but instead of pursuing that avocation, he set up as a political writer. (a)

Though a man is liable to be assailed from all quarters, if he expresses any opinion against the doctrine of a free press, I will say, that a more dangerous instrument could not be introduced into India. The safety of India would be endangered by such a system. It has been said, that Mr. Buckingham has been overwhelmed by the hand of authority; but was he not repeatedly cautioned? Was not the necessary result of his conduct pointed out to him? I might dwell upon, and enlarge this subject, but I think it better to state, in as few words as possible, the strong points of the case, on which the decision of the Court must be ultimately founded, rather than take up time by needless dilation. (b)

Sir John Malcolm rose and said, It was not my intention, in coming to this Court, which I now address for the first time, to make any observations on the present question, unless called upon to do so, as I thought it probable I might be, from the nature of the subject before the Court. It is not the allusion made to me by the hon. Mover which has compelled me to address you; but I find it impossible to remain silent after what has been said of an hon. Friend of mine. The hon. Mover has disclaimed any wish of making personal observations; but I cannot describe his language in any other way than by calling it a calumny on Mr. John Adam; (Hear!) and I should con-

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ask himself of what materials must the head and heart of that man be composed, who says, "The facts are all admitted, and I therefore move that the whole proceedings be quashed: I believe Mr. Adam to be right and Mr. Buckingham wrong: but I will neither grant information on the subject, nor allow any one else to speak on it after myself: I move, therefore, that this Court do now adjourn." We say, that of such a man neither "tyrant" nor "tiger" conveys any thing like an adequate or accurate idea.

(a) Mr. Dixon must be imperfectly acquainted with the facts: Mr. Buckingham was *in* India long before any license was sent out to him. He went there without *any* pretences, his views and pursuits being wholly to effect a mutual intercourse between Egypt and India. But even the license of a free mariner does not confine a man to keeping at sea all his days: and the Indian Government acknowledged the legality of Mr. Buckingham's editing a Journal under such license, by entering into a contract with him in his editorial capacity.

(b) These strong points of *warnings* and *cautions* are the weakest of all, for they might have been good and lawful acts against which the warnings and cautions were directed; and if so, no disregard of them can be criminal.

sider myself unworthy to sit in this Court, as a proprietor of East India Stock, were I not to refute it as far as lies in my power. (Hear!) Happily I am able to do this effectually. I have known Mr. Adam for upwards of thirty years, and can bear testimony to the moderation of his mind, the mildness of his temper, and the soundness of his judgment. (c) (Hear!) His mind is imbued with such generous sentiments, that he is *incapable* of adopting measures of severity, unless *forced* to do so in compliance with his duty, and with the dictates of his conscience. This is my honest opinion of Mr. Adam. (d)

The question now under the consideration of the Court has been admirably treated in its details. I cannot pretend to the eloquence which has been displayed by the learned Gentleman who has recently addressed you; but I beg leave to offer a few observations on the general question, which I think of importance, when we are called upon to investigate any individual's conduct, with respect to his proceedings in India. To consider this question properly, we must take an enlarged view of the connexion between this country and India. We must examine our situation in India, and speak boldly out what it is. (Hear!) We must inquire, whether that situation is produced by option or necessity. In my opinion, it is decidedly a case of necessity. (e) How can the public in that country, be compared with the public in this? The learned Gentleman, who in the course of his speech, has not unsuccessfully endeavoured to interest our feelings by describing the evils attendant on a change of system in India, has eloquently discussed this point. But I could wish the learned Gentleman to separate the individual case from the general question. To describe what the public in India is composed of, might be thought presumption in me; but I may say, that *no* essential part of the public in England, is formed of military officers, civil officers, and treasury clerks. (f) Were those bodies, in this country, to be united together, they would be simultaneously attacked by every newspaper in England. (Hear!) When I speak of the public in England, I do not allude either to the higher or lower ranks of society. Those who constitute the Houses of Parliament, and the lower orders, are incited to action by motives of a particular kind; but the British public I speak of, is the middle rank of society, which is composed of a peculiar class of men, full of intelligence and information, who feel not the wants which press upon the lower orders, nor the motives of action by which the higher orders are incited. (Hear!) This class of people, in my idea, constitutes the public of Britain. India possesses no such public. (g) To establish a free press, in such a state of society as prevailed there, would, in my opinion, confer a great power in a very extraordinary quarter; and this power must be taken out of the hands of the authorities there, who at present act under responsibilities, such as no Government had ever been subjected to. Are the persons who compose that Government despots? Their judgment has, in my opinion, been unreasonably questioned, and a false prejudice has been excited against them. I may be allowed to speak of them, for I have been connected with them; and though my duties chiefly belonged to the military profession, yet some of them (and those which cost me the hardest labour) were of a civil nature. Do those gentlemen, who have been the subject of such sneering remarks, go to India with narrow and contracted views of government? Do the lessons they imbibe in their native country, depart from their remembrance? Do they forget the free principles they learned, and the land where they received their education? No. (h) By their continual communication with this country, they obtain as correct knowledge of passing events as it is possible for them to obtain. The race of Nabobs is, I believe, extinct, and gone by, and India is now governed by a body of English gentlemen, who have a full sense of the dignity and importance of the situation in which they are placed, and of the arduous duties of sovereignty. (Hear!) Intrigue is beneath them; and they consider the time is soon to come when they shall return to their native country, and mix in society, whose good or bad opinion of them, will constitute the happiness or misery of their lives. (i) Will they not, in such circumstances,

(c) Does it follow, that because a man has been a good man for thirty years, he cannot afterwards do a bad act? If so, no man ought either to be hung or transported, if he could bring evidence of having had a good character till he was thirty, though he should commit theft, murder, or perjury, at fifty.

(d) But the Court were not assembled to hear *any* man's mere *opinion* of Mr. Adam. They were called to consider his acts; and Mr. Impey says, that these were all admitted. On these the Court collectively were to judge, and not from thirty, or from sixty years experience before these acts were committed.

(e) Our situation there is one of choice, and not of necessity; we went there by choice, and might leave it again by choice to-morrow, if we wished it.

(f) This is something new.

(g) What! are there none but very high and very low in India? none but masters and servants, tyrants and slaves? This, if it were true, would be a reproach indeed to our rule.

(h) Then this is the very reason *why* they should be governed as free men, and not as slaves.

(i) How is this opinion to be regulated, if all they do in India is to be kept secret?

labour to secure the good opinion of their countrymen, by pursuing a course of strict integrity? They are not responsible to one sovereign, but to many, and are watched with eagle eyes by the anomalous authorities in this country. (*k*) (Hear!) We have been told by the hon. Mover, that "we have no information, because there are no paragraphs in the newspapers about these gentlemen." (Hear!) But are not the records of what is done in India, all sent home? And is not the opinion of Englishmen formed on the acts so recorded? (*l*) That opinion does not remain here, but is wafted back again to India. The conduct of the Indian Government is in the next place animadverted upon, and sometimes handled with severity by the Court of Proprietors, as has been seen on this and other days. They are subject to the opinion of the Court of Directors, and to the authority of the Board of Control —two bodies whose views are often very different; and last of all, they are responsible to Parliament. In addition to all this, the press of England, which notices all their proceedings, (*m*) acts as a powerful check and corrective; and I will not say but in the exercise of such absolute power, this check is of much benefit. The possession of absolute power is undoubtedly dangerous; but the Gentlemen who compose the Government of India, do not need to be awakened to a sense of their duty. They do not require the flappers an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Dixon) has alluded to, to remind them of those duties, but those who distrust them have more need of flappers to remind them that those gentlemen are Englishmen, possessing English integrity and English justice. (*n*) (Hear.) In their present situation they require a vast share of energy to execute their public duties. Their measures would, however, be greatly retarded, if the checks, which *here* operate on their proceedings, were planted in India. We have been asked, "What is the use of publications in England on Indian affairs, if they are not read in India for six months afterwards?" but this very circumstance constitutes their great advantage. For public acts are thus argued with deliberation, and without the irritation attendant on an immediate publication of a condemnatory nature. (*o*) It is evidently the desire of every person not to do any thing which may render him unpopular; but I would ask—why is Mr. Adam to be attacked in the way he has been for an exercise of his UNDOUBTED power, (*p*) because a portion of the community happened to be displeased by it? How is this power to be otherwise regulated? Though I do not mean to argue that the Indian Empire will be retained for ever, its rational and gradual improvement is an object I anxiously look forward to. Gradual improvement can only be effectual; and a free press can exist only when improvement has been carried to a great extent. (*q*) Although I have not any personal acquaintance with Mr. Buckingham, yet I believe him to be a gentleman of talent and enterprise. On his arrival in India, after travelling through Egypt and other countries, he set up a paper in Calcutta, which, for the first 12 months of its existence, I considered to be an excellent Journal. After that time I had little opportunity of observing it; but that the system on which it was conducted underwent a great change, cannot be denied: a system then manifested itself which it was impossible to suffer to proceed. Are we to believe that the government of a country is inferior in knowledge and information to those who happen to establish a newspaper? (*r*) Or that the latter persons are the most competent individuals to direct the affairs of the state, from the information they derive through their anonymous channels? Are they to guide the Government, and decide on the value which particular questions are entitled to? Are they to attack, and excite hatred against the Government, for exercising a lawful authority?

According to the statement of the hon.

(*k*) But even these eagle eyes cannot pierce from England to India; and without a Press to help their vision, they may gaze and gaze for ever, without perceiving any thing.

(*l*) These are the very records which Mr. Impey, and the Court, whose hired organ he is, will not produce.

(*m*) It does *not* notice, because it is ignorant of, and indifferent to, their proceedings, as may be seen by the general silence of the English Press on this particular question, which, if any thing could rouse them, ought to touch them quickly. But even if it did, how can the strictures even of the English Press produce good in India, when one of the very laws enacted by Mr. Adam's new regulation, prevents any man from buying, selling, lending, or giving away any printed paper from England, in which such comments shall be contained?

(*n*) Is it English justice, to banish a man without trial? to destroy a man's property, without the protection of the law? and to muzzle every mouth, except to utter praise?

(*o*) But what is the use of such publications, if they cannot be read in India *at all*? Your answer to that, Sir John.

(*p*) The just use of it is, however, doubted; and it is this which has given displeasure.

(*q*) Why not then prescribe the limits? But there are none. The Press is as free in England for the ignorant as the wise; and it is the former in every country, who most need it.

(*r*) This must depend on circumstances. There is no reason why an Editor should *not* be as wise as a Secretary. But newspapers are the channels open to all; and when Members of Council and Government Functionaries write in them, as they notoriously did in India, a newspaper is then on a par with the Council Board. The argument, however, is contemptible; for it would go to destroy newspapers in every country under the sun.

Mover, Mr. Adam has destroyed the liberty of the press: but let us look back to the history of the press in India. We will say that it is fifty years since the press was established there, and the first bad effect produced by its freedom was perceived when such dissensions arose in the community from the extension of the jurisdiction of magistrates to courts of law. When the Marquess Wellesley was placed at the head of the Government, it was determined to establish a censorship. I am not aware that this measure was occasioned by the commission of any particular act; but its foundation was attributed to an article reflecting on a native Prince. The Marquess Wellesley determined, on a general principle, to apply that restaint to the press which, in my opinion, should have been applied at the commencement. This censorship was afterwards removed by the Marquess of Hastings, who, however, substituted for it some regulations for the conduct of editors. The present question is not one between Mr. Adam and Mr. Buckingham, but between Great Britain and the policy pursued towards India, and you should therefore decide on the fitness or unfitness of that policy, and if you think it unfit, alter it as far as you can consistently with constitutional feeling. The half-castes are greatly interested in the present question,—their society is at present in an infant state,—their increase astonishingly great. The policy that has been pursued, with respect to this class, is a very delicate subject, a subject which should be kept clear of, and therefore I shall not touch upon it. (*s*) I was always for granting to them the fullest encouragement, but I must say that the establishment of a free press would militate most powerfully against their improvement. (*t*) (Hear.) There is nothing, I believe, beyond the capacity of the half-castes. (*u*) I have the pleasure of knowing some of them; one of them, Col. Skinner, whose name is familiar to many in this Court, is a very superior man, and as near to my heart as any individual in the world. He is as brave and good an officer as his Majesty's service possesses. (Hear.) Though I admit that this class of men should be encouraged, I do not consider that that end will be brought about by means of a free press. It would make them think they were arrived at the highest pitch of civilization, when they have only begun their journey towards the goal. It is untrue to represent them as a society who might indulge with safety in any extravagant notions of their own rights. The experience I have had contradicts the position. The immature attempts that I have been made during the last 12 years to estrange them from their employments, to give them new rights, and change their situation and character, have not had a very extensive effect. They are now very properly suffered to purchase estates in the country. I am for giving them every benefit that can be extended to them, and for this reason I deprecate the introduction of a free press among them, as I conceive it would do them more harm than good. (*x*) By a free press I understand the license to publish every description of articles, (such, for instance, as those published by Mr. Buckingham,) without any restraint, except that which the cognizance of British law imposes, and the denial to Governors General to exercise the power intrusted in their hands.

A question like the present should be discussed in all its bearings: It should be debated in Parliament. I do not entertain the idea, that, though the establishment of a free press might create dissension and sedition among the half-castes, that, therefore, our empire in India would be endangered. (Hear!) Great controversies might happen, but nothing, I am persuaded would arise to hazard the safety of our empire, (*y*) (Hear!) which depends on the great body of the natives of India. Ours is said to be an empire of opinion, founded on our comparative wisdom and the excellence of our character. The superiority of our military power must not, besides, be altogether overlooked. The population of India is composed of two classes, Mahomedans and Hindoos, the latter of which is by far the most numerous. The civil class in India comprehends, I may say, as great a number of persons who can read and write as are to be found in any country in the world, and the influence they hold over the military, their alertness in issuing proclamations, and ingenuity in furthering a favourite object, are truly astonishing. (*z*) They cannot, I admit, regard us, who have deprived them in a great measure of their power and influence, with any great degree of kindness; but so long as we take care that the people are governed with mild-

(*s*) And yet Sir John Malcolm touched upon it boldly, in his Political Sketch of India, published many years ago. Is it that Sir John or his subject has become more delicate of late?

(*t*) Let them be the judges of that. Their opinions are worth something, and they ask for this Freedom of the Press, which their pretended well-wishers would deny them.

(*u*) The strongest reason that could be given why they are fit for a Free Press.

(*x*) We shall see whether the Indo-Britons will acquiesce in this description of their incapacity, by one who professes himself so much their friend.

(*y*) Here, then, is a confession which entirely discredits the pretended danger, which has been made the corner stone of all the measures against the Press. The reader should especially bear this in mind.

(*z*) And yet, these are the people who are declared to be unfit for the exercise of a Free Press!

ness and equity, our empire will remain unimpaired. (*a*) Though there is not, in my opinion, a favour more fraught with disadvantages, or more calculated to create discontent than a free press; yet that would not, I believe, affect the *safety* of our empire. It would be destructive to the half-castes, not to us. It would blast all hopes of improvement in India, and would afford an ample field for the mischievous speculations of the designing and ambitious, who abound in that empire. (*b*)

With respect to Ram Mohun Roy, whose name has been mentioned in the course of this discussion, I beg leave to say a few words. He is a man of undoubted talent, and an excellent English scholar. I am sorry I could not prevail with him in directing his mind to more useful studies—to the history of his own country. (*c*) He has been brought forward as an example to prove the necessity of establishing a free press in India, but I think he ought rather to be quoted as an exception. Though I feel every wish to have the present subject fully investigated, I cannot perceive that that object will be compassed by the motion before the Court. The papers demanded will not add to our information on the subject.

I will now say a few words respecting Mr. Adam; in addition to the testimonies which have this day been adduced in that gentleman's favour, I must be permitted to add mine. I have known him for 30 years, and I believe there is not a man on the face of the globe more unlikely to act unjustly or with inhumanity. (*d*) He adopted the measures he is blamed for, under the conviction that it behoved him to remove from India an individual who set all the mandates of the government at defiance. (*e*) The eyes of the natives were fixed upon the two parties, in the expectation of seeing the issue of the contest. Mr. Adam has only acted as he declared he would act, if ever he had the opportunity, and when the opportunity did occur, after the return of the Marquess of Hastings, he kept his word. When Mr. Adam became Governor General, Mr. Buckingham commenced his observations on a very popular ground; day after day he varied his principle of attack. Mr. Adam was driven to the necessity of terminating the matter at once. (*f*) I trust, that as that gentleman acted under a conscientious feeling, that what he was doing was for the benefit of India, (*g*) he will be supported by this Court. (Hear!) This house has approved of his conduct, and the fact of Lord Amherst's having followed his policy strengthens its propriety (*h*). (Hear!) I have never heard a more unwarrantable imputation than that the gentlemen in India are persons of little consideration, and that their opinions are not worthy of notice.

Mr. D. Kinnaird.—I did not say that. I observed, that Mr. Adam had said so.

Sir J. Malcolm.—That they possessed not a proper knowledge of the constitution.

Mr. D. Kinnaird.—I gave it, as the opinion of Mr. Adam.

Sir J. Malcolm.—It has been assumed that those Gentlemen in India were persons whose opinions were of no consideration—than which nothing can be more untrue. (*i*) Lord Amherst, whose character stands as high as any man's, has been sent out to India, and as a proof of the wisdom of Mr. Adam's line of conduct, allow me to state, that he found himself obliged to follow up the same course as that gentleman had begun. (*k*) (Hear!) I sincerely hope that this Court by their decision to day, will declare to the world their conviction that Mr. Adam fully deserves their approbation.

Sir C. Forbes.—In addressing myself to the question before the Court, it shall be my endeavour to take up as little of their time as possible; for were I to enter at any great length into the question, I feel that I should only be weakening the able arguments of those who have previously discussed it in so full a manner. I have already, in another place, delivered my sentiments on this question; when I took occasion to state, that I was not an advocate for an unrestricted press in India, under the present

(*a*) Is it mildness and equity to punish men with the utmost severity for faults unknown to the law?

(*b*) This is altogether untrue. No designing or ambitious demagogue could obtain a hundred followers in all British India.

(*c*) The most useless study that can be imagined—unravelling a web of the grossest fables, and most disgusting realities. He shows more wisdom in looking to the improvement of the future. He is a man of "undoubted talent," and he is one of the firmest advocates for the freedom of the Indian Press.

(*d*) This testimony might be given on behalf of many criminals hung at the Old Bailey, for forgery especially; but past integrity would avail nothing in opposition to admitted facts.

(*e*) This is wholly untrue.

(*f*) Was there not a Court of Justice there, before which the question might have been tried? If that authority can be set aside by a Governor General, and a temporary one too, it is a mockery to maintain it there any longer.

(*g*) This remains to be proved. There are many who think his conduct has inflicted curses on India at large, as well as on his victim.

(*h*) Not if Lord Amherst were equally wrong. If this doctrine were admitted, then precedents for wrong would be their justification.

(*i*) Then the untruth lies at Mr. Adam's door, unless Sir John will take it up and lay it at his own: for *he* says elsewhere, that they ought not to be allowed to *express* those opinions freely, which is but little better.

(*k*) This is begging the question entirely. The Emperor of China would give a more correct statement, and a much better *sequitur* than this.

circumstances of that country. (Hear.) The situation of India is not calculated at present for an entirely free press. If I have been misunderstood in the observations I made, on the occasion to which I allude, I take this public opportunity of correcting the error. (Hear.) The principal object I have in rising to address you, is, to speak of the treatment, the *tyrannical* treatment, which Mr. Buckingham has experienced from the Bengal Government. (Hear.) I consider it to be such treatment as nothing can justify, but, as Sir John Malcolm has said, the *safety* of the empire. (Hear.) The severe measures adopted by the Government of India can be palliated on no other ground. (Hear.) What reason is assigned for these harsh measures? I shall not say that there is direct proof of malice on the part of the Government of Bengal, but if I am to believe the letters which the hon. Proprietor, who introduced this motion, has this day read,—if I am to place credit on the letters of those respectable individuals, (Messrs. Alexander and Co.) which detailed the proceedings of the Bengal government subsequent to the removal of Mr. Buckingham, in preventing his paper from going on, as long as he had any property or interest in it, I can come to no other conclusion. I can discern no grounds on which to acquit the Bengal Government,—(hear.)—none but what are foreign to those motives which should have influenced their conduct in the performance of a great public duty. (Hear.) If it were proved that the removal of Mr. Buckingham was absolutely necessary for the welfare of India, even then that expulsion ought to have been put into execution in the most gentle and delicate way, so that no unnecessary severity should have accompanied a measure which was sufficiently harsh in itself. (Hear.) His property should have been respected, and his feelings consulted. But how different was the real case! Since the transmission of Mr. Buckingham, a line of conduct has been followed, the tendency of which was to effect his utter ruin. Because his person was beyond their reach, they resolved to assail his property, which was in the power of the Government, and which, I am sorry to say, has not been respected. (Hear.) I am perfectly sure that there is not the least probability of Mr. Buckingham's returning to India, and yet the Indian Government, with that conviction staring them in the face, have vindictively determined to ruin his property, and deprive him of the means of subsistence. (Hear.)

Greatly, as I confess, I regret the part that has been acted towards Mr. Buckingham, I will, nevertheless, state my opinion to the Court, (an opinion which I have before stated to Mr. Buckingham himself,) that that gentleman has acted an imprudent part. (Hear.) The hon. Mover has said that it was of no consequence whether a man is a tyrant, or the *tool* of tyrants, in reference to the effect produced by his conduct. Now, I beg leave to observe, that in my opinion, Mr. Buckingham has been often made a cat's-paw of. (Hear.) I see that gentleman in Court, and I hope he will excuse the compliment. (Laughter.) How has he been rewarded? He has been exiled for taking the part of others.—Much has been said of the public in India, but with respect to that public, the treatment which Mr. Buckingham has received speaks volumes. That gentleman did not stand forward to fight his own battle only for the press of India, but he was also the champion of others, who kept in the back ground because they had not the spirit to come forward as he did; and who, after his departure, turned their backs on him and the liberty of the press together. (Hear, hear.) After he was gone, what was their conduct? They convened a public meeting for the express purpose of eulogizing the man who had treated Mr. Buckingham in the most severe and uncalled-for manner! I am surprised, almost beyond belief, to observe at the head of the requisition for calling this meeting the name of a gentleman, whose sentiments I considered would have prevented him from lending himself to such a transaction. (Cries of "Name, name.") I allude to Mr. Palmer, (for when I speak of an individual I always shall boldly name him, in doors or out of doors,) and regret exceedingly to see that gentleman's name put thus prominently forward. I have corresponded with him for 30 years, and after the very handsome terms in which he has spoken of Mr. Buckingham, I am astonished to find him subsequently calling a meeting, the object of which was to laud the man who had adopted such measures towards that gentleman. I observe too, that Mr. Fergusson, the advocate employed by Mr. Buckingham, pursued the same course on that occasion. The character of Mr. Fergusson is well known. He is a gentleman of the highest respectability, of great talent, and of extensive information; and I am at a loss to know how he could appear at that meeting consistently with his previous conduct. Allusions have been made to the transformation of men to tigers, but I consider this change of sentiment as equally extraordinary. It appears to me hardly credible that Mr. Fergusson, the advocate of Mr. Buckingham, should, after the sentiments he expressed in the Supreme Court, in that gentleman's behalf, have uttered with the same lips, the words which are attributed to him. (Hear.) This may convince Mr. Buckingham, or any one else, who chooses to

fight the battles of the public in India, that as soon as he is put down by the Government, he will be deserted by his friends. I have had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with Mr. Buckingham, I have the honour to call that gentleman my friend, and can assure the Court that the opinion which Mr. Palmer expressed of him in the year 1823, is justified by all that I have observed of his conduct. (Hear.)

I now beg leave to advert to a part of the subject, to which I think sufficient attention has not been paid, but which I conceive deserves most particular notice. I allude to the question—"What is the true interest of the Natives of India?" This subject has only come into the discussion incidentally, by a sort of side-wind. I must say this immense body of people have been excluded from view, and kept in the back-ground as far as it was possible to keep them. What ought to be the principal object of the Government of India? Ought not the welfare of the people of India to form that object? (Hear.) Does not the charter, the 53d Geo. III. declare "that it is the duty of this Company to provide for the intellectual, moral, and religious instruction of the natives"? With respect to the two first points, I agree we should exert ourselves, but I strongly object to forcing any religious instruction on the natives. To attempt to give the natives religious instruction would be, I contend, the height of madness. In maintaining this position, I believe, I shall be supported by many gentlemen on both sides of the bar, and particularly by an hon. Baronet, in conjunction with whom I contested the point when the subject was debated in the House of Commons. That hon. Baronet, at the last stage of the bill, moved that the word "religious" should be left out of the clause, and I heartily wish that it had been struck out. Much mischief has in my judgment been done by this provision. If our empire receives any shock, it will be owing to this circumstance alone. Our situation in India has been described as one of necessity, but this I cannot admit. (Hear.) Has not the extension of our territory in India, been the object of every Governor General, for half a century, contrary to the policy marked out by the Legislature, and to the order of the Court of Directors? (Hear.) Though the executive body condemns the extension of our territories, it never thinks proper to give back any of those which have been acquired. (Hear.) And thus their words and deeds are at variance. No importunate Prince has his possessions restored to him. Unlike Bonaparte, they keep all they get. Conquest rapidly succeeds conquest, since they make one conquest a ground for obtaining another. Bonaparte would at this moment have been in power, had he followed such a system of retaining what he conquered; and had he kept Princes in dungeons, and hunted them about like beasts of prey, he would still have been seated on a throne. Our situation in India is, not therefore one of necessity, but of choice. All India is now subjugated,—not an independent power is now left in the country; and still (I do not wish to quarrel with their policy) they find it necessary to go on, as a robber murders the victim he has plundered, in order if possible to escape the consequences of his crime. But, having marked out their course, what are they bound to do? Why, to protect and foster by all possible means, the welfare and happiness of the natives. (Hear.) This they were bound to do by all the ties of honour and humanity. The interest of the natives, I repeat, is kept too much out of sight. It has been asserted that the natives should be prevented from printing and publishing remarks on this subject,—but I should like to be informed how they are to be prevented from *talking* of it. (Hear.) That they do speak on this topic, is notorious; and though gentlemen behind the bar, might be contented with the state of things, I can assure them, that if they do not pay more attention to the situation of the natives, they will ultimately repent their neglect. Sir John Malcolm has said, that the empire of India is held by the power of opinion. It certainly is held by the opinion the natives entertain of our physical force. (Hear, hear.) It is the force we hold in our hands, and not the affections of the people, that constitutes the preservation of India. We must not forget, however, that while we depend on the sword, that sword is held by the natives themselves; and if they turn it against the Company, the ruin of their empire would be immediately completed.

Let us look the danger full in the face, and not endeavour to conceal it from ourselves. The observations which have this day been made on this subject have tended to confirm my opinion, that if a better policy is not adopted with respect to the Natives of India, the loss of our empire will be the inevitable consequence. If we wish to preserve it, we must secure the affections of the Natives. We must allow them to have a share of the "loaves and fishes," and not exclude them from filling civil offices, and keep them in inferior situations in the army, where they can at present only serve as non-commissioned officers, and a *grade* above that rank. Let them be well paid when they are employed, and not be restricted to a mere trifle per month, on which they can scarcely subsist. The consequence of this system is, that they are reduced, or rather com-

pelled to receive unauthorized fees and emoluments. The dismissal of natives for this offence is of almost daily occurrence, and they are thus incapacitated from enlisting again in the service of the Company. These dismissals are regularly published in four languages in every department.

Is this course pursued when Europeans are detected in the same offence? When Mr. Such-a-one, an Esquire, or a Captain, is found out to have received unauthorized fees, is the circumstance published in different languages, and is he declared incapable of being re-admitted into the service? (Hear.) Do you imagine that this escapes the notice of the Natives? Do you think they do not ask, why this is not done in the case of Europeans as well as in their own? Is it to be supposed, that when a poor Native, eking out life on a scanty pittance, and induced through distress to take more than he is authorized to do, is dismissed from his situation with ignominy, sees a very unequal measure of punishment inflicted on the European for the same offence,—is it to be supposed, I ask, that he will not observe such partial conduct, and brand it as unjust? [Some interruption was here occasioned by some persons scraping their feet upon the ground.] If this interruption proceeds from the impatience of some of my auditors, I can inform those who occasion it, that I am not to be put down; if it is meant as a mark of approbation, I return thanks for the honour. (Hear.)

I did not at first intend to touch upon so many of these topics, but as I entertain very different sentiments from those which generally prevail in the Court, I am anxious to state my opinion; and to impress on those who hear me, the necessity of doing something more for the natives of India, whether Mohammedans or Hindoos, and of raising them as high as possible in the scale of improvement and civilization. I do not, however, consider it proper to allow the establishment of a Free Press in India, in the same extent as prevails here, as I consider it to be entirely incompatible with the Government of India; and that Government must be in force as long as we retain possession of the country. I have before stated my opinion, and still consider that some restrictions on the press are necessary, but that those which are now imposed, are useless and ridiculous in the extreme. Rather than suffer it to remain in its present state, the press had better be at once put down. During the whole of the Marquess Wellesley's administration I was in India, and I never heard one complaint of the state of the Press. I am desirous of reminding the Court, that in the observations I am making on this subject, I am pledged to nothing, and am perfectly free to act just as I please. This subject should be quickly taken up by the Court of Directors, and they should speedily do all that appears to them necessary. It will not be long ere it will be discussed in another place, when the privileges of the Company shall come under consideration. I hope most sincerely that this topic will be attended to shortly by the Court of Directors, and some means taken to explain to the Journalists of India what they are allowed, and what they are not allowed to write. I trust that the Court of Directors and all those who hear me, will feel as I do, that the treatment which Mr. Buckingham has experienced is harsh, much harsher than should have been visited upon any fault or imprudence he may have committed. I am sure there is no man in this Court can lay his hand on his heart, and say that he would have inflicted the punishment which Mr. Buckingham has endured. (Hear.) An hon. and gallant friend of mine has, however, told us that our attention is uselessly taken up by the consideration of the present topic, and our time wasted, because the question of the press was of little moment to the safety of the Government of our Indian dominions.

Sir J. Malcolm.—I did not allude to any particular case, but to the general principle of the Press: I consider the question a very serious one.

Sir C. Forbes.—That the Press should attack the Government of India, ought not certainly to be tolerated, because such a course would have the effect of degrading that Government in the eyes of the natives. (*a*) I think such a liberty would be a great public misfortune, and therefore should oppose it. It has been made a matter of accusation against Mr. Buckingham, that possessing only a mariner's indenture, he was not entitled to assume the situation he did, a situation which he so creditably filled, so much to the satisfaction of a large portion of the European public in India; and, if it were possible to obtain their sentiments with equal satisfaction, I have no doubt, to the Natives. He had a right, in my opinion, though his license was drawn up in the form of a mariner's license, to act as if it had been a free merchant's license, for between these two there is no distinction as to the power granted. For a merchant's license fifty guineas must be given, and only half that

(*a*) If speaking truth of the Indian Government can degrade it in the eyes of the Natives, the Government must be bad, and *ought* to be degraded. If it is only by speaking falsehoods that the Indian Government can be degraded, the persons to whom these falsehoods are addressed are themselves too well informed to believe them; and the authors of such falsehoods might be effectually punished by the same *law* that is found sufficiently powerful to punish all other crimes.

sum for a free mariner's, and if I were going out to India, I would choose the latter, as being the cheaper. (Hear.) What has, therefore, been said on this point is not of the slightest importance. I acknowledge the liberality of the Court of Directors in granting licenses. The required boon is granted in the most ready and handsome manner. In case of a refusal there is still an appeal to the Board of Control, who will grant the request where there are no strong reasons against it.

I cannot admit that the statements made to-day against the Government, are *ex-parte*. We have before us the defence of Mr. Adam, the Governor General, whose conduct is the subject of complaint. This defence I have read, and I confess it has not satisfied me. The gentleman, whose production this document is, has been described as a man of great ability, and possessing an excellent heart; but no great idea of his ability is to be formed from this specimen of his conduct in Bengal. I hope this document may be included amongst the papers, the production of which I shall this day vote for. It has, I understand, been transmitted in its printed official state to the Court of Directors, who are, I think, bound to lay it before the Court of Proprietors. The case of Mr. Arnot is very different, in my judgment, from that of Mr. Buckingham; for the former gentleman, not possessing a license, was liable to be removed at any time; but this does not justify the sending him to Bencoolen. He ought perhaps to have been sent home; but at all events the object of removing him should not have been put into execution with the unnecessary severity which appears to have been exercised towards him. (Hear.)

I have now only one word more to say, and that is in behalf of a departed friend of mine. I am exceedingly sorry that Mr. Buckingham should have introduced into his Journal the name of that excellent man, Mr. Manesty, whom, had he known as well as I did, he would never have mentioned. The charge against him was overstated greatly. He owned, it is true, a great number of those small vessels, which were frequently employed in taking down despatches, but no correspondence took place between Mr. Manesty and Mr. Manesty. What did happen was carried on between himself and the commanders of those vessels. That he did not make much profit by his speculation, is evident, from the fact, that after forty years' services, he died so poor, that he did not leave sufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral.

Mr. Hume.—Mr. Chairman, we have already arrived to a very late hour, and the important question which has been brought under our notice is not half discussed. Under these circumstances I appeal to you whether it would be fair to decide the question. If it should be hurried to a vote now, we shall be compelled to meet again within ten days. I hope, therefore, that you will consent to the adjournment of the discussion till this day week, or any other day that may suit the convenience of the Court of Directors, otherwise justice will not be done. Besides, Mr. Buckingham is desirous of being himself heard in reply to some personal reflections which have been cast upon him, and I hope no person will refuse him the opportunity of defending himself as publicly as he has been attacked. I therefore move, That this Court be adjourned to this day week.

A Proprietor in the body of the Court seconded the motion: but it appearing to be the general wish of the majority to proceed—

General Browne addressed the Court in a very low tone. We understood him to say, that he was incompetent to form an opinion with respect to the present state of the press in India: but after an uninterrupted residence of thirty years in the East, he was decidedly of opinion, that a free press, which was so valuable in this country, would in India be attended with great danger, (*b*) and reduce the Company's stock 25 per cent. at least.

Mr. Hume requested the Chairman to put the question on his amendment.

The Chairman.—It is moved and seconded, That the further consideration of this question be adjourned. I have myself no objection to the motion. I have but one wish, and that is at all times to meet the convenience of the Court. (*c*) The question which is before the Court is certainly a large question, but it is not now so late as it was when the Court sat a few days ago. There is, too, a considerable number of Proprietors present; however, it is for the Court to determine the course of proceeding.

Mr. Dixon, as we understood, expressed a wish that the debate should be adjourned.

Mr. Trant thought it would be diffi-

(*b*) What would be said of a Cherokee Chief; who, after residing thirty years in the woods of America, should visit London and say, "No doubt your reading and writing-schools, laws, religion, and other marks of civilization, are good things in England, but they would be very dangerous beyond the Mississippi." And yet General Browne's opinion is not one whit more entitled to attention. We want reasons and arguments, not mere opinions: for there are no follies on earth that might not be proved to be right, if the mere opinion of persons, who had practised them for thirty years, should be considered as *proof* of their propriety.

(*c*) This is a visible improvement in courtesy, to which it is not impossible but the History of the First Day at the India House may in some degree have contributed. We are glad to draw the reader's attention to this manifest reform.

cult at this season of the year, to get so many Proprietors together again.

A PROPRIETOR, with whose person we were unacquainted, then addressed the Court. He said that he had been for eight years a Proprietor, but had never before presented himself to the notice of the Court. At that late hour he would be very brief in his remarks. He confessed that the speech of the hon. Mover led him to think that there had been something like tyranny exercised towards Mr. Buckingham, but the statements made on the other side had removed that impression from his mind; and, therefore, instead of coming to the conclusion that the power of the Indian Government had been exercised in a despotic and an unwarrantable manner, he had come to the conclusion that it had been exercised with great moderation. (*d*) The press in India, as he understood it, was subject to certain *laws*, and the offender against those *laws* was liable to be punished. (*e*) Taking those as the *data* of the case, he could not but admire the temperate conduct of the Governor General, in admonishing Mr. Buckingham at the commencement of his erroneous career. The hon. gentleman within the bar (Mr. Impey) had, by a reference to the act of parliament, proved, that the proceedings adopted by the Indian Government towards Mr. Buckingham, were perfectly conformable to *law*. Mr. Buckingham was admonished and informed, that a repetition of his offence would be followed by punishment. When he (the hon. Proprietor) considered that Mr. Buckingham did repeat his offence over and over again, he could not help repeating that the Government, so far from conducting itself tyrannically towards that individual, had behaved with great moderation. If there had been a violation of the law, that would have been a good ground for moving for papers to found proceedings on, but it was understood that the question had already been under the consideration of the Board of Control, and that it had been decided that no violation of the law had taken place. Under these circumstances he saw no necessity for adjourning the discussion. (*f*)

Mr. TRANT.—I should not have presented myself at this late hour, had it not been that some of the nearest connexions of Mr. Adam, knowing that I was intimately acquainted with him, have requested me to say a few words to the Court, and to read some documents, the first of which is very much to the point, both with respect to the conduct of Mr. Adam, and the argument of my hon. friend (Sir C. Forbes), who seemed to think that very little had been done for the natives, and that that little was for their good. The document to which I allude, is an extract from a letter written by a Hindoo native of Calcutta, dated December 30, 1823, to the following effect—

It gives me great satisfaction to inform you that we have now the means of promoting the objects of the Hindoo College. The Hon. John Adam, late Governor General in Council, in compliance with our application, presented on the 19th of June, 1823, was pleased, on the 17th of July last, to consent to become the patron of the Hindoo College, and he further resolved to afford pecuniary assistance for employing a competent Lecturer to use the philosophical apparatus, which has been presented by the British India Society to the Calcutta Hindoo College, and also engaged to supply the cost of the College building to be constructed for the use of the institution, in the vicinity of the site chosen for the Government Sanscrit College, (near the new tank at Puttuldanga, in Calcutta,) and we have communicated, as we were requested, with Lieutenant Buxton, assistant superintendant, of Public Buildings, with regard to the plan: for the success we met with in our application, we consider ourselves mainly indebted to Mr. Harrington's instrumentality. (*g*)

All the observations of the hon. Mover went to show that Mr. Adam had conducted himself in a very tyrannical and oppressive manner, and that he was a man whom Europeans as well as Natives must look upon with feelings of any thing but regard. I have other very decisive proofs in addition to that which I

(*d*) Yet if the mover's statement of facts conveyed the impression of tyranny, and Mr. Impey said the "facts were all admitted," it is difficult to imagine what but predetermination could have wrought this miraculous change.

(*e*) But it was not subject to these *laws* till after Mr. Buckingham was banished.

(*f*) If the offences were against *law*, the logic of this speaker would be good; but they were *not* against law; and even if they had been, they should have been tried according to law, and punished in the same manner. But who would call the robbing a man of a property producing steadily, at least £5,000 a-year for himself and family, and reducing him to absolute dependence on some future career of life,—a moderate punishment for finding fault with what the Directors, the approvers of this punishment, have themselves condemned? Even admitting it to have been a libel, which no man contends it to be, a fine of £30,000, and perpetual banishment, is surely not a penalty of extremely moderate amount!

(*g*) After all, to what does this amount: the greatest tyrants that ever lived have patronized Colleges, and paid for them, like Mr. Adam, out of the coffers of the state: but the studies pursued there are not allied to freedom; and if they were, the Court were met to discuss an act of cruelty and injustice, the fact of which not even 20 Colleges could set aside. There are many pious Catholics who build Monasteries and Hospitals to wipe off the score of their sins: but we never before heard that building a Heathen College for one set of men, was an answer to a charge of oppression practised on another set of men.

have read, that Mr. Adam has always been extremely anxious to promote the education of the Natives, and to better their condition. I, in common with others, think that a free press, in the sense in which that phrase is understood in England, would be, at the present moment, not a benefit but a curse to India. (*h*) It is right, however, that it should be known that Mr. Adam and other members of the Government who are supposed to be occupied only with the desire to amass wealth, are at this moment labouring hard to benefit the Indian population in the only way in which it *can* be benefited, namely, by preparing it to receive those blessings which at present it is *incapable* of appreciating. (*i*) I should think myself unworthy of the situation which I held in India, if I wished to shut the door of knowledge on the Indian community. There are many documents which could be referred to, to prove that much has been done by the Indian Government for the improvement of the Indian population. Nobody knows this better than Mr. Buckingham. We are all agreed as to the principle, we only differ as to time and degree. I do not agree with those, Sir William Jones amongst others, who say that India must *always* be governed by a pure despotism. (*k*) I believe that at no distant period the government of India will be conducted upon a more liberal policy. This change cannot take place in our time, but our grand-children may live to see it. Sir William Jones, than whom there could not be a more enthusiastic lover of liberty, said, speaking of the doctrine of universal freedom, "God forbid that such a doctrine should be preached in India." (*l*) Mr. Mill, who is allowed to have written a history of British India with great ability, and who has been raised by his talents alone, to the distinguished station which he now fills, has said, that he "would not choose a free press as the instrument of the amelioration of the natives." (*m*) Considering the uninformed state of the population, he thought the unconstrained use of the press would be attended with great evil. (*n*) "The people of India must be prepared, step by step, for the enjoyment of the full freedom of the press." I quote these opinions because I am desirous that myself and some others, who entertain the opinion that a free press would at present be of no benefit to India, should be set right with the public. I have been taxed with inconsistency by some of my friends. They say "You took some trouble when you were in India to improve the education of the natives; why do you not advocate a free press?" I do not, because history teaches me that a free press never existed in a country in the state in which India is. (*o*) (Hear.)

(*h*) Your *reasons*, Mr. Trant; we do not need your *opinions:* but if they were as plentiful as blackberries, you, perhaps, like Falstaff, would not give them on compulsion.

(*i*) That we deny; and the Natives themselves join us in the denial. They think a free press is for their benefit; and who gave Mr. Trant authority to pronounce, merely on his opinion, that they do not know what is good for themselves? Is this doing unto others as we would be done unto?

(*k*) Sir William Jones said no such thing.

(*l*) Not the least singular thing in this matter is, that the name of Sir William Jones should be associated with hostility to the freedom of the press in India. When Sir William said, he would not communicate his ideas of "liberty" to the people of India, he meant that he would not teach them the principles of representative government, as he does in his dialogue between a gentleman and a farmer. But it would be a most unwarrantable conclusion to suppose that he would have admitted it to be consonant to law or reason, that neither Englishmen nor Natives should be permitted to publish any thing, except *shipping intelligence*, without a licence first had and obtained. On the contrary, Sir William Jones did witness the existence of a free press in Calcutta, without the slightest alarm or objection. When the proprietors of the Mirror were prosecuted for a libel on Sir Paul Joddrell, the counsel for the defendants, Mr. Burroughs, now Sir William Burroughs, expatiated on the value of a free press, exactly as counsel for the defence are used to do in England, but without having occasion to obviate a single objection on the score of its incompatibility with the frame of government in this country. Nor did Sir W. Jones, or his colleagues, suggest a doubt that the English law of libel did not obtain, within the Mahratta ditch, as fully as the English law of treason or felony.

(*m*) Mr. Mill has said no such thing. There is not a man living who is a warmer advocate for the Freedom of the Press any where than Mr. Mill; and it is only a proof of blindness, almost unaccountable, to find any Indian reader particularly ignorant of this fact. Mr. Mill, (vol. v. p. 542,) speaks thus of the Freedom of the Press, "Even when it is converted to abuse, it is not for the advantage of an *innocent* man to seek to restrain it; he will find his advantage through life in continuing to despise its successes." Again, (vol. v. p. 542) "If the Government would make the faculty of reading useful to the people of India, it must take measures for giving them useful books. There is one effective method for this purpose; and there never was and never will be any other; and that is the Freedom of the Press." He adds, afterwards, "The *Indian Government*, however, if a conclusion from its past may be drawn to its future conduct, will not choose a Free Press for the first of its ameliorating agents.'" The result proves the acuteness of his penetration.

(*n*) He says no such thing: he says it is *possible*, that with their *present* knowledge, an *unrestrained* Press might be attended with inconveniences; but that *present* knowledge, (now some years since,) is, according to Mr. Trant, greatly increased by our efforts to educate the Natives; and yet the Press is not only not unrestrained, but bound up in fetters ten times more galling than ever; so that the wiser they get, the more we enslave them.

(*o*) This is untrue. The press in India was free in the earliest periods of our Government, and Mr. Trant knows this. But after all, this applies only to the Natives. Are not the English in India as fit for it, as they are at home? Besides which, if the fact of the particular state of a coun-

With respect to Mr. Adam's conduct, it is not necessary to add much to what has already been said on that subject. It is with much regret, that I have seen in one of the most respectable and widely circulated newspapers in this country, a charge against Mr. Adam, calculated to give pain to his family. [The hon. member was about to read the passage to which he had alluded, when Mr. Impey said something which induced him to put up the newspaper.] Much has been said to impugn the conduct of Mr. Adam with regard to Mr. Buckingham. I may not approve of some parts of Mr. Adam's conduct, but I decidedly disapprove of some part of the Marquess of Hastings's conduct. I cannot agree with the hon. mover, that Lord Hastings intended the regulations in his circular merely as a tub to the whale, or a rattle to amuse children. I myself heard the Marquess of Hastings deliver the speech about which so much has been said, and I thought at the time it was one of the most imprudent addresses I had ever heard. I shall ever regard it in that light. The Marquess of Hastings, I am sorry to say, has been in a great measure the cause of all the disorder and mischief which has taken place. The freedom of discussion in this Court is very useful to India, and whatever the rank of an individual may be, I will not shrink from expressing my opinion of his conduct. (*p*)

The Marquess of Hastings was the servant of the Company, and I think his conduct was most indecorous. We have had good proof of his sincerity, with regard to the regulations which he put forth; for we are informed, that the most severe letter to Mr. Buckingham was written with his own hand. This was his own act. (*q*) I am desirous the saddle should be put on the right horse. It is fixed on the Marquess of Hastings, and he cannot throw it off. I think his conduct on this subject, is a great blot in the history of his administration. I say this, because I find that it is not said elsewhere. A proof that Mr. Adam's conduct did not proceed from malice may be found in the fact which has been stated, that Mr. Fergusson, Mr. Buckingham's Counsel, moved a complimentary address to Mr. Adam. It has been mentioned, that Mr. Palmer's name was attached to that address; but it should also be stated that that gentleman proposed, that a piece of plate should be presented to Mr. Adam. Mr. Palmer has been mentioned in the House of Commons, as a person who has patronised Mr. Buckingham. I know Mr. Palmer, and I am certain that if he entertained the same opinion of Mr. Adam's conduct, as that which is held by some persons here, he never would have lent himself to this act. I do not doubt that Mr. Palmer may differ with Mr. Adam, on general principles, because he is the advocate of a free press; but his acts prove that he does not believe Mr. Adam to have been actuated by any bad motive. (*r*) I cannot avoid thinking that the Marquess of Hastings gave encouragement to Mr. Buckingham, which set that gentleman off in the course which he has pursued so unfortunately for himself. On this account, I am sorry that Mr. Adam could not, consistently with his sense of duty, have delayed the pronouncing of the sentence against Mr. Buckingham. I wish he had, as it were, placed a stool in the way, to break Mr. Buckingham's fall. I know Mr. Adam to be tender hearted, and overflowing with the milk of human kindness. I have known him for twenty-five years, and this was his character down to 1820, when I saw him last. His character cannot have changed so much since that time. (*s*)

Nemo repentè fuit turpissimus.

I look upon Mr. Adam's character as public property, and therefore wish it to be placed in a proper light. (*t*) If statements went abroad uncontradicted, they

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try being without parallel, as united with a press, be an argument for excluding it, the same would hold good with respect to any other institution; and it would be just as consistent to say, "Christianity never existed in a country exactly situate as India is, therefore we will not introduce it." It is too absurd to need an answer.

(*p*) But to what purpose, Mr. Trant, if what you say cannot be printed, sold, lent, or even given away for perusal, or otherwise, in India?

(*q*) Mr. Buckingham never received a letter written with the Marquess's own hand. They all came from, and were signed by, the Chief Secretary, except one or two from Mr. Macnabb, his Private Secretary, which being marked "Private and confidential," has never been printed, though Mr. Macnabb has given up, without scruple, Mr. Buckingham's letters in reply to these, given under the same confidence, which Mr. Adam has published in his pamphlet, without the originals that drew them forth. This might be remedied by Mr. Buckingham printing Mr. Macnabb's; but he does not consider, that one breach of confidence is best repaid by making another; he will therefore still keep his unbroken.

(*r*) We have nothing to do with motive, if the act be cruel and unjust. A man who takes the purse of another, to save from starving a helpless family—and he who forges to save the life of a friend, may each have the most benevolent motives; but these would not alter the act. It is only when conduct is doubtful, that motives are or ought to be considered. They belong to a higher account than that of a human tribunal, as by this they can seldom or ever be asertained with certainty.

(*s*) May not a man in four years, and that too amidst the temptations of power, undergo a great change? Let the records of the Old Bailey answer this; where men who were honest and unexceptionable a few months before, are hung as criminals of the deepest dye.

(*t*) So do we; but he will not allow this public property to be touched; in the country where it is, he passes a law to prevent any man from daring to use it as public property, at his peril.

will be believed to be correct. It has been stated, that all the Secretaries of the Government wrote for the John Bull; now one of those gentlemen has requested me to say, that *he* never wrote for it. (*u*) It could not be contradicted that *some* of the Secretaries wrote for that paper: the proprietors and editors of the John Bull were prosecuted by Mr. Buckingham. (*x*) I think the conduct of those gentlemen was exceedingly imprudent (*y*). (Hear!) The civil service sometimes stands in need of a "flapper;" they will be all the better for hearing these things stated here. (A laugh.) They have much to learn; but I do not think them quite so bad as they have been represented.

I will not trouble the Court further, but rest satisfied with having performed a sacred duty to a worthy man.

> —— Absentem qui rodit amicum,
> Qui non defendit, alio culpante; solutos
> Qui captat risus hominum, famamque dicacis;
> Fingere qui non visa potest; commissa tacere
> Qui nequit; hic niger est; hunc tu, Romane, caveto.

The CHAIRMAN then put the question on Mr. Hume's motion, which he declared to be carried in the negative.

Hon. D. KINNAIRD.—Sir, before you put the question on the original motion, I beg to say a few words. Many gentlemen who have expressed their intention of delivering their sentiments on this question, have left the Court, under the impression that the discussion would be adjourned; therefore it seems it is intended to repeat the child's play which took place on a former occasion, of adjourning the Court generally, instead of to a specific day, when it will be convenient to resume the debate. I am prepared, however, with a requisition to call for a new Court, couched in nearly the same terms as that upon which we have been brought together to-day, which I will put into the hands of the secretary. If gentlemen suppose that they can put an end to this discussion by any trick, they are much mistaken. Because several gentlemen on this side of the Court, have departed, you think that you will avail yourselves of your majority, to get rid of the question. Why, Sir, the public will laugh at such puerility as this. (Cries of question.) I have no intention of saying any thing further, but will yield to the wishes of those respectable proprietors who are calling "question."

Mr. BUCKINGHAM.—Mr. Chairman, I beg to state, that I am myself desirous of offering some remarks to the Court, in answer to certain observations which have been made here this day. I know also, that many proprietors, who intended to speak on this question, have left the Court, under the impression that the discussion would be adjourned. Under these circumstances, I appeal to your justice, rather than to your indulgence, to allow them an opportunity of delivering their sentiments.

The CHAIRMAN denied that any thing like a trick was intended, as asserted by the honourable Mover. He had himself come prepared to speak on the question, but like other gentlemen, doubtless, he had been prevented, because the hon. Mover had thought proper to occupy the attention of the Court for so long a period. He thought it was hard to blame gentlemen for wishing to adjourn the Court, when even the honourable mover's own friends could not stay. It was rather remarkable, that out of the nine proprietors who had called the Court together, only four had been present throughout the day. There were now about one hundred proprietors present, ninety of whom seemed to be desirous that the question should be disposed of at once; it was too much to expect that they should give way to the minority of ten.

Sir C. FORBES was proceeding to express himself in favour of the adjournment of the question, when

The CHAIRMAN called him to order. The original question was still before the Court, upon which the honourable proprietor had already delivered his sentiments; he could not address the Court again. (*z*)

Sir C. FORBES said, that if he was not in order, he had been led astray by the high example of the Chairman himself.

The CHAIRMAN said that he, in virtue of his office, was privileged to speak more than once; but he had not opened his mouth, till something in the shape of a personal charge had been brought forward.

The question was then put from the chair, and declared to be carried in the negative. A requisition was immediately given in, signed by nine proprietors then in Court, calling another meeting, to take the same subject into consideration.

The Court adjourned at a few minutes past 7 o'clock.

(*u*) This was Mr. Henry T. Prinsep, of whom more is said in another place.

(*x*) It should be added, they were found guilty of libels on Mr. Buckingham, which the Judge declared he could not think of without horror, and sentenced to pay damages and costs.

(*y*) Here is a gentle term indeed. They were convicted libellers; and the parties, who were Proprietors of this Paper, were all functionaries of Government. Yet, were *they* punished, or even reproved for their imprudence, by the Governor General in Council? Never! Is this impartial justice?

(*z*) This is also a great improvement on the system exposed on a former day, when some gentlemen spoke 15 or 16 times on the same question. We are glad to see these reforms.

Friday, July 25.

(In consequence of this Court having been held so late in the month, the following sketch could only be prepared, but a full report will be given in our next Number.)

This day a Meeting of the Proprietors of East India Stock was held, pursuant to a requisition signed by nine Proprietors, for the purpose of taking into consideration the present state of the Press in India, and the late proceedings which have led to the banishment from India of the Editors of the Calcutta Journal.

The CHAIRMAN stated the object for which the Court was made special.

Mr. HUME regretted the little attention which had been paid to a similar motion on a former occasion. The Court of Directors had admitted that a forcible exclusion of Mr. Buckingham had taken place, and they nevertheless had refused to grant the documents and information required, with a view to explain the causes of that deportation. The hon. Gentleman then entered into an examination of the principles which ought to actuate the Government of India, with a view to its interests and security, and contended that nothing could more effectually tend to place the Government of India in a favourable point of view, than its sanction of a free press. He then adverted to the conduct of Mr. Adam towards Mr. Buckingham, and charged him with being guilty of a great inconsistency, when, in his defence, he denied that there was any public in India capable of giving an impartial opinion on the proceedings of the Government of India, at the same time that he received their Addresses, and even answered them. With respect to the natives, among whom it was said there was no public, he would ask, were there no natives of importance? Were there no natives of talent? He would say the natives were a most intelligent race. Alluding to the treatment of Mr. Buckingham, he contended that that gentleman had been banished from India, because he spoke the sentiments of a freeman, while a paper, called the John Bull, which was filled with the most scurrilous attacks on Mr. Buckingham, was encouraged. He had done every thing in his power to make himself master of every thing connected with the dispute between Mr. Buckingham and the Government; he had examined both sides of the question; he had sought to find out the motive which actuated Mr. Adam, believing, that though wrong in principle, he might have been impelled by a conscientious feeling; but he discovered him to be inconsistent in his declarations—he found him supporting the John Bull, while he removed Mr. Buckingham from the shores of India; and under all the circumstances he could not help thinking that Mr. Adam had acted most culpably; (hear!) and he thought that all those who opposed a motion which had for its object the inquiry into a proceeding of such injustice, would also act very culpably. (Hear!) He concluded by moving the three following resolutions:—

1. That it is declared by the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, sect 33, to be "the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may lead to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement."

2. That no means have been found so effectual to secure to mankind the enjoyment of these blessings, as the diffusion of useful information by means of the press.

3. That there be laid before this Court copies of all minutes and orders of Council at the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, relating to the Public Press, and also copies of all correspondence between those Governments and the Court of Directors and the Board of Control respecting the same, to enable this Court to ascertain how far the regulations, heretofore and now in force, for the guidance of the Press in India, have assisted or retarded the benevolent and national objects, which the Legislature has declared it to be the duty of this country to promote.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD seconded the motion.

Mr. R. JACKSON was of opinion that the Indian authorities would have neglected their duty if they had not acted as they had done towards Mr. Buckingham. He enumerated the various articles which had appeared in the *Calcutta Journal*, and at different periods had called forth the admonition of Government. It could not be supposed that Mr. Buckingham would have embarked 3000*l.* in the property of a newspaper, without making himself first acquainted with the regulations under which it was to be carried on. The conduct of the Government towards Mr. Buckingham had, in his opinion, been characterized by the greatest forbearance, and it was the duty of the Court to support those whom they had appointed to watch over the interests of their Indian possessions. He denied that a free press could exist in India, compatible with the safety of the empire. The idea was so absurd, that it scarcely required refutation. The hon. and learned gentleman concluded by moving as an Amendment, "That the Court do approve of the letter which had been sent by the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government, expressing their entire approbation of the conduct of Mr. Adam towards the Press in India, and his removal of Mr. Buckingham from that country."

Mr. S. DIXON seconded the Amendment.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM said he had entered

that Court, not with any intention of speaking of himself, or of his own particular case, but of entering upon the general question of a free press in India. In consequence, however, of the turn which the discussion had taken, and particularly after the speech of the learned Proprietor near him (Mr. R. Jackson), he hoped the Court would allow him to reply to the unfounded imputations which had been cast upon his conduct. He was surprised throughout the whole of this discussion at the assumption that the Government of India was a despotism: a despotism was that which was carried on where there was no law; but in India there were laws from time immemorial. The Hindoos had laws; so had the Mohammedans; and there had been abundance of laws for the government of India enacted by the British Parliament. It was quite clear, then, that where there was so much of legislation, there could not be what was strictly called an irresponsible despotism. The hon. Proprietor then went at considerable length into the whole detail of his own case in India, and referred to the conditions on which he held his license to remain in India, none of which, he contended, had he in any single instance violated. He then complained in the strongest terms of the oppressive and illegal treatment he had received from the Indian authorities, of their ineffectual attempts to obtain any conviction against him in any of the courts of law, and contrasted their conduct to him with the protection which they cast around the libellous paper called the *John Bull*, which was circulated under their sanction in the Indian empire.—He ridiculed the idea that if the Natives of India were the happy race described by some gentlemen connected with the Government, there could be any danger apprehended from extending to them the permission to express their sentiments of joy; and his only desire in contending for the existence of a Press in India, was to benefit the Natives, and secure the stability of the Empire. In conclusion, he assured the Court, that as long as he had life and health, the cause of the Native as well as British inhabitants of their Eastern Empire *should* be advocated: and that, if they would not listen to his whispers in India, they must prepare themselves for thunders here.

Sir C. Forbes supported the Motion.

A Proprietor, whose name we could not learn, spoke in favour of the conduct of the Indian authorities.

The Chairman observed, that the object of the motion first brought forward by Mr. D. Kinnaird, had, by the ample discussion that had taken place, been completely attained. He was sorry that a gentleman of Mr. Buckingham's abilities had not made his fortune in India, instead of appearing before that Court: but he felt bound to support Mr. Adam, in the measures he had pursued, and should therefore oppose the motion for further information on the subject.

The original Motion was then negatived, and the Amendment was agreed to. The Court adjourned at a quarter past eight o'clock.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

EAST INDIES, CHINA, AND NEW HOLLAND.

Bengal.—Papers and letters from this Presidency, extending to the 16th of March, have reached us since our last, and communicate information respecting the wars with the Burmahs, which give the contest a more serious character than it had been expected to assume. The origin of the dispute, and the seizure of a British-born subject by the Burmahs, was stated in the preceding Number. The following letter from an officer on board the Sophia, dated off Shuparee, in the Teek Naaf River, on the 24th of January, gives further particulars relating to these events:—

We have been obliged to withdraw our troops from Shuparee, on account of its being so very unhealthy. Lieut. Exshaw is dead, and Lieut. Hay, an old shipmate of mine, is most dangerously ill. Mr. Bonnett, Commander of the Planet, is also seriously indisposed. The Planet left here on the 8th of Jan. for Cox's Bazar: that place appears equally unhealthy: they have a number sick, with frequent deaths. The Burmahs still persist in Shuparee being theirs, and seem very hostilely inclined; on the 20th, there were four boats passed the vessel, with five personages of rank, known by their gilt kittersols, for the island. Our troops on their departure, of course raised the stockade, which the Burmahs were informed of, and the purport of their visit was to ascertain the truth of it. In the afternoon two principal men came on board, requesting Mr. Chew to pay them a visit on the morrow. He was at Teek Naaf, and on his leaving the vessel, gave positive orders, should any Burmah boats

come alongside, to fire a gun, as he wished to be on board, which was done, and you can have no idea of the surprise which the Burmahs showed (the gun being shotted); they left the vessel about three o'clock. As Mr. C. had not made his appearance at 10 P. M. a very pressing invitation came through the interpreter, wishing Mr. Chew to call on them early in the morning; he accordingly went, and now follows the melancholy catastrophe of his and Mr. Boyce's proceeding there. Mr. Chew, apparently suspicious of their design, left orders with Mr. L——, who relieved Mr. Boyce from the morning watch, for the purpose of going, that should they not be back, or in sight, by 1 P. M. to send a gun-boat with the canoe, to Mundoo Creek, and to anchor there, then to despatch the canoe with two people to demand his person, and wished all who went to be volunteers. I was writing to you, when one o'clock came,—no Mr. Chew in sight,—Mr. W—— came below and said he must send the boat off. Mr. L—— instantly volunteered to take command of her, and the whole of the European artillerymen volunteered also; but he allowed only two to go, with two Lascars who then volunteered for the canoe. When arrived at the mouth of the creek, Mr. L—— anchored, and sent the canoe to know what had become of them; shortly after, the canoe returned, saying they saw nothing of the boat or the ten people who went with Mr. C. and were told that Mr. Chew and Mr. Boyce had gone two days' march into the interior of the country, and would not return for a week. Mr. L—— hearing this, sent the gun-boat on board; and immediately went to Teek Naaf to acquaint Capt. Trueman (commanding there) of the circumstance, who had been informed of it before he arrived, and had sent an express on board, saying, "Mr. Chew and the officer who accompanied him to Mundoo were forcibly taken by the Burmahs, and sent to a station about 16 miles over the hills, and requested Mr. W—— to send him daily reports of what transpires during Mr. Chew's absence.

It appears, from subsequent accounts, that on Mr. Chew's landing, he was received by the jemmadar of Shapuree, and that shortly after the rajahs appeared at the head of about three hundred men. They went into a shed where he was seated, and stood before him, their troops being drawn up in a half circle between him and his boat. They then commenced several interrogatories, among others asking what salary the Company gave him; and on being told 1500 rupees, offered on the part of the King of Ava, to give him more.—Mr. Chew upon this began to grow suspicious, and made a motion to depart, but in this was opposed by the armed attendants, and the rajahs insisted upon his going before the King, which Mr. Chew refused, and attempted to draw his sword. He was however soon disarmed, and, with his companions, forced into the Fort, where they were stripped of every thing except their clothes, and the next morning were marched off, under an escort of about 200 men, to a place called Myatook, commanded by a rajah named Minda, the son of the King of Arracan, where they underwent an examination. The interpreter intimated to Mr. Chew that the rajah disapproved of his detention, and the treatment he had received.

On the 22d of January, they were embarked for Arracan, in a most miserable manner, without food, and were two days and nights in the boats. On their arrival at Ava, Mr. Chew demanded an audience of the rajah, which was granted on the 25th, when Mr. Chew demanded the cause of his detention; in reply to which the rajah denied that he had any thing to do with his capture, but stated that he must write to the son of the King of Ava, who was many hundred miles off, and that the prisoners must wait for the answer. They were then remanded to the place of their confinement, where they remained till the 13th of February, upon which day they were sent back to Mundoo.

On the 17th, Mr. Chew was again on board the Sophia, having brought with him twenty-seven natives of Chittagong, whom he found prisoners in the hands of the son of the rajah of Arracan. Prior, however, to the seizure of Mr. Chew, the Burmese had made some hostile movements within the Cachar territory, on the Eastern frontier of Sylhet; for intelligence was communicated to the British commandant on that district, on the evening of the 16th of January, that a body of about four thousand Burmese and Assamese had crossed into the plains at the foot of Bhenteka Pass, and were stockading themselves at the village of Bikrampore; and also that a force to the eastward had defeated Rajah Gumbehr Sing's troops, and that a third division were crossing the Mootagool pass into Jyntea to the west. Major Newton, commanding the detachment of native infantry in that quarter, resolved, under circumstances so threatening, to concentrate his force at Jattrypoor, and moving from thence, attacked the enemy before they could have time to strengthen their position. Major Newton accordingly ordered Captain John-

stone to join him from Tilayen, leaving his camp standing, and at 2 A. M. of the 17th they moved off. At 6 A.M. they had passed, with great difficulty, a very heavy grass and reed jungle, and came into a comparatively plain country, when the situation of the enemy was discovered by the discharge of two shots at the advanced guard. Their position extended along the villages at the foot of the hills; they were covered by the huts, bushes, &c. in a close and difficult country, and on their right they had a stockade on the banks of a steep nullah, occupied by about 200 men. The attack was made under the command of Major Newton, in two divisions, the southern face of the stockade being assaulted by Captain Johnstone, with part of the 23d regiment, and Rungpoor light infantry, and the enemy's line in the villages being attacked by Captain Bowe, with part of the 10th regiment. The last-mentioned division was immediately successful, the greater part of the enemy flying to the hills at the first fire. Captain Bowe then wheeled his force to the attack of the stockade, which was making a brave resistance against Captain Johnstone, and in a short time it was carried by assault by the united exertions of both parties. In this affair five Sepoys were killed and eleven wounded, one of whom is since dead. The Burmese lost in the stockade, 34 in killed, and 150 during the pursuit. One man wounded was taken prisoner; one standard, several muskets and kookurs were captured; the grain, ammunition, &c. were destroyed by the stockade taking fire at the close of the engagement.

Mr. D. Scott, the Governor General's agent, who accompanied the troops to the scene of action, had two shots through his great coat, but escaped unhurt. The enemy who fled, appear to have been Assamese, but those who held out, really Burmese. Gumbehr Sing, against whom the Burmese had taken the field, has made over his claims on the Rajah of Cachar to the British Government, and sought protection in our camp.

The following extract of a letter, dated Camp, Budderpoor, Jan. 18, gives another version of the affair :—

On the night of the 14th, Major N. made a detachment of five companies to Tibaoyn, and on the 16th he went with me on an elephant towards that place, with the intention of reconnoitring along the north bank of the river. At Jattrypoor we heard that the Burmahs had that day descended from the Bhenteka Pass to Bikranpoor, and established themselves in the plain, and, as the force pursuing Gumbehr from the eastward was near us, our position was critical. Having only twenty men with us, we passed the river in dingees, and took post so as to prevent any force seizing the boats and passing over to us, while expresses were sent to Capt. J. at Tilaya, and to B. at Rudderpoor to march, leaving their camps standing, and join us at Jattrypoor. The force was concentrated by two o'clock, A.M. on the morning of the 17th, and immediately marched towards Bickrampoor; about half-past three, we entered the most formidable jungle that can well be imagined. I give you my solemn assurance, that in all my life, I never saw any thing to equal it; the path was along the steep banks of a nullah, the reeds, &c. were four feet above the heads of the highest elephants, and the ground was soft and miry, so much so, that all agreed it would be impassable after one shower of rain, and that if we had not the moon to befriend us, we should not have got through. At day-break we reached the open country, and found the enemy stockaded on the banks of a nullah, and occupying the adjacent village. While the troops remained in a column of grand divisions, about half a mile from their position, I advanced with 50 men to reconnoitre, and after a close survey was fired upon: the whole of our men then moved on in the two divisions, one assaulted the stockade, and the other drove the Burmese out of the village to the hills; the people in the stockade made a most desperate resistance, and it was only after two hours of hard fighting that it was carried. We remained on the field till twelve o'clock, and then returned to Budderpoor by another jungle as bad as the first. We shall probably have to fight them again, as I have since learnt that they were only the advance of a larger body. Gumbehr has come to Senispoor, driven out of his country, which he has tendered to our Government in sovereignty.

The supposition of the writer of this letter, that they would have to fight them again, was well founded, for this affair of the 18th January was but the prelude to other engagements.

On the 13th February, information was received at Major Newton's head quarters, that the Burmese had advanced in great force to within 1000 yards of the post of Budderpore, on the north bank of the Soorma river, and had commenced constructing five separate stockades on most advantageous ground. Capt. Johnstone, the officer commanding the post in the absence of Major Newton, having obtained the sanction of Mr. Scott, the Governor General's agent, for dislodging the

Burmese from works which, if permitted to be finished, would so materially strengthen their position on the British frontier, that their future reduction would cost the sacrifice of many lives, determined, if possible, to drive them from the stockades while unfinished. With this view he directed Capt. Bowe, with part of the left wing 1st batt. 10th regiment, a detachment of the 2d batt. 23d regt. N. I., and a party of Rungpore light infantry, to cross the Soorma, whilst he himself proceeded in person, accompanied by Mr. Scott's interpreter, up the river, to endeavour to induce the Burmese to desist from throwing up these fortifications. Perceiving however that there was no probability of their acquiescence, and that they were rather waiting for further reinforcements, he directed the advance of the column. On reaching the first stockade, the Burmese fired upon the leading sections, who ascended the height and instantly drove them with the bayonet from the stockades, and rapidly following them up without giving them time to rally, carried every stockade in a similar gallant manner. Captain Johnstone's instructions being not to commence firing unless much resistance was made, the loss of the Burmese was not very considerable. With the stockades they abandoned a number of jinjals and muskets, and the whole of their ammunition. This success on the part of the British force was not obtained without the loss of a jemadar of the 1st batt. 10th regt., and a number of men wounded, principally by spikes and bows set in the ground to impede the advance of the detachment.

This successful operation was followed by several of minor importance, which seemed to usher in an engagement of some consequence, in which we regret to say the British forces met with a repulse, and suffered considerable loss. From the accounts received at Calcutta of the unfortunate affair, it appears that on the 21st of February the detachment under the command of Lieut.-Col. Bowen proceeded against the stockades erected near Daoodputler, and which were occupied by that portion of the Burmese army which had invaded Cachar via Munnipore. Several spirited attacks were made upon the enemy, under cover of a heavy fire from three six-pounders, all of which failed; and after a most severe action, which lasted during the greater part of the day, the detachment was drawn off, and returned to Juttrypore, leaving a strong party at Tilaya to watch the enemy. The loss of the forces was considerable. Lieut. Armstrong, of the 10th regt. was killed; Capt. Johnstone, of the 23d regt. and Ensign Barbarie, of the 10th regt. severely wounded; and Lieut. Col. Bowen, Capt. Bowe, and Ensign Groves, slightly. The number of Sepoys killed and wounded amounted to about 150. The party of the Burmese was supposed to amount to about 2000, and as they are stated to have defended themselves with great bravery, their loss was thought to be considerable.

By the last accounts, the Burmese remained in their position at Daoodputler, and were employed in strengthening their works. Lieut.-Col. Bowen speaks in high terms of Gumbehr Sing, the Munnipore chief, and his followers. Being in front when our troops were advancing, they attacked a party of the enemy's horse and foot, retreating in disorder from their several positions on the banks of the river, and killed many of them. The reports received stated the loss of the Burmese in this affair as at five hundred men, and it was understood that they had subsequently evacuated the stockade, and were retreating on Munnipore. The hill chiefs had given assurances of their intention to harass and annoy them in their flight.

Lieut.-Col. Innes, who arrived at Suttrapore on the evening of the 27th February, took the command of the troops there, and was to proceed after the Burmese on the following day.

As it was considered that negotiation would no longer avail, and that any attempt at it would now be regarded as a mark of fear, the Governor General issued a Proclamation, of which the following is a copy:—

By the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council.

The conduct of the Burmese having compelled the British Government to have recourse to arms in support of its rights and honour, the Governor General in Council hereby notifies, that the Government of Ava is placed in the condition of a public enemy, and that all British subjects, whether European or native, are prohibited from holding any communication with the people of that state, until the differences now unhappily existing shall be terminated.

The Governor General in Council deems it proper to take this opportunity of publicly declaring the causes that have led to hostilities with a State, between which and the Hon. East India Company a friendly intercourse has long subsisted, to the great advantage of both parties, and with which the British Government had in-

variably ought to cultivate and maintain the relations of amity.

During many years past, the Burmese officers governing the country contiguous to our south-east frontier, have, from time to time, been guilty of acts of encroachment and aggression, which the British Government would have been fully justified in repelling by force.

Solicitous, however, to preserve with all nations the relations of peace, the British Government has considered it to be, in an especial manner, its duty to make large allowances for the peculiar circumstances and character of the Burmese Government and people. The consciousness of its power to repel and punish aggressions has strengthened the motives of forbearance towards a nation removed, by their geographical situation, from the immediate circle of our political relations, and with whom (as we have no opposing interests) the Supreme Government ought only to maintain a commercial intercourse on terms of equality and freedom, conducive to the welfare and prosperity of both countries.

So long, therefore, as the aggressions, of which the British Government had to complain, could be treated as the unauthorized acts of the subordinate officers of the Burman Government, and could be tolerated consistently with the national honour and the security of the British territories, the Supreme Government sedulously endeavoured to preserve unimpaired the existing relations of peace and friendship, notwithstanding the provocations which would have fully justified, and from a State more formidable in position and resources would have imperiously demanded, a resort to arms.

Trusting that the motives of its conciliatory demeanour could not have been misunderstood, the British Government persuaded itself that the Government of Ava, however extravagant in its pretensions, must have been no less desirous than ourselves to maintain a friendly intercourse so profitable to that country, and could not but be sensible that as our moderation was founded on a consciousness of our strength, and, on a general desire to preserve the blessings of peace, so our forbearance would not be carried beyond the limits where it ceased to be compatible with the safety of our subjects, the integrity of our dominions, and the honour of our country.

Unhappily, these expectations have been disappointed. The Burmese Government, actuated by an extravagant spirit of pride and ambition, and elated by its conquests over the petty tribes by which it is surrounded, has ventured to violate the British territories, to attack and slay a party of British Sepoys, to seize and imprison British subjects, to avow extensive schemes of mischievous aggression, and to make hostile preparations on our frontier, that leave no doubt of its intention to execute its insolent and unjustifiable threats.

In prosecution of a groundless claim to the island of Shapuree, the Burmese Chiefs of Arracan, in a time of profound peace, and without any previous attempt at negotiation on the part of their Government, attacked, under cover of night, a small guard of British troops, stationed on that island for purposes of police, and drove them from their post with loss of several lives. No answer has been returned by the Court of Amerapoora to the demand of explanation and atonement which it was of course the duty of the British Government instantly to prefer; but which was made in the same spirit of conciliation which had always characterized our communications with the Court of Ava. On the contrary, the Burmese local authorities have distinctly declared the determination of their Sovereign to invade the British dominions, unless their groundless claim to Shapuree is unequivocally admitted.

Subsequently to the attack on the island of Shapuree, the commanding officer and several of the crew of the Hon. Company's schooner Sophia were insidiously enticed on shore, and carried into the interior, by the order of Commissioners especially deputed to Arracan by the Burmese Court, and although subsequently released, they have been sent back without any explanation or apology for the insulting outrage.

The Burmese Generals on the north-east have at the same moment advanced their troops into the country of Cachar, and occupied a post within only five miles of the frontier of Sylhet, notwithstanding they were distinctly warned by the British Authorities in that quarter that the petty state of Cachar was under the protection of the British Government, and that the movement of their troops must be regarded as an act of hostility to be repelled by force. In both quarters the Burmese Chiefs have publicly declared their determination to enter the British territories in pursuit of alleged offenders against the Government of Ava, and have avowed intentions of open hostility as the alternative of our refusing to comply with their unjust and utterly inadmissible pretensions.

Whilst occupying their threatening position on the British frontier, the Burmese Generals planned moreover the conquest of Jyntea, another Chiefship situated similarly with Cachar, in regard to the district of Sylhet, and which having formerly been restored by the British Authorities to the family of the reigning Rajah, after a temporary convulsion, had been more distinctly recognised as a dependency of Bengal. They called on the Rajah to acknowledge submission and allegiance to the King of Ava, and a demon-

stration was actually made to enter his territory, when the advance of the British troops frustrated the execution of their hostile design.

The deliberate silence of the Court of Amerapoora, as well as the combination and extent of the operations undertaken by its officers, leave it no longer doubtful that the acts and declarations of the subordinate authorities are fully sanctioned by their Sovereign, and that that haughty and barbarous Court is not only determined to withhold all explanation and atonement for past injuries, but meditates projects of the most extravagant and unjustifiable aggression against the British Government.

The Governor General in Council, therefore, for the safety of the subjects, and the security of our districts, already seriously alarmed and injured by the approach of the Burmese armies, has felt himself imperatively called on to anticipate the threatened invasion. The national honour no less obviously requires that atonement should be had for wrongs so wantonly inflicted, and so insolently maintained, and the national interests equally demand that we should seek by an appeal to arms that security against future insult and aggression which the arrogance and grasping spirit of the Burmese Government have denied to friendly expostulation and remonstrance.

With these views and purposes, the Governor General in Council has deemed it an act of indispensable duty to adopt such measures as are necessary to vindicate the honour of the British Government, to bring the Burmese to a just sense of its character and rights, to obtain an advantageous adjustment of our eastern boundary, and to preclude the recurrence of similar insult and aggression in future.

Still animated by a sincere desire for peace, and utterly averse from all purposes of aggrandisement, the Governor General in Council will rejoice if the objects above mentioned can be accomplished without carrying the war to extremities. But to whatever length the Burmese Government may render it necessary to prosecute hostilities, his Lordship in Council relies with confidence on the justice of our cause, on the resources of the Government, and on the approved valour of our troops, for the early and successful termination of the contest

By command of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council.

Geo. Swinton, Sec. to Government.

There are one or two expressions in this Proclamation, which are sufficiently curious to deserve more prominent notice. It is called an "insulting outrage" for a hostile people to seize a subject of another state, and carry him into their territory, though they afterwards release him and send him back to his former connexions. What, then, should we call the conduct of the Indian Government itself, who seize one of their *own* subjects, whom they are bound to protect, banish him under circumstances of peculiar aggravation, and never allow him to go back?

The Burmese were "distinctly warned" also, it seems, against their hostile movements. These Indian governors think a "warning" is sufficient to establish their right. But they forget that they have themselves been "warned" by the Legislature of their country, against encroachments on their neighbours, and increase of their territory. Should not their neglect of these "warnings" subject them to punishment also?

If "atonement should be had for wrongs wantonly inflicted and insolently maintained," the East India Company, as well as their governors, have much to atone for. Their "arrogant and grasping spirit" has often committed insult and aggression, and denied redress to "friendly expostulation and remonstrance:" and their pretended reliance on the justice of their cause may pass current here, because we know literally nothing of the real grounds of dispute. Some of the India Company's officers in India and in England profess a great horror of *ex-parte* statements, and think it cruel to speak harshly of men whose answer cannot be heard. It would be well if such men would endeavour to get the Burmese version of the history of this war, and publish it, side by side, with the English Proclamation. It would exhibit, we conceive, a striking contrast.

In consequence of this determination, the Government in India had taken up ships at Madras, and small craft at Calcutta, for the purpose of sending a large force to the Burmese frontier immediately; and it was calculated that 25,000 men would be brought into the field.

A highly interesting communication on this subject, has been transmitted to us from a quarter possessing the best information; and as it is dated so late as the 16th of March, it may be regarded as the latest, as well as most complete view of the present aspect of affairs in India, that has reached this country:

In my last, I gave you some little examples of the vacillating policy of our present Government, and now I have to follow it up by telling you that the Burmese have availed themselves of the advantages thus offered them; and now that they have succeeded in putting off the war, till

the season for active operations on our part is past, they are assembling a very large force throughout the whole extent of our eastern frontier, from Goalpara to Ramoo. On their extreme right, indeed, they are so numerous, that an attack upon Dacca is apprehended, in which case our troops at Chittagong and Ramoo would be completely turned, and their retreat, if not entirely cut off, would be rendered very difficult, particularly if the advanced state of the season should prevent the use of our small craft to assist them in getting off.

The Burmese have lately been guilty of such outrages and insults upon our flag, that they must be either totally ignorant of our power, or very confident in their own resources. Our Government affect to think the former; but, what makes the latter supposition not improbable, is a report of disturbances on our north-eastern frontier, adjoining the Burmese territory, and extending to Nepaul. If this should prove true, and the Nepaulese be at the bottom of it, we may shortly expect to have our hands full.

All this time too the Russians are quietly, but constantly approaching us. Some men, who were seen at our north-western stations, and as far within our limits as Delhi, made no secret that an establishment was being organized at *Bulk*, which is not very far from the limit of Mr. Elphinstone's excursion, so that they cannot find the route difficult. The extraordinary, and in many cases minute, knowledge which some Russian officers were found to possess, with respect to the situation of our cantonments, and the disposition of the regular troops, attracted a good deal of attention, when some of our overland travellers fell in with their advanced posts; and lately we are told the question has been so far entered into by Russian military men, that the advantages of marching boldly into our territory, and taking up cantonments among the Mahratta States, during the hot season, have been weighed against the more prudent plan of passing the first year at Lahore, and organizing the Sikh army.

Should either of these plans be adopted, I am sorry to say I think not so favourably as some do of our present means of resistance. Ever since Lord Hastings left the country, the policy of those at the head of affairs, towards the Army has been changed, in every possible manner; the spirit of emulation and honourable ambition of the officers is almost completely annihilated; and the privates are so worn down by sickness and hard duty, that desertion is more frequent than ever: and the men now enlisted are of a cast and appearance vastly inferior to the men who were once the admiration of all beholders.

The staff of the Army, too, is in a deplorable state for entering upon a war with an active and enterprising enemy. The Adjutant General's department is notoriously inefficient: pruned down to the lowest possible scale in point of economy, it naturally requires the most active and intelligent head to carry on its duties. The Quartermaster General's department it is more difficult to pronounce upon; its duties are very ill defined, and no attention whatever is paid to qualification; it is, however, a favoured branch, and active service would no doubt improve it. The Army Commissariat is probably the best organized department of the staff—a little relaxation of the original regulation has communicated the quickening impulse of self-interest to some individuals; and I am persuaded the public is a gainer by the change. The Ordnance Commissariat is the worst arranged and worst paid branch of the General Staff; it is indeed the least favoured one of the service; and personal proscription and secret influence regulate every thing concerning it. The Medical Staff has of late years greatly improved. Much, however, is wanting to complete it, particularly in its military, or rather, field department; and a more encouraging system of promotion would be highly advantageous to it. Of the troops it is sufficient to say, that the Europeans of his Majesty's service would be the *point d'appui* of the whole army: if they can stand service, there is no doubt that the sepoys would behave well; but some officers who have seen reverses in this country, are not very sanguine on this head. It is generally acknowledged that the European constitution does not give way under five or six years of exposure to this climate: but after that period, the British soldier, instead of being inured to the climate, is, in nine cases out of ten, ruined by it, and not only his health and muscle, but the energy of his mind is greatly diminished. When we consider then that a great portion of our European troops have been many years in India, it is not too much to say, that their superiority depends entirely on *opinion*, and that this opinion would stand a great chance of being considerably weakened in the event of a struggle with troops, many of whom would be natives of Asia, and all, comparatively, fresh and vigorous. It was very different with the French, in the wars of the Carnatic; they were situated precisely as we were; they came from a distance in ships; they had been suddenly planted under a burning sun, and they were, in fact, as much, and in many instances more, opposed to inconveniences from the climate than our troops: yet they are always cited as an example in point.

As long, however, as the European troops could make head against an invading force, so long, and no longer, would our native infantry be to be depended on. A defeat would almost disband our army; and should we be under the necessity of

falling back upon our supplies, or in order to concentrate, I question if one man in ten of our native troops, would consent to leave the country he was recruited in behind. I once knew four hundred old sepoys desert from one battalion in the course of four and twenty hours.

On the Bengal establishment, the Engineers are deficient; the Artillery are disgusted and discouraged; the Cavalry are smart troops, but disregard their officers; the Infantry have scarcely any officers to disregard, their regiments being unofficered, by staff appointments; yet if well commanded, they would, to a certain point, make tolerable soldiers: but they have no *morale*, no stamina; the men who now fill our ranks, are *vastly* inferior to the sepoys of 1799 and 1804.

From this, and from your information from other quarters, you may judge of the real character of this so much vaunted Indian Army; for my own part I am quite certain, and I speak after having heard the sentiments of a great number of our most intelligent officers, that our forces will not keep the field more than one campaign, if attacked by an enterprising enemy, unless some very decisive measures are adopted. The first should be to restore the good humour of the officers, by pensioning off the Military Secretary, and placing a Civil Servant in that office, and making the Commander in Chief the *sole organ* of the army with Government, instead of being, as he now is, a mere instrument in the hands of another. 2dly, To empower the Government here to grant promotions for extraordinary services, at the recommendation of the Commander in Chief. 3dly. To give officers to every branch of the service, in proportion to the number of men, and so as to equalize the chances of promotion as much as possible. 4thly. To make a half-pay list composed of all officers holding staff situations, filling up the vacancies thus occasioned in regiments, with effective officers. 5thly. To increase the number of regiments, so as to allow of a relief of every station in the army every two years. 6thly. To hold out the benefits of the invalid and pension establishments with a less sparing hand to those whose length of service, or infirmities, render them fit objects for indulgent consideration; and, lastly, to encourage promotion, by establishing a liberal scale of graduated pensions for retiring officers.

An officer who was some years ago almost *turned out* of this service, is now holding a high station in the Russian Army; those who know him here, think him capable of any thing: and say that he has such reason to hate the Bengal Government, as may lead him to do all he can in opposition to it.

Since writing the above, matters have gradually been drawing towards a crisis with the Burmese. After some partial success, we have received a severe check; the enemy however retreated, without waiting for a second attack on the part of our troops; but this caution has fortunately had its proper effect on our officers, and taught them to treat their opponents with more respect. Report says, that Col. Innes, after having reinforced and taken the command of Col. Bowen's detachment, followed the Burmese during a few marches, and then commenced a retrograde movement, in order to wait for fresh troops and a more favourable season. Meantime Government have at last issued a proclamation declaring us at war with the Burmese, and the 13th Light Infantry is once more ordered to be ready for service, together with the 38th, the 20th Native Infantry, two Companies of Artillery, and a train of sixteen guns. These, it is said, are to be joined by a much larger force from Madras, so as to amount to about 10 or 12,000 men, and to attack Rangoon, or some important point on the coast, where they are to go into cantonments till the season for active operations commences. Troops are also gradually assembling on our eastern frontier, and a Regiment of Cavalry is ordered to Kissengunje to be at hand. A depôt of Artillery is forming at Dacca; and half the rocket troop is on its way to take its share of the campaign. Already, however, the ill effects of draining the upper provinces of troops has begun to appear, in a pretended insurrection of one of Scindia's Sirdars, which, no doubt, has occurred with the privity of the Mahraja himself. Gen. Knox has marched against these people; but we have not heard with what success.

It is not known who is to command the two armies now forming. Gen. Sewell or Gen. Pritzler would be proper persons for the first; but for our own nobody ventures to guess. Gen. D—— is not exactly the man to inspire confidence: the Commander in Chief is, I suppose, too high in rank; and Gen. Ochterlony is too infirm. I should like to see Sir Gabriel Martindell brought on the staff again, and so would the Army at large.

Amongst the orders lately issued, is one forbidding officers to trade, and saying, that any one who is proved to have acted contrary to it, not by COURT MARTIAL, but "*to the satisfaction of the Governor General in Council*," shall be considered, ipso facto, as having forfeited the service! This is looked upon as not only *unjust*, but insulting; for it seems to infer, that a spirit of traffic exists to a great extent, which is most untrue. Some officers to the eastward (in the islands) may have traded; some others have bought landed property in Calcutta; and some others, including the Military Secretary, have bought up bills in the bazar: but this is all: and it is shameful to stigmatise a whole service, on account of these few individuals.

Another order has lately taken away the patronage of small appointments for soldiers and non-commissioned officers, from heads of departments, and thrown them all into the hands of the Adjutant General—a very unjust, and, on many accounts, a cruel regulation.

Madras.—By advices from Madras, we learn, that the scarcity of grain, though rather alleviated, was by no means entirely remedied, and that the quantity in the presidency was not nearly adequate to the wants of the inhabitants. A most noble instance of disinterested humanity is recorded in the conduct of a native, named Pummel Aroonooga Moodelly, the remembrance of which we have a pleasure in assisting to perpetuate. During the dreadful scarcity, while all the other grain merchants thought of nothing but indulging their avarice, at the expense of the famishing community, by raising beyond even warrantable bounds, the price of that necessary of life, this individual disposed of his at a moderate price, keeping his bankshall, or warehouse for grain, on the beach, daily open, and rendering every possible assistance to the distressed, even to the extent of preserving many human lives. The conduct of this Good Samaritan had obtained for him the prayers and gratitude of those on whom his bounty had been showered.

Letters from Pondicherry, received at Madras, state, that the recovery of the Governor, the Count Dupuy, from his severe illness, had been celebrated with much pomp on the feast of St. Andrew. On this occasion, Hindoos, Musulmans, and every other class, celebrated this feast in their pagodas, mosques, &c. The Count is stated to be perfectly restored to health.

Bombay.—Our information from this Presidency has been confined to few particulars. Letters from this island state, that Colonel Stannus, the newly-appointed British Resident at Bushire, had arrived at his destination, with his suite, on the 17th of December.—A fire had broken out on the 20th of January, in the native town, at Bombay, which threatened great destruction, but by the activity of the residents it was fortunately suppressed.

Bencoolen.—The following extract of a letter, written prior to the departure of Sir S. Raffles from Bencoolen, as it conveys a recent account of this settlement, will be read with some interest.

The situation of Bencoolen, or Fort Marlborough, upon the west coast of Sumatra, is certainly one of the most picturesque which can be well imagined: and in many respects as a magnificent *coup d'œil*, far exceeds any view I have yet seen either in the Eastern islands, which abound in beautiful scenery, or the upper Provinces of Hindoostan. A grand amphitheatre of lofty hills, piercing the lower strata of clouds, with their craggy summits, recalls to the recollection of the spectator some of the finest spots of Alpine scenery discoverable in Europe;—while that most singular geological formation, the *Gonong Beenks*, or Sugar loaf, not only stands separate as a prominent, unerring, and permanent mark to ships, but to the scientific eye distinctly exhibits the origin of those mountainous formations, in the stupendous depositions which have descended from that prodigious flood of waters that formerly deluged the globe. This fine country, is blessed with a soil boasting the highest fertility, and is evidently capable of bringing forth any vegetable production found in Hindoostan, and probably in Europe. In proof of this it may be mentioned, that potatoes, formerly unknown in the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the ancient geographers, have within the last few years been introduced into Sumatra, under the administration of Sir Stamford Raffles, with the most gratifying success. They are thriving in perfection, and not only equal any procurable elsewhere, but now form an important article in the diet of the population. The nutmegs and spices, on account of which the settlement has been long celebrated, are cultivated to an extent, and thrive in a manner, of which I could not previously have entertained the slightest idea.—Yet with all these advantages, not exceeded by any British settlement in the world, the appearance of Marlboro' cannot be said to add any credit to the well earned character, which our countrymen have generally acquired, for enterprise and persevering industry. It would therefore form a matter of singularly curious, and interesting speculation, to enter into an inquiry regarding the causes which have conspired to retard the prosperity of Bencoolen,—that have operated during the lapse of nearly a century and a half, to contract the principal seat of British power in the Malay countries, within limits scarcely exceeding the bounds of an ordinary English village,—and not twice the dimensions of those of the town of Singapore, that has been founded only since the year 1823,—causes that have reduced its population,—and have rendered the necessaries of life scarcely procurable over a magnificent extent of territory capable of producing all that is required,—and comprehending a settlement and possessions, which if proper attention were paid, are clearly capable of completely recompensing our

country for the loss of Java, and our other insular possessions, which a dash of the pen of his late Lordship of Londonderry so liberally bestowed upon the unmitigated enemies of our commerce, and would-be rivals, the Dutch. *Delendum est Carthago*, was the well known expression of the elder Cato; and "Cause Sumatra to be improved," should be the exclamation of England. Let Holland, since our ministers would have it so, have possession of Java, but let England improve her settlements on Sumatra, and the power of our ungrateful allies will then be subjected to as much curtailment, in the Eastern Archipelago, as Amsterdam is known in Europe to be inferior to London.

Sir Stamford Raffles is expected soon to quit the settlement for England. I had an opportunity of examining, yesterday, the labours of his Excellency in the various departments of Natural Historical Science, and candour, liberality, truth, and justice, compel me to say, they are of such vast importance to mankind, and science in general, as not merely to deserve, but must absolutely command admiration. Whatever opinions may exist as to his administration on Java, but one sentiment, that of unbounded, unequivocal applause, can be bestowed upon the mind which had the sagacity to plan the invaluable settlement of Singapore, and his labours, for such they may be truly termed, in Sumatra. A new species of Tiger, of Rhinoceros Bicornis, altogether different from that of Africa, where that animal hitherto was alone supposed to exist,—besides several novel animals, of the squirrel, monkey and mouse tribes, together with a prodigious number of new acquisitions in Ornithology, Icthyology, and Botany,—will deservedly render his name illustrious in the annals of science, as well as mark him out for the grand restorer of intercourse between the Eastern islands and western nations, from the flood of light which his administration has poured over our knowledge of those valuable countries,—comprehending the magnificent Ophir of antiquity, and far-famed realms of Sheba, the modern Java.

Cochin China.—By the arrival of two vessels at Singapore, from Suigun, some advices had been received from Cochin China.

The accounts brought by these vessels, represent the country in the same state of repose as it is known to have enjoyed for many years back. The Envoy from Ava, in company with the Cochin Chinese Deputy, who had returned with him from that country, had reached Suigun safely, in the Portuguese ship, in which a passage had been hospitably taken for him by the hon. Mr. Phillips, the Governor of Penang, after the destruction of his own junk, by a fire in the harbour of that place. From thence he had proceeded to the capital, where he was reported to have been well received by the court. The old Governor of Suigun who received our Mission so graciously in 1822, and without whom no public measure of consequence is carried into effect, had also gone up to the court a short time after him. The King of Cochin China had prepared a vessel to carry the Burman Envoy back, and we may expect to see him at this place in about two months. What political consequences are likely to result, from this mission, we have not been able to learn, but the present accounts do not confirm the rumours which have been for some time in circulation at this place, that it had ended in coalition against the Siamese.

China.—Recent letters from China state, that all Chinese goods were extremely dear, in consequence of the great demand for the European market. The chops of the country and American ships have been detained by the Hoppo, in consequence of the security merchants not having paid the duties on their imports.

Singapore.—The accounts from this new settlement continue to be very encouraging, every day bringing to it an increase of commerce and of population. It was calculated that upwards of 10,000 settlers were resident there; new streets were making, formed of substantial brick houses, and a bridge had been built across the creek, with numerous other improvements both useful and ornamental.

The Singapore Chronicle gives the following account of the departure of Colonel Farquhar from that settlement, and his arrival at Malacca.

On the 28th December our late worthy and much esteemed resident and commandant (Colonel Farquhar) embarked for Bengal on board the ship Alexander, Captain Dickie, under the customary honours. It was the greatest scene of bustle our infant settlement has ever yet witnessed. At an early hour the whole native population lined the beach, near the place of embarkation, where our late respected chief was met by the resident commanding officer of the troops, and all the principal European and native inhabitants, who accompanied him to the ship. He was saluted by all the vessels in the road as he passed them, and the concourse of boats, with native music, streamers and decorations of every description, exceeded every thing of the kind I have ever yet

beheld. The numerous discharges of cannon in the midst of the busy scene bore a very strong resemblance to a sea engagement. I am not competent to convey an adequate idea of the respect, veneration, and sincere attachment evinced towards their late resident by all classes of the native population, among whom he has resided twenty-eight years, twenty of which have been passed in exercising the functions of Governor over them. The day before his departure, at the requisition of the principal European and native inhabitants, a meeting was held at the Court-house, when resolutions were passed, expressive of the thanks of the European inhabitants for his uniform kindness, hospitality, and liberality towards them on all occasions, and requesting his acceptance of a piece of plate of the value of 3000 rupees. Another exceedingly warm address was presented by the Chinese, who requested his acceptance of a service of plate valued at 3000 dollars, and offering up their fervent prayers for his future health and prosperity. The natives of India resident at Singapore, the Bugis people, the Sultan, and the Tomengong also addressed most gratifying letters to the Colonel on his departure, constituting him, by a third and joint letter, their accredited agent with the Right Honourable the Governor General in an affair which they are now submitting to his Lordship through the resident.

Java.—By recent accounts from Batavia we are informed that the monthly revenue derived from the excise on opium had increased in the last sale of the farms, one lac of rupees. The annual revenue which the Government of Java derives from this single branch amounts to very near twenty-six lacs of rupees.

Macao.—A slight shock of earthquake had been felt at this place on the 2d of January, but did no damage. A decree has been issued by the Senate of Macao, taking off all restrictions on the importation of opium, and allowing non-residents and foreigners to dispose of it.

Mauritius.—The latest letters from Port Louis state, that a most dreadful hurricane occurred on the 23d of February at that place, by which the greater part of the vessels in the port were destroyed, and the whole more or less damaged. In the interior, all the plantations were devastated, sugar houses, mills, canes, and crops of every description were destroyed, and all the coffee and clove trees swept away, so that the colony can produce no more of either for years to come. In the town and vicinity, several houses were thrown down, and many people killed.

AFRICA.

Cape of Good Hope.—The following extract of a letter, addressed to the editor of a daily paper, contains the history of a case of libel which is curious and interesting. The writer is the prosecuted person, and his object to correct an imperfect statement that had previously been given.

In January last, having occasion to complain of the conduct of Mr. Charles Blair, collector of the customs at the Cape of Good Hope, and being advised that the proper course to be pursued for the purpose of obtaining redress would be to memorialize the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, a memorial was accordingly prepared by my professional adviser, Mr. Edwards, and who was also joined with me in the indictment subsequently preferred, setting forth the causes of complaint, and praying an inquiry, and was thereupon transmitted to his Excellency the Governor, for the purpose of making such observations thereon as might be thought proper previously to its being forwarded, with the observations thereto appended, to this country.

Shortly after this my mercantile concerns requiring my personal attendance in London, a passport was applied for, and to my astonishment, refused, on the ground that a criminal prosecution was about to be instituted against me for a libel on Mr. Blair, contained in the memorial that I had so forwarded to his Excellency for the above purpose; and conformably to that intimation a prosecution was subsequently commenced against me, together with Mr. Edwards, by his Majesty's Fiscal, at the instance of Mr. Blair.

This indictment, after many delays, contrary to the rules and practice of the Courts of Law at the Cape, eventually came on for trial; an exception was taken by me, as to the legality of the prosecution, and the consequent want of jurisdiction by the Court, on the ground that every British subject has an uncontrollable right to petition his Majesty or Parliament for redress of grievances, and that all prosecutions for so doing were declared illegal by stat. 1st William and Mary, cap. 2. This exception came on for argument on the 10th of March last, and was decided against me; and on such exception it was (and not on the case generally, as it appeared in the paper above referred to,) that the judgment of the Court was given, and against which I was advised to appeal.

On the 26th of March the case came on for a final hearing before the highest Court of Judicature in the colony, and the judgment of that Court was, "That all further investigation of this case shall be at an end—that it releases defendants from further personal appearance—*and wholly acquits them of the charges contained in the indictment.*"

EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

Indian Governors.—We have not heard any thing decisive on the subject of the intended changes in the Governorships of Madras and Bombay. Sir William A' Court is said to have been proposed by Ministers for the latter Presidency; but nothing is yet finally determined on. The resolution formerly attributed to the Cabinet, of never again appointing a civil servant of the Company to be a Governor in India, is confidently repeated: though many still doubt its sincerity. Indeed, in direct opposition to this rule, it is asserted that Mr. Adam is to have the Government of Madras, as a reward for the splendid proofs of literary and logical endowments evinced in his celebrated Manifesto, where he so ably defends the position that all his countrymen in India are slaves; and that he only ceased to be so the moment he became a Governor. Sir John Malcolm, if this be true, may perhaps also hope to succeed to the Governorship of Bombay; and, as our recollections of the intellectual state of the society in that Island in 1817, would lead us to hope that a few years passed among them might correct certain inexplicable notions entertained by Sir John on the subject of the Indian Public and the Indian Press, we should be glad to hear of his being able to pass a few years in study and reflection at that settlement. The Court of Proprietors, in Leadenhall-street, is not the place for men to hope to enlarge their understandings; though some heretofore liberal ones, seem, through its corrupting atmosphere, to have become strangely contracted.

Indian Judges.—We hear, from good authority, that the Chief Justice at Madras, Sir Edmond Stanley, is expected in England: and we have been assured, from equally good authority, that the appointment has been offered to Sir Edward West. Under existing circumstances we should think it probable that Sir Edward would not accept the appointment: and considering his exertions in favour of the Native suitors at Bombay, whom he has already eased of some of the heavy burthens which the lawyers had imposed on them, we feel disposed to believe that he would prefer continuing among a community to whose interests he must be already in some degree attached.

Indian Directors.—Nothing new has occurred since our last, among the members of the Direction. Certain rumours are afloat as to the possibility of a new candidate offering himself at the next vacancy, and as the experiment of a popular election can hardly be said to have been fairly tried in that quarter, there is no predicting what might be the result.

Mr. Spankie.—In the Court of Common Pleas, July 5, Mr. Gaselee (King's Counsel), Mr. Spankie, who has been for some time in India, and Mr. Adam, of the Court of King's Bench, were introduced in purple and scarlet robes and flowing wigs, to the front of the bar of the Court, and went through the formality of being raised to the dignity of the coif, when they received the congratulations of their learned brothers on being made Sergeants at Law. Mr. Sergeant Spankie is, we believe, the first instance of any member of the long robe having taken legal rank after his return from professional practice in India.

Indigo Trade.—We learn that certain measures are in progress in France, for encouraging the direct importation of indigo from India to that country, by placing heavy duties on the indigo passing through England to France. The eyes of the continental statesmen and of continental merchants seem to be opening towards India, rather more rapidly than the Company would wish: but, until they relax their odious restrictions against Colonization, and the free intercourse of Englishmen with their territories, we shall be glad to give these continental adventurers every information and assistance in our power. Patriotism is no doubt a virtue; but it should only lead us to *prefer* our country in doubtful matters, and not to exclude others from all participation of that which we cannot ourselves enjoy. It is important to the improvement and happiness of India, that Europeans should trade extensively with that country and settle in it. Englishmen cannot so trade and settle, in consequence of absurd and unjust restrictions which do not apply to foreigners.

Rather than obstruct the improvement of India, it is better even that foreigners should settle there than that Colonization should not take place; and as far as in us lies, we will do all in our power to encourage it.

English Press.—We are happy to state, that the leading Journals of England begin to feel and express an interest on the subject of the Indian Press; and that through their powerful agency the minds of our statesmen are likely to be opened to the great importance of this subject, before the next meeting of Parliament. Among the London daily prints, the Globe and Traveller has taken a decided lead in its attention to Indian affairs generally, and to the freedom of its Press in particular. On this subject, also, the Times has spoken powerfully, and its advocacy is of the highest importance. The Morning Chronicle, whenever it has expressed itself on the question, has always reprobated the late restrictions, and the British Press has recently joined in this view, while the Examiner has frequently and happily exposed their absurdity. Among the provincial papers of England, to whom India is indebted for the great sympathy in her improvement, may be named, the Edinburgh Scotsman, Glasgow Free Press and Chronicle, Manchester Guardian, Liverpool, Leeds, Tyne, and Bristol Mercuries, with others perhaps which have not fallen under our notice. It will be gratifying to our Indian readers to learn even the fact of some interest being excited. In a subsequent Number, we may perhaps collect a few of the scattered notices that have appeared in these papers, for preservation and reference, as well as for immediate perusal.

Reverend Doctor Bryce.—Among the proceedings which took place in Scotland, at the last General Assembly, it was asserted by Doctor Macwhirter, that the Pastor of the Scotch Church in Calcutta had been *assiduous* in his labours towards enlightening the minds of the natives of India! Those who reside on the spot will not wonder at our doubting the accuracy of this assertion. Dr. Macwhirter further added, that though for ten or twelve years not a *single* Hindoo had been converted, yet the spell was at length broken, and many of them were now hearers of the Reverend Doctor Bryce! with much more to the same effect. We should be sorry to say any thing unnecessarily harsh of Dr. Macwhirter; but really before he attempts to make the *good people* of Scotland believe this, he should have taken care to prevent its going further than private whispers; as in India particularly, and even in England by those who know the real state of the case—the Doctor's grave assertions will excite something more than a mere smile at their weakness. No wonder that some men are such enemies to the freedom of the press in India. It would be impossible, if this existed, for such assertions as these to remain long uncontradicted.

Punishment of Seamen.—A verdict of damages has been given in the Court of Admiralty against Captain Mahon of the Agincourt, an Indian free trader, for severity of punishment towards one of his men. The state of the law on this subject is extremely defective; but the unnecessary cruelty exercised by commanders over those subject to their rule requires still more correction; and we therefore rejoice when all severities are visited with the sentence of the law.

Benefits of Free Trade.—The East India Company pay to their ships to and from China 22*l.* to 27*l.* per ton for the voyage. The Moffatt and Juliana, two teak built ships, have recently been chartered under the new Act of Parliament to China, and back to the British settlements in North America, with teas, &c. at 10*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* and 10*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* per ton register for the voyage.

Steam Navigation to India.—Considerable interest has been excited by the hope of effecting a steam navigation to India, and the efforts made for the purpose have met with considerable support. A prospectus has been issued by Captain Johnson (not Lieutenant Johnson of the Navy, who is exerting himself in India) for the furtherance of this undertaking—but we refer our readers generally to an article in the first Number of the Oriental Herald for our own opinions on this subject.

Oriental Club.—This Institution has been recently opened in Lower Grosvenor-street, Grosvenor-square. The building selected for this establishment is the spacious mansion, No. 16, lately occupied by His Grace the Duke of Rutland. The staircase opens into a number of apartments on the first floor, the two principal of which are appropriated to the public dining-room and the reading-room. These rooms, from the centres of which are suspended two

beautiful lustres, are finished in a style which shows that a due attention to convenience as well as splendour has not been disregarded. On the second floor are also a number of apartments, fitted up in the same style, some of which are to be appropriated for the use of those who may prefer privacy in entertaining their friends. The admission is confined to those who have travelled or resided in Asia, St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, in Egypt, or at Constantinople, or whose official situations connect them with the administration of our Eastern Government abroad or at home, or who are members of the Royal Asiatic Society; and the number is at present limited to 800. The object of this Club is the same with those already established at the west end of the town, and from the cheapness of their dinners, and the excellence of their wines, beside the advantage of a pleasant and select Society, they are likely to interfere with the interests of Coffee-houses. The entrance money is fifteen guineas, and the annual subscription six. When for so small a consideration a bachelor can almost make this splendid building his residence, while he has the opportunity of obtaining a breakfast for 1s. 6d. and an excellent dinner for half a crown; he will have but little temptation to live at a Hotel or a Tavern.

Loss of the Ship Fame.—It is asserted, that the ship Fame, Capt. Young, which has been so long expected from Bencoolen, has been burnt at sea. A gentleman who came passenger in the Asia from St. Helena, and who has arrived in town, states that during his stay at that Island, a ship arrived there from Bencoolen, bringing this intelligence. The details of this unfortunate accident are not yet known; but it is said that the ship caught fire, when at the distance of two days' sail from Bencoolen, and was soon totally destroyed. The crew and passengers happily succeeded in escaping from the flames, and after exposure in the ship's boats, under all the inconveniences inseparable from such a situation, at length reached Bencoolen in safety; but destitute of every thing, as they had been unable to save even the smallest portion of their property from the wreck. Sir Stamford Raffles the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, and suite, were passengers on board the Fame; and the unfortunate Mr. Arnot, one of the assistants in the establishment of the Calcutta Journal, who was banished from India for merely *alluding* to his employer's fate, and was sent round by his circuitous and unhealthy route, was also a passenger in this ill-fated ship. It adds a melancholy interest to such an event as this, when an unhappy victim of the evil passions of man has his sufferings still further augmented by causes altogether beyond human control.

General Macquarie.—On Sunday, July the 11th, the remains of this lamented officer were removed from Duke-street, St. James's, attended by a most respectable assemblage of nobility and gentry. Among whom were the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Breadalbane, Mr. Justice Park, Sir Alured Clarke, Sir Byam Martin, Sir Henry Torrens, General Hart, General Forbes, Sir Fitzroy Maclean, General Campbell, Sir Edmund Antrobus, Sir James Mackintosh, Hon. Colonel Cochrane, Mr. Page, Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Beale, Mr. Booth, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Shank, Mr. M. Forbes, Colonel Lewis, Colonel D. Forbes, Major Carnac, and many more of the deceased's friends, followed by about forty carriages; among which, besides those of the parties present, were those of the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Harrington, the Earl of Clarendon, the Earl of Bathurst, J. Wilmot Horton, Esq. M.P., the Hon. Basil Cochrane, &c. &c. The whole proceeded through St. James's-square, up Regent-street, and Portland-place, entering the New-road, by Park-crescent, where the procession dispersed; and the hearse then proceeded along the City-road, accompanied by the deceased's son Master Lachlan Macquarie, his brother, Colonel Charles Macquarie, Sir Charles Forbes and his four sons, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Gray, Mr. Meiklejohn, and a few more friends, in mourning coaches; and on arriving at Hermitage Wharf the body was consigned to a vessel, chartered for the purpose of conveying it to its last resting place, among the General's ancestors, in the Isle of Mull.

Tea Monopoly.—The account delivered to Parliament by the East India Company, furnishing the *prime* cost of tea, and which has been published in the public prints, has made a deep impression in the country. Great complaints are made by the tea-dealers that the East India Company do not put up for sale a *sufficient quantity* to meet the *demand* of the rapid increase of the population of the country. At Norwich, Nottingham, and many other places, we know it is determined to petition

Parliament to compel the Company to give a supply equal to the demand. The great part of the consumption of tea in these towns is in *green tea;* and in consequence of the GREAT DECREASE in the *quantity* of this *article*, the very same tea which sold at the March sale at *7s. 3d.* per lb. with the duty, sold five years back at *5s. 3d.*; thus proving at once that it is the SHORT supply which makes the price so enormous to the public, and this on an article now deemed a necessary of life.

Greece.—Greek newspapers to the 27th of May, inclusive, have been received. The Greek Telegraph has a spirited proclamation by Conduriotti, to the Greeks, dated the 4th (16) of April, and an article of the 29th of April, in which the entry of the Government troops into Tripolitza is noticed, and a fervent hope expressed that Napoli would, in a few days, acknowledge the legitimate authority. The plague is said to rage in Alexandria.

We notice with pleasure, in the same paper, a letter in English, written by the Honourable Leicester Stanhope, at Salona, to the Ipsariots, congratulating them on the spirit of patriotism which they had evinced, and announcing to them the present of a printing press by the Greek Committee. This present will prove most acceptable; for the spirit of literature and free-discussion seems to have made astonishing strides, within a few months, among the Greeks.

The following newspapers are now published in Greece:—

At Missolonghi—The Greek Chronicle (in Greek;) the Greek Telegraph (in several languages.)

At Hydra—The friend of the Laws (in Greek.)

At Athens—The Athens Free Press (in Greek.)

At Psara—The Psara Newspaper (in Greek.)

All the above, in consequence of an arrangement made with Mr. Freeling, may now be obtained by giving orders through the Foreign Post-office.

Greek Cause.—The Greeks are endeavouring to raise an expedition to proceed against the Turks, who occupy several points in Macedonia: but it is feared that they must confine themselves to the defensive for the present, as the Pasha of Egypt is really preparing to send a fleet to Candia, manned with Austrian and Malay sailors. Providence, however, which seems resolved to aid the Greeks, in spite of their own unworthy dissensions, has raised them up a Prophet in Arabia and Upper Egypt, in the person of a Wehabite, who has already a large army of Arabs and Egyptians in hostility to the Pasha, with the entire population of the part in which they now are, favourable to their views. To crush this danger the Pasha has ordered much of his disposable force to proceed against the Wehabite Prophet; and it is certain that if his fleet sails, the troops which it conveys will not be numerous.

The naval force of the Turks in the Gulf of Lepanto is only eight vessels; viz. three frigates, two corvettes, and three brigs. The Greeks have in the waters of Ipsara not less than 180 sail, but chiefly small vessels, incapable of a serious attack upon the Turks. They have, however, resolved, it appears, to devote a great portion of their loan to the purchase of large English merchant vessels, which they will convert into vessels of war.

Egyptian Lazarettos.—Preparations were making at Alexandria for establishing a Lazaretto. This fact alone proves how much the present Sovereign of Egypt is enlightened. If a similar measure were carried into effect in the other parts of the East, there would be an end to the ravages of the plague, which spreads amongst the Turks only in consequence of their belief in fatalism.—*European Review.*

Queen of the Sandwich Islands.—The English newspapers announced the death of this lady with a kind of mock-heroic solemnity, and have since been jocular upon her husband, in consequence of his having other wives. This conduct has something savage in it. We cannot enter exactly into the emotions of a person brought up in the state of society prevalent in those islands, but this king, as he is ridiculously called, must have possessed some portion of the feelings of a man, and must in consequence be grieved to see his wife cut off in the midst of strangers. His having other wives could be little compensation for the loss of this; the human heart has always a pole to which its affections point. The following is the official report:—

The Queen of the Sandwich Islands departed this life about half-past six this evening, without much apparent suffering, and in possession of her senses to a late moment. The King, in the midst of this deep sorrow, manifests a firmness of mind which has penetrated everybody about him with a feeling of respect. Though very anxious to express his grief in the manner

of his country, and to show marks of deference which are usually paid to the dead there, he submits with good sense and patience to every suggestion which our habits dictate.

We have every reason to believe that his anxiety and depression of mind have aggravated all the symptoms of his disease; which, but for this cause, might ere now have terminated prosperously; but we hope in a day or two hat he will be better.

(Signed) HENRY HALFORD.
HENRY HOLLAND.
HUGH LEY.

Thursday Evening, July 8, 1824.

Within a few days after (Wednesday, July 14,) the King also departed this life; and the same rites as are prevalent in their country have been observed.

PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL ABROAD.

The Overture from the Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Linlithgow, and the Synod of Moray, relative to the propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, having been read, a Memorial and Petition from Dr. Bryce of Calcutta was read by the Clerk. The Memorial set forth the ASSIDUOUS LABOURS of the Presbyterian Church of Calcutta, towards ENLIGHTENING THE MINDS OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA, in which the Bishop and the Episcopal Church had fully co-operated. The Memorial stated the insufficiency of Missionaries to accomplish the work of conversion, which they had themselves candidly acknowledged, and that it was to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland they looked for effective means to spread the Gospel among the Hindoos. A minute of the Kirk Session of Calcutta was also read, approving of the Memorial. The minute also stated, that the President of the Board of Control had expressed his readiness to afford every facility in furtherance of the desired object.

Dr. MACWHIRTER, during a long residence in India, had paid attention to the subject, and for the first ten or twelve years he had thought not a *single* Hindoo could have been converted. But the spell was now broken; many of them were REGULAR HEARERS OF DR. BRYCE, but had not received baptism and the Lord's Supper. The Memorial was the WISEST proceeding that could have been adopted; and if the Church of Scotland would lend its powerful aid to the cause, there could be NO DOUBT of ultimate success. The Doctor, in passing a high eulogium on his respected pastor, whose character, he said, had been assailed by the LIBELLOUS PRESS, was called to order by

Mr. A. THOMSON, who said the Assembly was insulted by such indecent allusions, and that the dignity of the House would be committed if such a line was allowed, as an interminable debate might arise on a subject unconnected with that before the House.

Dr. MACWHIRTER begged pardon if he had been irregular, and hoped that his feelings might be his excuse.

Dr. INGLIS rose, and after some preliminary observations, said, that in 1796 two overtures had been remitted to the Assembly from the Synods of Fife and Moray, having an object similar to the present, which were dismissed, it being the opinion of the House that the circumstances of the times were unfavourable, but that at a future time, when no obstacle to the proceeding presented itself, the Assembly would adopt the measure. He thought little was to be expected from merely preaching the Gospel to an uneducated, he might say, a barbarous people; they must first improve the young minds, and teach the arts of civilization as preliminary steps. Schools had been opened in India, and already most salutary effects had been produced by them; and in practising the arts of civilization, something was done for their worldly interests, which prepared their minds for embracing the Gospel of Christ. He was far from meaning to say there was no hope in preaching the Gospel to a people in any condition; God forbid that he should limit Divine Grace. The reason that he held previous education to be necessary was, that a barbarous people were wedded to their superstitious rites; but give them knowledge and information—open their ideas to judge on other subjects, and it will be found that superstition will not stand before intelligent minds—they first doubt, and conviction follows. Let them have a standing Ministry and appointed Christian Pastors. There were learned as well as pious men among the natives of India, who were imparting the blessings of our enlightened nation to their countrymen, who were balancing between their superstitious rites and Christianity. It was not in the highways, in the streets, or in the fields, the object in view was to be attained, but in Christian temples; and the Church of Scotland had the great-

est power to accomplish the work. From their extensive connexions abroad, they would learn the mistakes that may be committed, and the means of rectifying errors.

Dr. DUNCAN of Ruthwell spoke at considerable length, strongly opposing the opinion that civilizing must precede christianizing, and referred to the present state of the South Sea Islands in support of a contrary doctrine, where the vices of the inhabitants had been done away, and whose swords had been turned into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks. The people had made rapid progress in the arts of civilized life; their habits were changed; they now enjoyed comforts they never knew before; the improvements in agriculture were beautifying those fine countries, and, what was more to the purpose, those lately savages were seen crowding to schools of instruction, and men grey in years were learning the lessons of children: these were the happy effects of Christianity, and traders returned with astonishment and admiration at what they had beheld. After hearing these facts, would any man lay his hand on his heart and say, they must first civilize? The means were to send the Bible and Missionaries; he confessed he once thought the latter useless, but he thanked God he had changed his opinion. The Rev. Doctor said he must see the measure brought into shape before he called on his people for a collection, and before concluding, made some observations on a learned Hindoo (Ram Mohun Roy) whose name appeared at the Minute appended to Dr. Bryce's Memorial, and whose faith, he maintained, was NOT ORTHODOX; in support of which he read the heads of some chapters of a book just put into his hands.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

SUPPLEMENTARY INDIAN INTELLIGENCE.

AT the moment our publication was going to press, Sir T. Stamford Raffles' letter, detailing the loss of the ship Fame, arrived. The account already current in London was only imperfect rumour; this is of course exact.

The following are extracts:

Bencoolen, Feb. 4.

We embarked on the 2d instant, in the Fame, and sailed at daylight for England, with a fair wind, and every prospect of a quick and comfortable passage. The ship was every thing we could wish, and having closed my charge here much to my satisfaction, it was one of the happiest days of my life. We were, perhaps, too happy, for in the evening came a sad reverse. Sophia had just gone to bed, and I had thrown off half my clothes, when a cry of *Fire, fire!* roused us from our calm content, and in five minutes the whole ship was in flames! I ran to examine whence the flames principally issued, and found that the fire had its origin immediately under our cabin.—Down with the boats; where is Sophia? Here; the children; here a rope to the side; lower Lady Raffles—give her to me, says one—I'll take her, says the Captain. Throw the gunpowder overboard; it cannot be got at; it is in the magazine, close to the fire! Stand clear of the powder. Skuttle the water casks.—Water! water! Where is Sir Stamford? Come into the boat, Nelson! Nelson! come into the boat. Push off; push off; stand clear of the after-part of the ship.

All this passed much quicker than I can write it; we pushed off, and as we did so, the flames were issuing from our cabins, and the whole of the after-part of the ship was in flames; the masts and sails now taking fire, we moved to a distance, sufficient to avoid the immediate explosion, but the flames were now coming out of the main hatchway, and seeing the rest of the crew, with the Captain, &c. still on board, we pulled back to her under the bows, so as to be most distant from the powder. As we approached, we perceived that the people from on board were getting into another boat on the opposite side; she pushed off—we hailed her, have you all on board? Yes, all, save one. Who is he? Johnson, sick in his cot. Can we save him? No, impossible; the flames were then issuing from the hatchway; at this moment the poor fellow, scorched, I imagine, by the flames, roared out most lustily, having run up on the deck. I will go for him, says the Captain. The two boats then came together, and we took out some of the persons from the Captain's boat, which was overladen. He then pulled under the bowsprit of the ship, and picked the poor fellow up. Are you all safe? Yes, we've got the man; all lives safe, thank God; pull off from the ship; keep your eye on a star, Sir Stamford; there's one barely visible.

We then hauled close to each other,

and found the Captain fortunately had a compass, but we had no light but from the ship. Our distance from Bencoolen we estimated to be from twenty to thirty miles in a S.W. direction, there being no landing-place to the southward of Bencoolen, our only chance was to regain that port. The Captain then undertook to lead, and we to follow in a N.N.E. course as well as we could. No chance, no possibility being left that we could again approach the ship, for she was now one splendid flame fore and aft and aloft, her masts and sails in a blaze, and rocking too and fro, threatening to fall in an instant. There goes her mizen-mast; pull away my boys: there goes the gunpowder, thank God!

You may judge of our situation without further particulars; the alarm was given at about twenty minutes past eight, and in less than ten minutes she was in flames; there was not a soul on board at half-past eight, and in less than ten minutes afterwards she was one grand mass of fire.

My only apprehension was the want of boats to hold the people, as there was not time to have got out a long boat, or made a raft, all we had to rely upon were two small boats, which fortunately were lowered without accident, and in these two small open boats, without a drop of water or grain of food, or a rag of covering, except what we happened at the moment to have on our backs, we embarked on the wide ocean, thankful to God for his mercies. Poor Sophia having been taken out of her bed, had nothing on but a wrapper, neither shoes nor stockings; the children were just as taken out of bed, whence one had been snatched after the flames had attacked it. In short there was not time for any one to think of more than two things —Can the ship be saved? No; let us save ourselves then; all else was swallowed up in one great ruin.

To make the best of our misfortune, we availed ourselves of the light from the ship to steer a tolerably good course towards the shore; she continued to burn till about midnight, when the salt petre, of which she had 250 tons on board, took fire, and sent up one of the most splendid and brilliant flames that was ever seen, illumining the horizon in every direction, to an extent of not less than fifty miles, and casting that kind of blue light over us, which is, of all others, most luridly horrible. She burnt and continued to flame in this style for about an hour or two, when we lost sight of the object in a cloud of smoke.

Neither Nelson, nor Mr. Bell, our medical friend, who had accompanied us, had saved their coats, the tail of mine, with a pocket handkerchief, served to keep Sophia's feet warm; and we made breeches for the children with our neckcloths. Rain now came on, but fortunately it was not of long continuance, and we got dry again—the night became serene and starlight. We were now certain of our course, and the men behaved manfully; they rowed incessantly, and with good heart and spirit; and never did poor mortals look out more for daylight and for land than we did. Not that our sufferings or grounds of complaint were any thing to what has often befallen others, but from Sophia's delicate health, as well as my own, and the stormy nature of our coast, I felt perfectly convinced we were unable to undergo starvation, and exposure to sun and weather many days, and, aware of the rapidity of the currents, I feared we might fall to the southward of the port.

At daylight we recognised the Coast and Rat Island, which gave us great spirits, and though we found ourselves much to the southward of the port, we considered ourselves almost at home. Sophia had gone through the night better than could have been expected, and we continued to pull on with all our strength. About eight or nine o'clock we saw a ship standing to us from the Roads; they had seen the flame on shore, and sent out vessels in all directions to our relief, and here certainly came a Minister of Providence, in the character of a Minister of the Gospel, for the first person I recognised was one of our Missionaries. They gave us a bucket of water, and we took the Captain on board as a pilot. The wind, however, was adverse, and we could not reach the shore, and took to the ship, where we got some refreshment, and shelter from the sun. By this time, Sophia was quite exhausted, fainting continually. About two o'clock we landed safe and sound, and no words of mine can do justice to the expression of feeling, sympathy, and kindness with which we were hailed by every one. If any proof had been wanting that my administration had been satisfactory, here we had it unequivocally from all; there was not a dry eye, and, as we drove back to our former home, loud was the cry of "God be praised."

But enough; and I will only add, that we are now greatly recovered, in good spirits, and busy at work in getting ready-made clothes for present use. We went to bed at three in the afternoon, and I did not awake till six this morning. Sophia had nearly as sound a sleep, and with the exception of a bruise or two, and a little pain in the bones from fatigue, we have nothing to complain of.

The property which I have lost, on the most moderate estimate, cannot be less than 20,000*l.*, I might almost say 30,000*l.* But the loss which I have to regret beyond all, is my papers and drawings; all my papers, of every description, including my notes and observations, with memoirs and collections, sufficient for a full and ample history, not only of Sumatra, but of Borneo, and every other Island in these Seas; my intended account of the Esta-

olishment of Singapore; the history of my own Administration; grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies; and last, not least, a grand map of Sumatra, on which I had been employed since my first arrival here, and on which, for the last six months, I had bestowed almost my whole undivided attention; this, however, was not all—all my collections in natural history, and my splendid collection of drawings, upwards of a thousand in number, with all the valuable papers and notes of my friends Arnold and Jack; and, to conclude, I will merely notice, that there was scarce an unknown animal, bird, beast, or fish, or an interesting plant, which we had not on board. A living tapir, a new species of tiger, splendid pheasants, &c. &c. all *domesticated* for the voyage. We were, in short, in this respect, a perfect Noah's Ark. All—all—has perished; but, thank God, our lives have been spared, and we do not repine.

Our plan is to get another ship as soon as possible, and I think you may still expect us in July. There is a chance of a ship, called the Lady Flora, touching here on her way home, and there is a small ship in the Roads, which may be converted into a packet, and take us home. as I have a captain and crew at command.

We cannot but lament the loss which science and literature have sustained by the destruction of Sir Stamford's collections and writings, as the islands he is so intimately acquainted with, are still but imperfectly known to the public, notwithstanding the philosophical and superior researches of Crawfurd. The specimens of natural history which his long residence in these interesting regions enabled him to bring together, were almost unexampled, it is said, in number and importance; but, notwithstanding, it is the information relating to the history of man and his manners, in such peculiar situations, that is to be principally regretted; and this, recollection and labour may in a great measure supply.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[*From the London Gazette.*]

PROMOTIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS.

BENGAL.

38th Foot. Gentleman Cadet G. E. Thorold, from the Royal Military College, to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Bagot, appointed to 62d Foot, dated 24 June 1824.

44th Foot. Capt. H. H. Jacob, from 65th Foot, to be Captain, vice M'Lean, who exchanges.

MADRAS.

1st Foot. Lieut. C. M'Combie, from half-pay, Royal African Corps, to be Lieutenant, vice Graham, appointed to 17th Foot, dated 24 June 1824.—A. H. Ormsby, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Glover, promoted in 2d West India Reg. dated 29 June 1824; and T. Byne, Gent. to be ditto, dated 30 June 1824.

46th Foot. Gentleman Cadet C. W. Tuchleke, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Woodburn, deceased, dated 24 June 1824.

54th Foot. Lieut. R. Campbell, from half-pay, 24th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice R. B. Warren, who exchanges, dated 24 June 1824.

BOMBAY.

47th Foot. W. D. Hewson, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Smith, deceased, dated 25 June 1824.

67th Foot. Brevet Lieut. Col. R. Gubbins to be Lieut. Colonel, vice Mackay, who retires, dated 8 July 1824.

CEYLON.

16th Foot. Ensign R. Carr to be Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Orr, deceased, dated 29 Dec. 1823; and Ensign M. Smith, to be ditto, vice Clancy, deceased, dated 31 Dec. 1823.

83d Foot. R. Kelly, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Lisle, deceased, dated 25 June 1824.

Ceylon Regt. Hospital Assistant M. M'Dermott, M.D., to be Assistant Surgeon, vice Hoatson, deceased, dated 25 Dec. 1823.—Lieutenant J. Emslie, from half-pay 83d Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice J. J. Lewis, who exchanges, dated 24 June 1824.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

[*From the Indian Gazettes.*]

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Jan. 12. Mr. Harrington is appointed to be First Judge of

the Courts of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut.—Jan. 22. Mr. A. Mackenzie, to be Fourth Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit, for the Division of Bareilly.—Mr. W. Cracroft, to be Judge and Magistrate of Etawah; and Mr. D. Harding, to be ditto of Juanpore.—Jan. 29. Mr. J. Trotter, jun. to be Assistant to the Sub-Treasurer.—Feb. 5. Mr. C. T. Sealy, to be Senior Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit, for the Division of Calcutta; Mr. B. Todd, to be Second Judge of ditto; Mr. C. R. Martin, to be Third Judge of ditto; Mr. R. Walpole, Fourth Judge of ditto; Mr. C. J. Middleton, to be Judge and Magistrate of the District of Midnapore; Mr. V. Biscoe, ditto of Sylhet; Mr. Jas. Armstrong, to be Register of the Jungle Mehauls; and Mr. J. Hawkins, to be ditto of the Suburbs of Calcutta.—Feb. 13. Capt. J. Stewart, to be Resident at Gwalior; Maj. F. V. Raper, to be Political Agent at Jyepore; and Capt. A. Lockett, to be Assistant to the Resident at Lucknow.

Fort William.—February 26. Capt. H. Cook, 4th Regt. N. I. to be Superintendent in the District of Goruckpore, vice Stoneham.—March 5. Mr. A. Stirling, to be Secretary to the Government, in the Persian Department; Mr. S. Fraser, Deputy Secretary to the Government in the Persian Department.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Camp, Meerut.—Jan. 27. Lieut. D. P. Wood, 1st Batt. 11th Regt. N. I. to be Interpreter and Quartermaster to the Corps, subject to the condition prescribed in General Orders of 17 Feb. last, vice Kiernander, who resigns.—Feb. 2. Col. W. Marlay, permanent Assistant Quartermaster General, to be Deputy Quartermaster General to the King's troops serving in the East Indies, vice J. Campbell, dated July 3, 1823.—Feb. 7. Lieut. O. Phillips, of 1st Batt. 28th Regt. N. I. to be Interpreter and Quartermaster to the Corps, vice Simmonds.—Feb. 10. Lieut. T. Sewell, of 1st Batt. 5th Regt. N. I. is appointed to act as Fort Adjutant at Agra, during Capt. Turner's absence.—Feb. 11. Capt. Hawkes, 5th Light Cavalry, to be Aide-de-camp to the Commander in Chief, vice Honeywood.

Fort William.—Feb. 26. Lieut. H. C. Baker, of the Regiment of Artillery, to be an Assistant to Capt. Schalch; Lieut. Col. Tidy, to be Assistant Adj. Gen. to H. M. Forces in India, vice Maj. Croker, embarked for Europe.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort William, Feb. 12, 1824.—No. 50 of 1824.—The rates of pay and half or full batta, with the rules under which the latter is allowed to all local troops in G. O. G. G. 2d May, 1823, are from the 1st instant, to be rendered applicable to the Hill Companies of Pioneers in their several ranks; the reservation contained in the 6th clause of that order in favour of actual incumbents in each rank continuing to receive their present pay (if higher than the new rates) until promoted or otherwise disposed of.

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Camp, Meerut, Feb. 2.—His Excellency the Commander in Chief is pleased to order the following promotions:—

16th Lancers. Lieut. A. St. L. M'Mahon, to be Brevet Captain, dated 16 Jan. 1822.

4th Light Dragoons. Lieut. Sir K. A. Jackson, Bart. from 14th Light Dragoons, to be Lieutenant, vice Smith, who exchanges, dated June 5, 1823.—Lieut. J. Robinson, from half-pay, 8th Light Dragoons, to be Lieutenant, vice G. Robbins, who exchanges, receiving the difference, dated July 17, 1823.—Brevet Major E. Byne, from 17th Light Dragoons, to be Captain, vice Scott, who exchanges, dated July 24, 1823.

13th Light Dragoons.—Capt. M. Boners to be Major, by purchase, vice Macalister, who retires, dated June 5, 1823.—Lieut. J. Tomlinson to be Captain, by purchase, vice Bowers, ditto; and Cornet N. Nash, to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Tomlinson, ditto; Cornet J. G. Everad, from half-pay, 12th Light Dragoons, to be Cornet, vice St. John, dated June 4, 1824; and J. G. Ogilvie, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Nash, dated June 5, 1823.

1st Foot. Brevet Major J. Mitchell, from half-pay, 49th Foot, to be Captain, vice M'Donald, who exchanges, dated June 26, 1823.

14th Foot. Lieut. K. M'Kenzie to be Captain, without purchase, vice Rawlins, deceased, dated Jan. 27, 1823.—Ensign A. Ormsby to be Lieutenant, vice M'Kenzie, ditto.—B. V. Layard, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Ormsby, July 24, 1823.—Lieut. R. Staek, to be Brevet Captain, dated 25 Jan. 1824.

20th Foot. Ensign G. Eyre to be Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Gilbert, deceased, dated Jan. 18, 1823.—Lieut. W. Macalister, from half-pay, 35th Foot, vice Congreve, who exchanges, receiving the difference, dated July 24, 1823.—S. W. Wybrants, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Eyre, ditto.

38th Foot. Ensign T. A. Trant to be Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Huston, deceased, dated Feb. 9, 1823.—Gent. Cadet F. B. Stokes, from the Royal Military College, to be Ensign, vice Trant, dated July 24, 1823.

40th Foot. Lieut. Gen. J. Montgomerie, from 74th Foot, to be Colonel, vice Gen. Manners, deceased, dated June 13, 1823.

44th Foot. Paymaster T. Burke, from 17th Foot, to be Paymaster, vice Allsop, dated July 17, 1823.

46th Foot. Lieut. A. Fraser, from 7th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Stuart, dated June 5, 1823.

47th Foot. Capt. F. W. Ramsay to be Major, by purchase, vice Stanhope, promoted, dated July 3, 1823.—Lieut. J. T. Keays to be Captain, by purchase, vice Ramsay, ditto.—Ensign A. Mair from 68th Foot, to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Keays, ditto.

67th Foot. Capt. J. Algeo to be Major, by purchase, vice Wyndham, promoted, dated June 26, 1823.—Lieut. C. M. Harrison to be Captain, by purchase, vice Algeo, promoted, dated July 3, 1823.—Ensign C. Tinling, from 76th Foot, to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Harrison, ditto.

69th Foot. Ensign C. Steuart to be Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Windsor, deceased, dated July 10, 1823.

Fort William, Feb. 12.—Lieut. and Brevet Capt. G. Snodgrass to be Captain of a Company, from Jan. 31, 1824, vice Oakes, deceased; Ensign M. Smith to be Lieutenant, vice Snodgrass.—Feb. 19. Senior Major R. H. Cunliffe to be Lieut. Colonel, from Feb. 15, vice Paton, deceased.

Medical Department.

Fort William, Feb. 26.—Assistant Apothecary M. Barrett, attached to the hospital of the Nagpore Division of Artillery, to the rank of Apothecary, to fill the situation of Apothecary in Fort William.

Authorized in General Orders of the 16th ult.:—

March 4.—Assistant Surgeon W. Jackson to perform the Medical Duties of the Civil Station of Sylhet, vice Smith.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Camp, Meerut, Feb. 5. The undermentioned unposted Assistant Surgeons are appointed to do duty at the Station specified opposite to their names:

Assist. Surg. J. F. Stewart. . Nagpore.
A. M. Clark . . Mhow.
J. A. Lawrie. . Neemuch.

Feb. 7.—Assistant Surgeon W. Twining to be Supernumerary Surgeon in India, vice Mouat; and Assistant Surgeon G. Finlayson, from 8th Light Dragoons, to be Supernumerary Assistant Surgeon in India, vice J. Campbell.—March 4. Assistant Surgeon W. Jackson, to perform the Medical Duties of the Civil Station of Sylhet, vice Smith.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort William, Feb. 26, 1824.

3d Regt. N. I. Lieut. J. Steven, to rank from June 28, 1821, vice Jackson, struck off.—Lieut. F. Spencer, (now of the 16th Regt. N. I.) to rank from July 11, 1822, vice Jacobs, resigned.

Medical Department.

Surgeon R. Heaslop to rank from June 1?, 1823, vice Carnegie, retired.—Surgeon H. H. Wilson to rank from July 11, 1823, for the augmentation.—Surgeon R. D. Knight to rank from July 24, 1823, vice Johnston, promoted; Surgeon J. Ranken to rank from Aug. 19, 1823, vice Gibson, deceased.

REMOVALS.

Head Quarters, Camp, Meerut, Jan. 27, 1824.—The following officers, 6th Ensigns in their present Corps, are removed to be 4th Ensigns in the Regiments specified opposite to their names:—

Ensign J. G. Sharpe, from the 9th to the 8th Regt. N. I. and 2d Batt. at Hansi.—Ensign W. B. Gould, from the 22d to the 21st Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. at Etawah.—Ensign W. D. Kennedy, from the 19th to the 20th Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. at Prince of Wales's Island.

The undermentioned Ensigns are permanently posted to Regiments and Battalions, as follows:—

Ensign Henry Candy, to the European Regiment, Dinapore.—Ensign Robt. Mackellar Hunter, to the 7th Regt. N. I. and 2d Batt. Seetapore.—Ensign Alex. Macgregor Skinner, to the 9th Regt. N. I. and 2d Batt. Lucknow.—Ensign Henry Kirke, to the 10th Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. Dacca.—Ensign Ralph Smith, to the 14th Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. Pertabgurgh.—Ensign Edward John Dicky, to the 19th Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. Keitah.—Ensign Henry Alpe, to the 21st Regt. N. I. and 2d Batt. Saugor.—Ensign Wm. Wren Blyth, to the 22d Regt. N. I. and 2d Batt. Benares.—Ensign Henry Octavus Frederick, to the 25th Regt. N. I. and 2d Batt. Neemuch.—Ensign Thos. Henry Shuldham, to the 26th Regt. N. I. and 2d Batt. Dinapore.—Ensign Charles Cheape, to the 26th Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. Nagpore.—Ensign Edward Meade, to the 28th Regt. N. I. and 2d Batt. Delhi.—Ensign Francis Gresley, to the 28th Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. Mhow.—Ensign Henry Hunter, to the 29th Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. Benares.—Ensign John Swinton Browne, to the 33d Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. Dinapore.—Ensign Wm. Francis Grant, to the 34th Regt. N. I. and 1st Batt. Benares.

With the exception of the following, and of those attached to the European Regiment for the purpose of instruction, the aforementioned Officers are directed to proceed by water, and join the Corps to which they are now posted.

Ensign T. Shuldham, to continue doing duty with the 1st Batt. 24th Regt.—Ensign W. F. Grant, to continue doing duty with the 1st Batt. 32d Regt.

Head Quarters, Camp, Meerut.—Feb. 3. Lieut. W. Peel, of 28th Regt. N. I. to 2d Batt. of that Regt. Capt. W. Grant, to the 2d and Lieut. W. F. A. Seymour, to the 1st Batt. 34th Regt.—Feb. 6. Lieut. J. Buncombe, 10th Regt. N. I. to the 1st Batt. of that Regt. Lieut. Kent, from the 1st to 2d Batt. and Lieut. Lowe, from the

2d to 1st Batt. 33d Regt.—Feb. 5. Lieut. Cooper, 4th Regt. and Lieut. Bagshawe, 20th Regt. are permitted to exchange Corps; the former is posted 2d Batt. 20th Regt. and the latter to 2d Batt. 4th Regt. —Feb. 11. Ensign C. H. Thomas, lately arrived, to do duty with 1st Batt. 32d Regt. at Cawnpore; Ensign Grant, from 34th to 1st Batt. 32d Regt. N. I.—Feb. 12. Capt. Stacy, 16th Regt. N. I. to 1st Batt. and Capt. Thomas to 2d Batt.; Ensign R. Smith, from 1st Batt. 14th Regt. to 2d Batt. 31st Regt.; Ensign Kirke, from 10th Regt. N. I. to 1st Batt. 12th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. Morshead, from the 2d to 1st Batt. and Lieut. Cobbe, from the 1st to 2d Batt. 30th Regt. N. I.—Feb. 13. Lieut. T. Sanders, to the 1st Comp. 4th Batt. of Artillery, vice Brevet Capt. Deniss, removed to 2d Comp. 1st Batt.—Feb. 14. Lieut. Bartleman, from 2d Batt. 22d Regt. N. I. to 2d Batt. 24th Regt. N. I. and hereafter to do duty with left-wing of 1st Batt. 2d Regt. N. I.

Head Quarters, Camp, Shamlee.—Feb. 16. Lieut. G. Shaw, from 17th Dragoons, to be Lieutenant of 4th Regt. of Dragoons.

Head Quarters, Camp, Meerut.—Feb. 19. Capt. Lloyd is posted to the 1st, and Capt. James to the 2d Batt. 30th Regt.

Medical Department.

Head Quarters, Camp, Meerut.— Feb. 7. Surgeon J. Grietson, to 1st Batt. 29th Regt. N. I.

FURLOUGHS.

Head Quarters, Camp, Meerut, Feb. 2. —The undermentioned Officers have received leave of absence for the reasons assigned:—

30th Regt. Lieut. M'Leod, from March 10, to Nov. 30, 182., to remain in extension at the Cape, for the recovery of his health.

87th Regt. Ensign Courtayne, from Jan. 25 to June 25, to visit Calcutta, on most urgent private affairs.

89th Regt. Ensign Gordon, from date of embarkation, for one year, to Europe, for the purpose of retiring on half-pay.

Feb. 5.—*13th Foot.* Ensign Kershaw, from July 5, 1823, until required for embarkation.

14th Foot. Ensign Bowlby, from Feb. 3, 1823, to Feb. 24, 1825.

Feb. 14. —*22d Regt.* Lieut. Col. C. Fagan, to Europe, on private affairs.

Fort William.—Feb. 16. Assistant Surgeon E. Hickman, to Europe, on urgent private affairs, for one year.—Feb. 12. Lieut. G. M. Home, of 22d Regt. N. I. to Prince of Wales's Island, for 8 months.—Feb. 26. Lieut. Col. W. Farquhar, of Corps of Engineers, to Europe, on private affairs.

Head Quarters, Camp, Ooncha Shahur, Feb. 23.

46th Regt. Lieut. Sutherland, to Europe, for two years, on medical certificate.

1st Foot. Lieut. Armstrong, for one year, to Europe, to exchange to half-pay.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Jan. 12. Major Macdonald Kinnier, Town Major of Madras, is appointed Minister to the Court of Persia.—Feb. 19. Mr. W. C. Fullerton, to be Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Feb. 19. The Rev. M. Thompson, M. A. to be Senior Chaplain of St. George's Church; the Rev. W. Roy, jun. to be Junior Chaplain of St. George's Church; the Rev. J. Boys, M.A. to be Military Chaplain at Secundrabad; the Rev. P. A. Denton, B. A. to be Chaplain of the Black Town Chapel.

BOMBAY.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—Feb. 2d. Mr. J. Seton to be third Assistant to the Collector, at Ahmednugger; Mr. W. W. Mallett to be Supernumerary Assistant to the Collector at Poona; Mr. J. Steven to be Supernumerary Assistant to the Collector at Ahmednugger; Mr. P. Stewart to be Supernumerary Assistant to the Collector at Dharwar; Mr. J. Erskine to be Supernumerary Assistant to the Collector in Candeish; Mr. W. Willes to be Register in Candeish; Mr. W. Chamier to be ditto at Ahmednugger; Mr. Richardson to be Assistant Register to the Court of Adawlut, in the Northern Concan; Mr. W. Clerk to be Assistant Persian Secretary to the Government.

CEYLON.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Colombo.—Jan. 20. P. A. Dyke, Esq. and Mr. Wilmot, of H. M. Civil Service, to do duty as Extra Assistants to the Chief Secretrary's Office; and Capt. Hamilton to be Private Secretary to the Governor.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Colombo.—Jan. 19th. Lieutenant-Col. Churchill to be Military Secretary to Lieut.-General Sir E. Barnes.

ST. HELENA.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

James Town.—April 7th. T. Grentree, Esq. to be Paymaster; G. Blenkins, Esq. to be Acountant; and G. V. Lambe, Esq. to be Storekeeper.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

James Town.—April 1st. Cadet Mellis is appointed a 2d Lieutenant; and Mr. R. T. Hays a Cadet of Artillery.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Jan. 11th. At Sea, on board the ship Thetis, Mrs. C. F. Davies, of a daughter.—15th. At Kurnaul, the lady of C. Brown, Esq. of a son.—20th. At Calcutta, the lady of C. Martin, Esq. of a son. —22d. At Cawnpore, the lady of Major Ferris, of a son.—25th. At Tittaghurr, the lady of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, of a daughter.—26th. At Lucknow, the lady of Major F. V. Roper, of a daughter; at Cossipore, the lady of Captain Fulton, of a son; at Chowringhee, the lady of F. P. Strong, Esq. of a daughter.—27th. At Calcutta, Mrs. R. Wiseham, of a daughter; at Garden Reach, the Lady of Captain Conroy, of a son; at Patna, the lady of A. F. Lind, Esq. Civil Service, of a daughter.—28th. At Calcutta, Mrs. H. Butler, of a daughter; the wife of Mr. W. H. Little, of the Custom-house Wharf, of a daughter.—31st. At Calcutta, Mrs. L. Delanougerede, of a daughter; the lady of Mr. T. Eastman, of a son; the lady of C. G. Blagrave, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a son.—Feb. 2d. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. Costello, of a daughter; at Barrackpore, the lady of Lieut. J. W. Patton, of a daughter; Mrs. J. Murray, of a son; at Cuddapah, the lady of Lieut. J. R. Sayers, 2d Batt. 5th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—4th. At Calcutta, the lady of Capt. G. Young, of a son; at Nagpore, the lady of R. B. Jenkins, commanding the Nagpore Brigade, of a daughter.—5th. At Jessore, Mrs. J. N. Thomas, of a daughter.—6th. At Calcutta, the lady of W. F. Clark, Esq. of a daughter.—7th. At Calcutta, the lady of W. T. Beeby, Esq. of a son.—9th. Mrs. W. G. Smith, of a son; at Royapattah Mansion, the lady of S. Lazar, Esq. of a son.—12th. The lady of R. Dest, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a son; at Cawnpore, the lady of Capt. Reynolds, 1st Batt. 32d Regt. of a daughter.—16th At Saugor, the lady of Major Logie, of a daughter.—20th. At Fort William, Mrs. Mountjoy, of a son.—23d. At Malda, the lady of J. Lamb, Esq. of a son. —27th. At Calcutta, Mrs. Nixon, wife of Sub-Conductor Nixon, of a son; Mrs. J. Vallente, of a son; the lady of Capt. C. A. Harris, of a son.—March 3d. The lady of Lieut. Col. Blacker, of a son.—7th. At Jessore, the lady of R. B. Francis, Esq. of a son and heir; at Kamptee, the lady of Dr. A. Ross, 2d Batt. 18th Regt. of a son. —8th. At Berhampore, the lady of R. R. Hughes, Esq. Lieut. 2d Batt. 21st Regt. N. I. of a son and heir; at Calcutta, the lady of W. Prinsep, Esq. of a still-born son.

Marriages.—Feb. 4th. At Calcutta, Mr. J. W. Smyth, Missionary, to Miss M. A. Lawler, of the European Female Asylum.—6th. R. Middleton, Esq. to Sarah, eldest daughter of J. Simpson, Esq. of Durrumtolloh.—8th. At Seetapore, Lieut. R. B. Brettoridge, Interpreter and Quartermaster to 2d Batt. 7th N. I. to E. J. De Courcey, eldest daughter of R. De Courcey, of Pykepanah.—10th. At Calcutta, Rev. J. Marsch, to Miss S. Harrington, daughter of H. H. Harrington, Esq. formerly Resident at this Presidency; Mr. F. C. A. Rigordy, to Miss M. F. Smith, daughter of the late J. C Smith, Esq.—12th. D. D. W. S. Jopp, Esq. to Miss L. F. Ross, third daughter of Capt. D. Ross, of Howrah; Capt. W. Strahan, of H. C. Madras Establishment, to Miss M. Compton.—13th. At St. John's Cathedral, Mr. W. Burrows, to Miss E. C. Pitcairne.—20th. G. A. Bushby, Esq. of the Civil Service, to M. A. G. W. Sealy, only daughter of the late J. Sealey, Esq. of Calcutta.—21st. F. J. L'Herondell, Esq. to Miss A. Dunlop; at Calcutta, Mr. J. Willick, to Miss B. Keys; Mr. T. James to Miss A. Augustin.—23d. At Calcutta, Mr. J. Forsyth, to Miss J. Twalling.—29th. At Benares, G. Tod, Esq. to Miss C. Bannerman.—8th. At Calcutta, Capt. G. W. A. Lloyd, of the Bengal N. I. to Caroline, second daughter of Capt. W. Bruce, of the H. C. Bombay Marine.

Deaths.—Jan. 13th. At Naaf, Lieut. Exshaw, 2d Batt. 20th Regt. N. I.—15th. At Warrphul, on the Wurdah, J. J. Stewart, son of Capt. Stewart, 16th Madras Infantry.—19th. At Jubbulpore, the infant son of Lieut. M. Nicolson.—27th. At Calcutta, Miss E. F. Peard, aged 19, eldest daughter of the late P. Peard, Esq. of Ely Place, London.—29th. At Calcutta, Mr. L. Guilleron, aged 60 years.—31st. Master J. F. Kairongoin.—Feb. 1st. At Benares, Capt. J. Oakes, 4th Regt. N. I. —2d. At Garden Reach, the infant son of G. Ballard, Esq.—3d. At Calcutta, Mr. W. Heather, of the Hon. Comp. Marine; at Chandernagore, Mrs. F. Coupland, relict of Capt. C. Coupland, of the Madras Army.—5th. At Calcutta, Capt. Clutterbuck, late of H. M. 59th Regt. Foot.—9th. At Calcutta, Mr. J. D'Rozario.—10th. At Calcutta, the infant daughter of Mrs. T. Philpott.—15th. Lieut.-Col. J. Paton, aged 63 years.—18th. At Calcutta, Mrs. T. Philpott; at Ramoo, Mr. J. Burnet, of the Pilot Service.—26th. At Calcutta, Capt. J. Carru, aged 64 years.—28th. At Calcutta, D. Allan, Esq. aged 23 years.—March 1st. At Chowringhee, Ann, daughter of the late Dr. Patch, aged 25.—3d. F. C. Brown, third daughter of the late Rev. D. Brown, aged 18 years.—At Calcutta, B. Fergusson, Esq. aged 55 years.—4th. J. Bentley, Esq. aged 67 years.

MADRAS.

Births.—Jan. 24th. At Bangalore, the lady of Quartermaster Coates, H. M.'s 54th Regiment N. I. of a daughter.—Feb. At Bangalore, the lady of Capt. J. T. Trewman, of 25th N. I. of a son.—4th. At Negapatam, the lady of A. F. Bruce, Esq. Civil Service, of a son.—6th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of J. Wyse, Esq. of a son.—16th. In Fort St. George, the lady of Lieut. O'Connell, Commissary of Ordnance, of a son; at Madras, the lady of J. Dent, Esq. of a son; Mrs. Jarrett, of a still-born child.—17th. At Madras, Mrs. N. Bazely, of a daughter.—18th. Mrs. C. Griffiths, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Feb. 7th. At Madras, F. Lascelles, Esq. to Gertrude, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Molesworth.—14th. Mr. C. Goodall, to Elizabeth Ann, youngest daughter of F. Spalding, Esq. of Middleton Terrace, Pentonville.

Deaths.—Jan. 15. On board the Ganges from Bengal, while in Madras Roads, G. Henderson, Esq. aged 32 years.—24th. At Surat, Harriet Ann, wife of Capt. H. A. F. Hervey, 7th N. I.

CEYLON.

Births.—Jan. 11. At Jaffnapatam, Mrs. R. Henft, of a son.—17th. At Colombo, the lady of the Rev. J. H. De Sarum, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Dec. 29. At Nellore, Jaffnapatam, Mr. L. D. Rooy, to Miss S. M. Anjou.—30th. Mr. A. G. Kroon, to Miss C. W. H. De Woeff.

Deaths.—Dec. 28th. At Badulla, Lieut. Onn, 16th Regt.—30th. Lieut. Claney, 16th Regt.—At Kandy, the lady of the Rev. N. Garstin, A. M. Garrison Chaplain of that place.—Jan. 2d. At Colombo, H. W. infant son of F. H. Widow, Esq.—At Bencoolen, Flora, infant daughter of Sir Stamford Raffles.

PENANG.

Birth.—Dec. 17th. The lady of J. Anderson, Esq. C. S. of a son.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—July 2d. At Swinnerton Park, Staffordshire, the lady of S. Jervis, Esq. of a son; in Montague-place, Russell-square, the lady of Major Forrest, of a daughter.—11th. At Clifton, the lady of Andrew Doran, of Madeira, Esq. of a son.—18th. In Upper Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, the lady of Henry Taylor, Esq. of the Madras Civil Service, of a daughter.

Marriages.—July 3d. At Cambridge, by the Very Rev. the Dean of Ely, the Rev. Henry Geo. Keene, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, to Anne, third daughter of the late C. A. Wheelwright, Esq. of Highbury.—5th. In Edinburgh, R. Panton, Esq. of the Island of Jamaica, and the University of Cambridge, to Sophia Eliza, eldest daughter of the late D. Morrison, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's civil service, Bengal Establishment, Highbury.—13th. At Croydon, Surrey, by the Rev. Mr. Coles, F. J. Basset, Esq. Surgeon, of Coleman-street, to Isabella, eldest daughter of the late James Dickson, Esq. of Croydon, and niece to Mungo Park; at St. Mary-le-bone Church, John Patterson, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's service, Bengal Establishment, to Anna Louisa, widow of the late W. O'Neil, Esq. Superintending Surgeon, Bengal.—19th. At Ashstead, in Surrey, Robt. Campbell Scarlett, Esq. eldest son of James Scarlett, Esq. M. P., to Sarah, youngest daughter of the late Geo. Smith, Esq. Chief Justice of the Mauritius.—20th. At St. Mary-le-bone Church, by the Rev. Dr. Coghlan, Alfred Chapman, Esq. son of Abel Chapman, Esq. of Woodford, Essex, to Caroline, daughter of Sir Francis Macnaghten, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in Calcutta.—23d. At Torne, in Devonshire, at the residence of Viscount Kilcoursie, G. Spiller, Esq. Royal Artillery, to his Lordship's niece, Caroline, only child of the late J. Woodgate, Esq. Captain in the 24th Dragoons.

Deaths.—June 16th. At Weymouth, G. Mills, Esq. of Perthshire, having arrived in England from Calcutta only twelve days previous.—20th. At Heatherwick-house, East Lothian, George, eldest son of Capt. W. H. Hardyman, Hon. East India Company's naval service; at Edinburgh, Lieut. J. Fraser, of 71st and 87th Regiments.—25th. At Hinxston, Cambridgeshire, Mrs. Woodhouse, widow of Ollyett Woodhouse, Esq. late Advocate General of Bombay.—July 1st. At Walworth, Surrey, Tyrrell Herbert Henderson, Esq. of the Auditor's Office, East India House, after a short illness, in the 38th year of his age; in Duke-street, St. James's, Major Gen. Lachlan Macquarie, in the 63d year of his age. His conduct from earliest youth, was marked by a most amiable disposition, a high sense of honour, and animated zeal for his profession. He entered the army at the age of fifteen, and served his King and Country for forty-seven years, in all parts of the world, with great credit. His many excellent qualities endeared him to an extensive circle of friends in all classes of society; and, it may be truly said, that no man ever possessed in a higher degree, the respect and the esteem of his superiors, inferiors, and equals.—5th. At Edinburgh, on his way home from Madeira, Mr. D. Mathie, jun. of Craybank, writer in Glasgow.—9th. In London, Yohun Fung Quaon, the first Chinese lady that ever visited England.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Departure.	Date.
June 26	Falmouth	Doris	Roberts	Singapore	Feb. 9
June 28	Off Cowes	Houqua	Nash	Manilla	Feb. [illegible]
June 30	Downs	Ann	Stewart	Mauritius	Mar. 1
June 30	Downs	Nerina	Northwood	Cape	Feb. 22
July 4	Off Weymouth	Minerva	Probyn	Bengal	Feb. 2[illegible]
July 4	Off Weymouth	Rockingham	Beach	Bengal	Jan. 10
July 4	Off Portsmouth	Cumbrian	Clarkson	Bombay	Feb. 28
July 7	Downs	England	Reay	Bombay	Dec. 31
July 11	Off Plymouth	Eliza	Johnston	Bengal	Feb. 21
July 1[illegible]	Off Plymouth	James Sibbald	Forbes	Bombay	Mar. 7
July 14	Off Portsmouth	Asia	Steele	Bengal	Mar. 19
July 24	Downs	Hercules	Vaughan	Bombay	Mar. 23
July 26	Off Portsmouth	Maria	Meffet	Batavia	Mar. 26

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Feb. 6	Madras	Moira	Hornblow	London
Feb. 17	Bombay	Waterloo	Studd	London
Feb. 22	Bengal	Bengal	Pearse	Liverpool
Mar. 4	Mauritius	Bengal Merchant	Brown	London
May 6	St. Helena	London	Sotheby	London
May 4	St. Helena	Martha	Dobson	Newcastle
May 15	Cape of Good Hope	Maitland	O'Brien	Bengal
May 15	Cape of Good Hope	Lady Nugent	Boon	Bengal
May 20	Madeira	Alacrity	Finlay	London
June 1	Madeira	Exmouth	Owen	London
June 10	Madeira	Triumph	Green	London
June 11	Madeira	Cornwall	Bunyon	London
June 12	Madeira	Salmon River	Gransmere	London

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

June 27	Downs	Astell	Levy	Bengal
July 1	Downs	George	Cuzens	Madras
July 4	Downs	Carn Brea Castle	Davey	Bengal
July 9	Downs	Arethusa	Strong	Cape of Good Hope
July 10	Portsmouth	Hibberts	Theaker	Mauritius
July 10	Downs	Nimrod	Spicer	Bengal
July 10	Downs	Timandra	Wray	Ceylon
July 12	Downs	Elizabeth	Swan	Bengal
July 20	Downs	Ellen	Camper	Cape of Good Hope
July 23	Liverpool	Bridget	Leslie	Bengal
July 26	Liverpool	Theodosia	Kidson	Bombay
July 26	Liverpool	Lotus	Field	Bengal

SHIPS EXPECTED TO SAIL IN THIS MONTH.

Aug. 5	Downs	Sarah	Bowen	Bombay
Aug. 5	Portsmouth	Regalia	Henning	Bombay
Aug. 5	Downs	Milford	Horwood	Bombay
Aug. 7	Downs	Felicitas	Campbell	Bengal
Aug. 10	Downs	Orynthia	Thompson	Ceylon & Bombay
Aug. 15	Downs	Hero of Malown	Garrick	Bengal
Aug. 15	Downs	Cumbrian	Clarkson	Bombay
Aug. 20	Downs	Alexander	Richardson	Mauritius & Ceylon
Aug. 30	Downs	Alfred	Lamb	Madras
Aug. 31	Downs	Rochester	Coppin	Madras
Aug. 31	Portsmouth	Portsea	Shepheard	Bengal

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	P. of Depart.	Lat.	Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Feb. 8	London	38 S.	26 E.	Sir E. Paget	Geary	Bengal
April 6	Bengal	21.10 S.	70.[illegible]5 E.	Potton	Wellbank	London
April 25	London	36.2 S.	25.20 W.	Dunira	Hamilton	Bombay
May 2	Madras	34.57 S.	21.27 E.	Neptune	Edwards	London
May 2	Madras	34.57 S.	21.27 E.	Hope	Flint	London
May 31	London	4 N.	21 W.	Orwell	Farrer	China
June 9	London	37.19 N.	13 W.	Rose	Marquis	Bombay
June 12	London	8.22 N.	22 W.	Lord Amherst	Lucas	Madras
June 15	London	9.40 N.	22.49 W.	Mercury	M'Nally	Japan
June 17	Liverpool	41	12.30	Dorothy	Garnock	Bombay
June 17	London	40	14	Marq. of Hastings	Weynton	Bombay

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the *Minerva*.—From Bengal: Mrs. L. Turton, Monsell, M'Dougall, Thomas, Gibson, Hainsworth; two Misses Monsell, Gibson; H. Prinsep, Esq., C. C. Hyde, Esq., Civil Service; Capt. C. Munro, 7th N. I. in charge of invalids; R. M. Thomas, Esq. attorney-at-law; A. Bateman, Esq. R. Gibson, Esq.; two Masters Small, two Masters Thomas; Lieut. H. Burges, Madras Infantry, transferred from the Rockingham; two European and six native servants; T. Hudson. J. Williams, charter-party passengers.

By the *Rockingham*.—From Bengal: Mrs. Beach, Reddie, Williams; Rev. Mr. Thomas, from Madras, Mrs. ditto: Colonel Popham, Bengal Service; Capt. Magill, 38th Regt.; Lieuts. Smith, 41st Regt., Mahon, Patton, 46th Regt.; Lieuts. Burges, Farran, Shee, Madras Service; three Misses Gilmore, Curtis, Reddie; two Masters Wallace, Orr; Capt. Pillen, of his Majesty's Navy.

By the *Cumbrian*.—From Bombay: Hon. Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Stokes, Septimus Money, Esq. from Bangalore; Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Aitcheson and 4 children; Lieut.-Col. Kennett; Capts. Watkins, Babington, Madras Estab.; Capt. Edw. Cooper; Ensign G. Gordon, died at sea 5th June; two Misses Sutherland, Cowper. Gibbon; Master A. Sutherland, all from Bombay; Mr. H. Solomon, from St. Helena.

By the *England*.—From Bombay; Mrs. Reay; Lieut. Ross, Bombay N. I.

By the *Pilot*.—From Bengal: Mr. and Mrs. Currie and child, Mr. Budden, Mrs. Montgomery and child, Mrs. Roche and two children; Mr. Pearson, Rev. Mr. Sutton and child, Mr. Woolhard and two children (brought home in the *Fairfield*, and landed at Liverpool).

By the *Eliza*.—From Bengal: Rear Admiral Maitland; Lieut.-Col. Fagan; Mr. and Mrs. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Darling, Mr. W. Haines; Captains Isaac and Newton; Lieut. Wakefield, Messrs. Livesley and Howell, Master and Miss Fagan, two Masters Richardson, Masters Brown and Barnes, Miss Miller and Mrs. and Master Slater.

By the *James Sibbald*.—From Bombay: Mrs. Stewart, Morgan, and Whitehead; Miss Brett, landed at the Cape; Misses M. Prendergrast and L. Morgan; J. Stewart, Esq., J. Campbell, Esq. died in Quilon Roads, 15th March; Capt. R. Morgan, H. C. Marine; Mr. J. Davidson, Assistant Surgeon Nagpore Service, landed at the Cape; Lieut. W. Gray, 11th Regt. Madras N. I.; Mr. G. Hathorn, H. M. S. Liffey; Lieut. A. Fraser, 9th Regt. Bombay N. I.; Ensign T. Sewell, 25th Regt. Madras N. I.; Mr. Smith, Missionary from Quilon; Masters J. Stewart and A. S. Forbes, and six servants.

By the *Lady Campbell*.—From Bengal, arrived at the Cape: Lieut.-Col. Heathcote, Mrs. and Miss ditto, Mr. and Mrs. Vrignon, and four Masters Vrignon; Lieut.-Col. Paton (dead); Misses E. Chilcott, M. Neate, J. H. Swinhe, Miss J. ditto, Mrs. S. Bell, Dr. A. Napier, Master J. ditto, Dr. G. Hickman, J. M'Crae, Esq., Mr. B. Braham, Mrs. Daunt, and Miss M. Davis.

By the *Asia*.—From Bengal: Mr. Gillandez, merchant, Bengal; Capt. Brodhurst, Bengal Artillery.

DEPARTURES TO INDIA.

By the *Timandra*.—For the Mauritius and Ceylon: Col. Brough, and four other Officers, Royal Engineers; Dr. Strachan; Miss Huskisson, three Misses Layard, Mr. Cooper, and Mrs. Wray.

BRITISH-INDIAN NEWSPAPER.

In a former Number of The Oriental Herald (vol. i. p. 544) notice was given of the establishment in London of a Daily Evening Paper, entitled, "The Evening Chronicle," in which it was intended to publish such information relating to India and the Colonies as might be much lessened in interest by the delay necessarily attendant on a Monthly Journal. The unexpected and dangerous illness of the principal Conductor of that Paper, and the difficulty of filling the place of superintending Editor in the Indian and Colonial Department, with other obstacles of a similar nature which presented themselves about the same period, induced the Proprietor to transfer the interests of that undertaking to the Globe and Traveller, an Evening Paper of similar views on all great questions of politics and public affairs, in the hope that a favourable period might again arrive for giving to this Paper the same advantages of Indian information, and occasional discussion on Indian affairs, which characterized The Evening Chronicle, whose interests were thus incorporated with its own.

That period has now arrived; and the recent discontinuance of The British and Indian Observer, renders it the more important that some English Newspaper should be more especially open to the communication of Indian intelligence than the Journals of the Metropolis generally are. This public method is therefore taken of announcing to the readers of The Oriental Herald at home and abroad, that the communication of Indian intelligence, or of events occurring in England interesting to the inhabitants of our Eastern dominions, and requiring the early publication which a Newspaper alone can effect, will be highly acceptable to the conductors of The Globe and Traveller, which paper, from the peculiar sources of information already placed within its reach, is soon likely to be in the hands of all classes connected with India and the Colonies, in addition to its already well-established and extensive circulation in the highest circles of the political and mercantile world.

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ERRATA.

p. 318, col. 1, l. 18 from bottom, for *Calcutta* read *Cuttack*.
p. 319, col. 2, l. [illegible], for *prohibiting any regulations* read *prohibitory regulations*.
p. 365, l. 31 from bottom, for *darking* read *darkening*.

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